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THE YORKSHIRE
Archaeological and Topographical
JOURNAL.

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THE YORKSHIRE
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JOURNAL.

PUBLISHED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE COUNCIL
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VOL. III.

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PREFACE.

THE satisfaction attending the completion of a third Volume of the Journal is sadly marred by the death, during the present year, of Mr. Robert Davies, F.S.A., one of the most valued contributors to its pages. Mr. Davies died at his residence in York, the 23rd of August, 1875, at the advanced age of 82; and it is some evidence of the usefulness of the Journal, that it has been able to attract the interesting and important memoirs which he has from time to time sent to the Council for acceptance. Each of these has been compiled from notes industriously accumulated during a long series of years; and the Journal has happily supplied a medium for the preservation of much Biographical and Historical information, which otherwise might have been lost altogether, and which must, at best, have lacked, in any form hereafter assumed, the completeness, both in style and subject, which marked all the literary work of this able and accomplished writer. For all these memoirs the thanks of the Association cannot be too fully or freely accorded, and it is felt that all other kind contributors, to whom the thanks of the Council are no less given, will feel it to be right, that the name of Mr. Davies should be thus specially mentioned. It is hoped that some of those who knew him best may be found willing to undertake, in a suitable form acceptable

to his family, a biographical memoir of one who himself did so much to preserve the memory of other Yorkshire Antiquaries.

For the illustrations of tombstones from Hartlepool, given at pages 367 and 369, the Association is indebted to the British Archæological Association, which kindly placed those woodcuts at the disposal of the Council.

Every care has been taken to render the Index as accurate and complete as possible, and kind assistance rendered by Mr. John William Clay, Mr. James Fowler, F.S.A., and Mr. I. Horsfall Turner, in preparing this important and most useful part of the Volume, must be here acknowledged.

It remains only to add of this Volume that, like its predecessors, it is edited under the direction of the Council of the Yorkshire Archæological and Topographical Association, though the writers are alone responsible for the statements and opinions contained in their respective papers.

HUDDERSFIELD, 1875.

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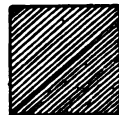
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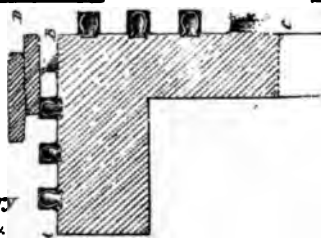
Plate I.

North Aisle.



Reference.

A.B.C. Ground Plan showing Pots in situ. The depth of Masonry from level of floor is 1 ft. 6 in.

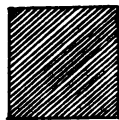


DD. Indications of a stone screen that has crossed the middle aisle of nave.

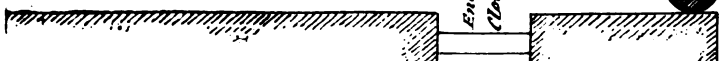
Nave.

E.E. Pillars of Nave.

F.G. Similar Masonry to A.B. but without pots or apertures.



South Aisle.



Entrance to Cloister Court.

Base of Holy Water Stoup.



THE YORKSHIRE

Archæological and Topographical Journal.

ON THE SO-CALLED ACOUSTIC POTTERY AT FOUNTAINS ABBEY,

Read before the Association at Fountains Abbey, 28th August, 1872,

By JAMES FOWLER, F.S.A.,

With two Illustrations by W. FOWLER STEPHENSON.

DURING the winter of 1854, in the progress of the excavations at Fountains Abbey, "an arrangement was discovered," says Mr. Walbran in his admirable *Guide*,¹ ". . . not more unusual than inexplicable ; for, on each side of the processional passage are to be seen two walled spaces of the form of the Roman capital letter L . . . depressed about two feet below the level of the floor. In that on the south side nothing was then discovered, but, in the other, a mass of charcoal ashes ; and, thoroughly imbedded in its west and north sides, nine large vases of rude earthenware, each capable of containing nearly two fluid gallons, and also partially filled with charcoal. These ashes have, no doubt, been cast here from the adjacent furnace, where the lead stripped from the church, had been evidently melted into a marketable shape at the time of the dissolution ; but, why the vases should have been introduced, is, so far as I can learn from anything that has been observed in English architecture, unaccountable." Nor could any inquiry made at that time clear up the difficulty. The Earl de Grey brought the subject forward at a meeting of the Royal Institute of British Architects, but without any more definite result than "much conjecture."² The matter was also

¹ *The Skilling Guide to Ripon, Studley, Fountains Abbey, Harrogate, &c. &c.*
By John Richard Walbran, F.S.A.

² *Illustrated London News*, 17 June, 1854.

introduced in *Notes and Queries*, that "indispensable companion of every student, the ready and efficient helper of every man of letters," by Mr. Edward Peacock;³ and in the correspondence which followed, it was suggested that the pots were acoustic.⁴ This was subsequently accepted by Mr. Walbran as the most probable explanation of their function. "The most probable supposition seems to be," he says, "that they were acoustic instruments, intended to increase the sound of an organ placed on the screen above; inasmuch as Vitruvius, when speaking of 'The vases of the theatres,' in the fifth chapter of his fifth book of Architecture, observes, that it was the practice in constructing some of the provincial theatres in Italy, to insert earthen vessels within the seats, where brass vases could not be afforded, for the express purpose of augmenting sound." But the doubt as to how sound could be augmented by any such arrangement as that at Fountains, has until recently proved an insuperable obstacle to the adoption of this explanation, and given rise to a variety of others, such as, for instance, that they were "for stores of some kind;" "for holding food or drink;" "for dove-cotes or columbaries;" "for containing relics;" "for burning incense in;" "for warming the feet or hands of officials;" "for cinerary urns;" "for receiving the ashes of the heart, or some other portion of the body, in case any of the canons attached to the church should will that any part of his remains should be so deposited."

Now, in the twenty-second volume of the *Annales Archéologiques*, there is an account of the discovery as early as the year 1842, in the church of S. Blaise, at Arles, of a number of horn-shaped earthenware jars and pots built into the walls, and opening into the interior, essentially as at Fountains; and it is curious how exactly what ensued resembles what occurred in our own country. Intense curiosity was excited amongst the French antiquaries. The Committee of Arts and Monuments in vain endeavoured to explain the puzzle. In spite of every effort and inquiry, beyond the reference to Vitruvius, and the suggestion that the pots might possibly belong to some sort of an acoustic system, for twenty years not the least new light was thrown upon the subject, nor a single fresh example contributed. In

³ *Notes and Queries*, 11 Nov., 1854.

⁴ *Id.*, 30 Dec., 1854.

1861, however, M. Mandelgren, a Swedish antiquary, came to Paris, and inquired of M. Didron whether the French antiquaries found in any of their ancient churches any pots or horn-shaped earthenware jars built into the walls, or in vaults, adding, that in Sweden and Denmark he had found a great number of churches thus provided, the mouths of the pots always opening into the church or vault, as the case might be, and undoubtedly, in his opinion, placed there in order to increase or modify sound. But still M. Didron remained doubtful. He did not question that there were plenty of pots in Denmark and Sweden, but the explanation of their function appeared to him to be puerile, and he should wait, he said, with a good deal of curiosity, for the work which M. Mandelgren said he intended to write in order to prove the correctness of his views. Meanwhile, in the same year, M. Wladimir Stassoff, editor of the official *Archæological Journal* at St. Petersburg, and M. Gornostaëff, member of the Imperial Academy of Fine Arts at St. Petersburg and Professor of Art in the Academy, wrote to M. Didron to say that in a great number of the ancient Byzantine churches these pots and horn-shaped jars had been discovered at different times, and that he should be glad if M. Didron would tell him the use of them. Whereupon M. Didron sent an account of the pots at Arles and of M. Mandelgren's views on those in Denmark and Sweden, but added that he did not himself believe a word about their having any acoustic meaning. And thus the matter rested until, in 1862, M. Bouteiller, member of the Imperial Academy at Metz, wrote his memoir upon the Celestine monastery there.⁵ At the end of this work are appended a number of extracts from a late 15th century chronicle of the affairs of the monastery between the years 1371 and 1469, existing in the town library at Metz; and under the year 1432 we read as follows :—

(*Translation.*)

“ In the year aforesaid in the month of August on the Vigil of the Assumption of Our Lady, after that brother Ode le Roy, our prior, had returned from the general chapter above named, he made and ordered to put pots into the choir of the Church, declaring that he had seen

⁵ *Nétier sur le Couvent des Célestins de Metz*, par M. E. de Bouteiller, Metz, 1862.

(this done) elsewhere in some church, and thinking that it would make the singing better, and that it would resound the stronger. And these were fixed in one day by as many workmen as sufficed. But I do not know that they sing any better than they did. And it is certain that the walls were greatly torn to pieces and shaken, and many who come to us are very much astonished at what is done there. And they have sometimes said that it would be better if they were now outside, declaring that they verily thought the pots had been put there to catch and take in fools."

Moreover, in the margin of the MS. is written—*Ecce risu digna*.⁶

I imagine that this extract sets the matter entirely at rest, and that no one can ever hereafter raise a question upon the use of the pots. Their object was to make the singing better, and cause it to resound the stronger. It is nothing whatever to the point to object that they were entirely useless, and that they were suspected by some, by the historian of the monastery for instance, to be so even at the time that they were fixed. The Prior had seen and studied the arrangement elsewhere, and was anxious to have it tried at home. If, as M. Didron remarks, we knew where the general chapter was held, we should have an idea where it was that the Prior had seen the pots in use. It is not improbable that it was in Italy, where the Celestines were much more numerous and powerful than in France, and where we should naturally expect to find the tradition of Vitruvius retained.

The secret once out, and general interest awakened, various additional communications on the subject appeared. At once, on the publication of M. Didron's paper, the Abbé Cochet furnished a communication to the *Annales Archéologiques*,⁷ describing five or six examples he had met with in Normandy, and another to the Imperial Academy of Rouen; the latter containing an extract from *L'Apocalypse de Meliton*, a satirical work of the seventeenth century, as follows :—

(Translation.)

"Of fifty choristers that the public maintain in such a house, there will not sometimes be more than six present

⁶ *Annales Archéologiques*, xxii., 296.

⁷ *Annales Archéol.*, xxii., 354.

at the office ; the choirs are fitted with pots in a vault, and in the walls, so that half-a-dozen voices there make as much noise as forty elsewhere."

In November, 1863, a third article by the learned Abbé appeared, in English, in the *Gentleman's Magazine* ; and in the ensuing month a letter from Mr. Richard Rolt Brash, describing acoustic pottery at S. Mary's, Youghal, co. Cork,⁸ with another, signed J. S., describing in a most interesting and complete manner, with a capital engraving, the discovery of six vases built into the chancel walls of Upton Church, near Southwell. Mr. Mackenzie E. C. Walcott also furnished some examples. But the best English paper on the subject which has yet appeared, is that by the Rev. G. W. W. Minns, in the publication of the Norfolk Archaeological Society. Plans are given of the acoustic pottery discovered in 1850 in the church of St. Peter Mancroft, Norwich, and in 1860 in the church of St. Peter per Mountergate in the same city ;⁹ and notices of a later discovery of jars at the church of St. John de Sepulchre, also in the city of Norwich, and of a large jar, supposed to have been put down for a like purpose, in the chancel of Slaugham church, Sussex, in 1868. Lastly, in the recent volume of Reports of the Lincoln Diocesan Architectural Society, there is an account of the pottery at S. Peter's, Upton, with some remarks, by the Ven. Edward Trollope, the President of the Associated Provincial Architectural Societies. There is, however, nothing in this paper before unpublished ; the descriptive portion is copied, without acknowledgment, from the letter in the *Gentleman's Magazine* noticed above ; the translation of the paragraph from the Metz chronicle is, word for word, the same as in that publication and in the

⁸ See also Trans. Kilkenny Arch. Soc., 1854-5.

⁹ See also *Norfolk Archaeology*, vols. iv., 352; vi., 382; and F. C. H., in *N. and Q.*, 25 Nov., 1854. From Mr. Minn's description it will be found that the arrangement of the pots at S. Peter Mancroft, and S. Peter per Mountergate, Norwich, closely resembled that at Fountains'. At S. Peter Mancroft, "beneath the wooden floor and joists of the old pews, immediately under that part of the church occupied by the choir stalls, were found two trenches, running eastward as far as the stalls probably extended, being returned towards the west, and discontinued

for the space of four feet at the entrance of the choir ; in fact, lying like two letters [L] placed face to face. Each trench measured thirty inches wide, and about three feet deep, paved at the bottom with yellow glazed tiles, about eight inches square, and lined or bounded on either side by a low rubble wall one foot in thickness, into which were built numerous red earthen jars, having their mouths directed towards each other within the trench, and presenting the appearance of guns projecting from a ship's side." At S. Peter's per Mountergate, there was but a single [L] shaped trench of pots on each side.

issue of the *Guardian* newspaper for 18th Nov., 1863, including the mis-translation of "seans" for "Ceans," as though it were the name of a place; the idea that the pots at Fountains, Norwich, &c., did actually possess an acoustic function is received without question; and an instance of a dome built of amphoræ is cited in illustration of the supposed use of acoustic pottery in ancient times, though in reality merely one of a number of well-known examples of the use of hollow pottery in such situations for the sake of lightness, and no more capable of being proved to possess any acoustic function than the travertine in the dome of S. Peter's at Rome.

Indeed, the strongest evidence which has yet been adduced of the pots having ever been found practically useful, is that of Mr. Richard Rolt Brash. "I can testify," he says, "to the effect produced by these acoustic jars (at S. Mary's, Youghal). I have frequently worshipped in the church, and have been many times struck with the fact that, when kneeling at the extreme end of the north transept, I could hear most distinctly the Communion Service, though read by a person of very moderate power. The voice appeared to have a peculiarly sonorous and ringing tone."¹⁰ Until, however, it can be shown that the same results would not obtain as well in this particular church without the pots as with; that a brief or citation read in exactly the same tone of voice, by the same person, in the same position, can be heard as distinctly as a familiar service known off by heart; and that the voice has never a sonorous or ringing tone except in churches which contain acoustic pots, Mr. Brash's testimony can scarcely be received as conclusive. On the contrary, the fact that though tried in various parts of Europe their use never became general; that there are not, in all, half-a-dozen instances of their ever having been used in England; that they have never been found in any of our cathedrals or larger churches; and that, so far from having been, like bells and organs, handed down and gradually perfected up to our own day, even their intended use had until recently been utterly forgotten, are sufficient to prove that they were never found practically useful. They are nevertheless of extreme interest, as showing the ever ready absorbing power of the

¹⁰ *Gent. Mag.*, N. S., xv., 752.

Church for everything which had even the faintest shadow of good, and the working of the mediæval system, by which the most minute details of foreign churches became known and scattered over the world. Abbot Darnton or Huby returning from the Continent, brings with him the idea of the pots which he has seen in some church abroad, and at once orders some to be tried at Fountains, even though many who afterwards come to the place are very much astonished at what is done there, and say that the pots would be quite as well outside as in ; while the abbot himself, having fairly tried them, in answer to the inquiries of other monasteries, is able to say from experience,—“Don't tear up your floors for the purpose on any account. We thought it would make our singing better and that it would resound the stronger, but after all we cannot say that the sound is any louder, or the singing of the brethren any better than it was before.”

Whilst these sheets have been passing through the press, another example of acoustic pottery, at Ashburton, has been laid before the Society of Antiquaries, in London, by John Winter Jones, Esq., F.S.A., one of the vice-presidents of the Society of Antiquaries, and Principal Librarian of the British Museum. “But . . . that a piece of slate was placed in front of their mouths, it might be conjectured that these vessels had been designed to serve the purpose of . . . acoustic vases.”¹¹ There is not the slightest proof, however, that the pieces of slate were not placed over the mouths of the jars long subsequently to their being fixed into the walls, or that their mouths were not perfectly free and open originally, as at Fountains and elsewhere. The covering and plastering up of the mouths of any curious vessels of this kind is as characteristic of the church restorers of the last century, as the tearing out and destruction of them is of those of the present day.

¹¹ *Proc. Soc. Antig.*, N. S. v., 386.

ENTRIES RELATIVE TO THE BUNNY FAMILY IN THE NORMANTON PARISH REGISTER.

By the late W. S. BANKS, of Wakefield.

THE family of Bunny is of ancient descent in England. For above 200 years (1500-1700, approximately) one of its principal branches resided at and near Wakefield, and was known first as Bunny of Bunny-hall, Newton juxta Wakefield, and last as Bunny of Newland. An offshoot from this branch lived in the city of Durham, and at Ryton and Newsham in the county of Durham, from about 1578 to the beginning of the 19th century.¹ Another main branch, which is stated to have been at Ibdrope in Hants from the time of King John, is now represented by the Bunnys of Speen Hill, Newbury, in Berkshire.² Both these branches have the same arms—Argent, a chevron between 3 goats' heads erased, sable; and in early generations both favoured the baptismal names Richard and Edmund (or Edmond).

In addition to the Bunny-hall and Newland Bunnys, others of the same surname were established in the town of Wakefield. The chief Christian name of these was JOHN, though between 19 Edw. IV. and Elizabeth, occur, on the Wakefield Court Rolls, the Christian names Robert, Thomas, Peter, and William also. John Bunney of Wakefield is named as an executor of the will made by Othoneus Sagar, vicar of Warmfield, 14th Feb., 1558. An interesting memorial of John Bunny still exists in a house now tenanted by Mr. G. F. Wild, Plumber in Kirkgate, Wakefield, being an inscription on an oak beam in old English capitals—

**THIS HOUSE WAS BUILT AND BUILT
FIRST HERE OF OLDE MARE THE
FIRST BY JOHN BUNNY.**

¹ Normanton Register; and *Miscellanea Genealogica et Heraldica*, No. XL March, 1869, p. 135.

² Burke's *Landed Gentry*. ed. 1868,

p. 179. The present head of this branch is Major Bunny, of the Lodge, Sanfold, near Horsham.

The Wakefield and Newland Bunnys occupied a good position among the neighbouring gentry ; their members married into the first local families and took rank with the best. They do not appear ever to have been rich ; but they were possessed of a moderate competence. Unfortunately, however, through some causes, including perhaps want of good management, they sank in fortune and consequently in standing, so much so; that they had to sell their lands and live in a humble state. I think that about 1565 the Bunny-hall estate was sold to Thomas Greenwood of Learings. In 1694 Newland was sold to John Silvester. To the time of the last Bunny (but one) of Newland, the head of the family appears to have been a buyer of land in Altofts, Normanton, and Warmfield, which adjoin the Newland estate, and he got money with his three wives—Theodosia Molyneux, Elizabeth Palmer, and Mary Bosvile—all ladies of good families ; but he seems to have wasted his means rapidly and to have so diminished his estate, as to necessitate the mortgaging his property, and to compel his son and successor to sell Newland to John Silvester of the Tower of London, anchor smith, an Ecclesfield man, a great lender of money to persons hereabout. In their prosperity members of the family matched with the families of Haselden, Gargrave, Hamerton, Topcliff, Restwold, Wortley, Ingpen of Galaker, Kaye of Woodsome, Cartwright, and others, beside those before named. The memory of the Wakefield and Newland branch has almost departed from the neighbourhood of those places. Living memory there could, of course, be none, for the members of the family left Newland (their last residence in the immediate locality) in 1694-5 ; but their name is nearly unknown here. I have found no tradition of it about Newland, and only a faint one of it at Newton. The latter has just been kept alive through the scant survival of the name, "Bunny-hall," which is known to a few old persons as applicable to a field or two where the hall formerly stood. There is much written evidence of the existence of this branch of the family, found chiefly (so far as I have learnt) in the Wakefield and Newland Manor Court Rolls, and the Normanton Parish Register ; and among the late Rev. Joseph Hunter's papers. As will be seen below, the Normanton Register includes a compilation, beginning with Richard Bunny's marriage to Rose Topcliff

in 1512. The earliest pedigree of this branch which I have seen is "the Petigre of Richard Bunny Esquier" in Tonge's "Visitation of the Northern Counties, 1530,"³ which, with corrections, is the same pedigree as that in the Harleian MS., 4630, in the British Museum.⁴ The first is as follows :—

RICHARD BUNNY married the daughter of Hasilden and by her had yssue John Son and heyre,

JOHN Son of Richard married the daughter of Gargrave and by her had yssue Richard Son and heyre.

RICHARD Son and heyre of John married Elisabeth daughter of James *Harington* esquier and by her had yssue Richard Son and heyre.

RICHARD Son and heyre of Richard married Roose daughter of John Topcliff and by her had yssue Richard Son and heyre, Thomas ij^{de} Son, Willyam iij Son, Peter iiij Son, George vth Son, Nicholas vjth Son, Elisabeth, Anne and Jane.

RICHARD Son and heyre of Richard.

The second, copied to the same point, is as follows :—

RICHARD BUNNYE of Newland Esq. married daughter of Mr. Hasildon of Hasildon hall in Wakefield, Northgate, had issue by her John.

JOHN BUNNYE Esq. of Newland Son and heir of Richard married . . . dau. of Mr. Gargrave had issue Richard.

RICHARD BUNNYE of Newland Esq. Son and heir of John married Elisabeth dau. of James Hamerton of Muncroid nr. Pontefract had issue Richard.

RICHARD BUNNYE of Newland Esq. Son and heir of Richard, was Justice of Peace in the West Riding of Yorkshire about the thirteenth year of the reign of queen Elisabeth of ever blessed memory married Rosamund, dau. of John Topcliffe Esq. had issue Richard, Thomas Willm, Peter, George, Nicholas, Elisabeth married to Mr. Robert Kaye, Anne to Mr. Robt. Arthington of Knottingley, Jane to Mr. Edmund Steere of Thurint.

RICHARD BUNNYE of Newland Esq. Son and heir of Richard, married Bridget one of the daughters and coheirs of

³ Surtees Society's vol. 1862.

wright's copy for the latter.

⁴ I am indebted to Mr. James J. Cart-

Edward Restwold of the Vache Co. Bucks. Esq. had issue Edmund, a divine benefict at Bolton Percy nr. Tadcaster never married; Richard; Francis who married daughter of Mr. Henry Priestley.

The first pedigree appears incorrect in naming the second Richard's wife as daughter of *Harington* instead of Hamerton; the second is wrong in describing every head of the Bunny family as of Newland, for not one of these was of that place until Richard, son to Richard and Rose, and husband to Bridget Restwold, who was the first of his family owning or living on that estate. The prior history and pedigree of the Bunnys I do not know, but on a brass at Normanton to the memory of Edward Restwold of La Vache, Esq., father of the above Bridget, who died at Newland, 14th June (?) 1547, and to Richard Bunny, Esq., his son in law, who died 30th April, 1584, it is mentioned (as a saying) that the Bunny family came in the time of William the Conqueror to Bunny Rise in Nottinghamshire, from Bunny on the northern bank of the river Loir. This cannot however be taken for more than a "saying," flattering to the family. As above mentioned the Bunnys sold Newland in 1694. After leaving that place Edmund, the then head of this branch of the family, went to live at or not far from Peniston, probably with or to be near to the Bosviles of Gunthwaite,^a where he was in 1728-9, and where he was buried in 1738. His brother Molyneaux Bunny was buried at Peniston, 1749. The Durham Bunnys, who sprang from Francis, third son to Richard Bunny and Bridget [Restwold] are carried down in the Normanton Register to 1610. After that the family ties between the Newland and Durham Bunnys were probably so far loosened that the latter would not care to forward to the former any account of their births, marriages, and deaths. According to the No. of the "*Miscellanea Genealogica, &c.*," before quoted (where a correction or two is needed) they "continued to the beginning of the present century, when the last male heir of this ancient family was a carpenter at Newsham, and died without issue." Mr. Hunter^b referring to the Newland Bunnys says he had notices which would enable him to compile an excel-

^a His mother was Mary Bosville.

^b Additional Collections in British

Museum, 24.470, for reference to which I am indebted to Mr. James J. Cartwright.

lent and original memoir of them. They were, he says, a family with a literary talent for a generation or two; but they lost their fortune and dwindled down into persons living in dependence and almost poverty; and among the letters of the family which he had was one in which Edmund Bunney [the last possessor of Newland, I presume] thanks Lady Copley of Sprotborough for a present of Sir Godfrey's old clothes! Want of large means does not however seem to have prevented Edmund Bunney from marrying, though I do not know whom, but, in the Peniston Register it is stated, that *Rachel, wife to Edmund Bunny*, was buried 15th January, 1724; nor did his neighbours discontinue to regard him as of good family, for at his burial on 11th January, 1738, he is registered as *Edmund Bunny, Gentleman*. Further particulars relative to the Wakefield and Newland Bunnys may be read in "Walks about Wakefield," Longmans, 1871.

The Bunney Register at Normanton, which forms the chief subject of this paper, and the excuse for writing it, consists of four leaves of parchment stitched in the front of the second book of the Parish Registers, which book begins in January, 1594. The first page of these four leaves is blank; the second is filled with the entries relative to the Durham Bunnys—1572 to 1610—put last in this paper; the third, fourth, and fifth pages contain the Newland Bunney Register, 1512 to 1651; no entry is made on the sixth page, and more than half the last leaf is cut away. The greater part of the Newland Register is in one hand, apparently—a hand of the same kind as Mr. Francis Bunney's (1582 to 1699), but better written than his writing commonly was.

Ann Domi. } A REGIST^R of the Bvnnys of Newland Con-
1512. } teyninge marriages bap. & buryalls of the
Bvnnys wch have bene synce the yeare of o^r Lord God
A° 1512 H Octavo, 4 yeare.

Nuptie 1512 } RICHARD BVNNY of Bvnnny hall juxta
4 of H 8 } Wakefield and Rosse Topcliffe the daught^r of
John Topcliffe Lord Cheefe Justice.

Sir John was Chief Justice in times of Hen. VII. and VIII. and Master of the mint; and was of Topcliff, in West Ardsley, where his house was built on the elevation that bears that name. He was buried in the centre of the Chancel at Woodchurch, 12th Dec., 1513 or 1514; See

Whitaker L. and E. 240 ; Scatcherd's "Morley" 212 ; and "Walks about Wakefield," 1871, 518-520. His tombstone, nearly obliterated, may still be seen. Rose was buried in Wakefield church before 1535, in which year her husband desired to be buried beside her there. The surname Topcliff does not now exist in this neighbourhood, I think. It was not unfrequent in Rothwell in the middle of the 16th century.

Mortie 1520. RICHARD BVNNY ye father of Rich^d & Rose Topcliffe.

Richard, who married Elizabeth *Hamerton*, which I take as her surname.

Nuptie 1538	} RICHARD BVNNY of Bunny hall & of Newland, Esquier and Bridgitt Restwould his Wife the daught ^r of Edward Restwould of St ^t Gyles his Chalphant in Buckingham-shier Esquier H. 8. 30 years.
Sonne to Rich ^d	
Bvnnny-Rosse.	
Mortie 1584.	

This Richard, husband of Bridget, was the first Bunny of Newland. He and his wife were both named as purchasers, the grant being to them and the heirs of Richard ; and the Manorial Courts were held in their joint names throughout their joint lives ; at least from the first Bunny Court, 29th Oct., 1548 to 10th Oct., 1580. The next existing roll begins 13th Oct., 1586, and is headed with the name of Richard, their son, the father having died, as afterwards recorded, in 1584. The conveyance of Newland is dated 4th Feb., 1 Edw. VI. 1545-6 ; but the purchasers lived at the mansion a little earlier, for Francis their son, as will be seen, was baptised at Normanton, 8th Oct. previously. Their elder children, Richard and Edmund, being born at Bunny-hall—Edmund 1509, and Richard, 1541. Bridgett (Restwould) seems to have been a woman of character and authority in her family ; and to have continued after her husband's death the acknowledged head of it. Particulars concerning her will are mentioned in "Walks about Wakefield," 248 ; and reference is there made to the fact that Edmund her eldest son did not succeed to the estate. He was in the church, and the inscription on his monument at St. Peter's, York, states, as will be seen below, that he gave up his inheritance to his brother Richard.

Baptised 1539. EDMUND BVNNY their (1) [Richard & Bridget's] sonne borne the XV^o of March A^o 1539 in ye place above sayd [that is Bunny hall].

The inscription above referred to, which is in Latin, says Edmund was a bachelor in theology, was formerly fellow of Merton College, Oxford ; was pastor of the parish of Bolton Percy, prebendary of the Churches of St. Paul, London, St. Peter's, York, and St. Mary's, Carlisle ; a frequent preacher both in town and country ; and spent many years in this work, having for the love he bore to Christ given up his paternal inheritance to his younger brother Richard. He died 6th Feb., 1611. With his effigies also appeared lines now almost obliterated—saying he was of a celebrated family, but not proud of his extraction ; heir to his father,

but not richer for his inheritance; of gravity becoming his age, and of resolute spirit, zealous of his writings, able in the pulpit, and of uprightness of conduct. He gave his sacred vessels and his books to the church, and the rest of his goods to the poor, and himself to God. Before seeing this inscription I could not explain how it was that the younger brother Richard should succeed to Newland on their father's death; but, as will be seen, the eldest born, Edmund, is here credited with disinterestedly giving up the estate to Richard.

Bap. 1541. RICHARD BVNNY their (2) [Richard and Bridget's] sonne borne the X of February at Bvnnny hall juxta Wakefield.

He was owner of Newland from 1584 to his death in May, 1608, his brother Edmund having, as just noticed, given the estate up to him. In 1580 he married Anne, daughter to Francis Ingpen, of Galaker, in Hampshire, and had ten children by her, of whom Richard, the eldest, born 1581, was "slayne in Ireland warres," 1599. Francis, the second son, born at Durham, 1582, succeeded to Newland.

Bap. 1543. FRAUNCIS BVNNY their (3) [Richard & Bridget's] sonne borne the viij^o of Maye hee married M^{rs} Jane Preestley 1572 he had one daughter & 4 sonnes all dyed without issue.

He was baptised at Normanton 8th Oct., 1543, and was married 28th April, 1572. In 1603 he was a clerk in orders at Ryton, in Durham, and was afterwards Prebendary of Durham. In "Miscellanea Genealogica et Heraldica," Vol. 2, p. 135 (where he is erroneously stated to be second son, whereas he was third son), he is described also as Archdeacon of Northumberland, and as having purchased the manor of Newsham, county Durham, 1591, and as having left only a daughter who married and had issue. She was wife to Wm. Fenay, and is afterwards mentioned. The Normanton Register, as just seen, is a little ambiguous as to the deaths of all his children without issue. It may only mean that all the *sons* died issueless; not that all the children died so.

Mortie 1547 } EDWARD RESTWOULD above said
Edward the VI^o } dyed at Newland the 24 of Jully & lyeth
queene Mary } in the lady quier at Normantone.

The brass placed upon his tombstone at Normanton by his daughter Bridget Bunny, bears the inscription before-mentioned, relating to him and Richard Bunny, his son-in-law, who died 1584. It is thereon said that he had set out for this part to see his kinsfolk, and had died "Ultimo cal. Junii, 1547." The brass also states that he had by Agnes Cheney, of Draiton, in Buckinghamshire, nine children; and his three sons, Thomas, John, and Anthony (the latter having spent more of his inheritance than his share), having died without issue, he gave his six daughters and heiresses in wedlock—Elizabeth, to John Titlow, of Peri, in Norfolk; Bridget, to said Richard Bunny; Margaret, to Thomas Grenehalgh, of Tevershoulth, in Nottinghamshire; Beatrice, to Thomas Waterton,

of Walton, Esq.; Jane, to Francis Hastings, of Fenwick, Knight; and Catherine, to John Fitzherbert, of Padley, in Derbyshire, Esq. Margaret married, secondly, Alexander Banister, of Epworth, in Lincolnshire, Esq.; thirdly, Nicholas Bunny, of Newton, Gentleman; and Jane married, secondly, Robert Lee, of Quarenden, in Buckinghamshire, Esq. The last of the Kalends of June would be 16th of May. The parish register, however, agrees neither with the Bunny compilation nor the brass, for the entry there is—

“1547 Junii 30 Sepult Edward
Restwoud Armiger de Newland.”

If *Junii* on the brass be a mistake for July, the last of the Kalends of July would be 14th June, which would agree better with the most likely date, namely, that of the burial—30 June.

Nuptie 1580. } RICHARD BVNNY sonne to Rich^d Bvnnny
Rich^d Bunny } & Bridgitte his Wife and Anne Inckpenne
the daughter of Frauncis Inckpenn of Gallyker in
Hampsheire Esquier Eliz xxij^o Jun. 25, 1580. They
had 10 childñ.

The Richard who succeeded to Newland in place of his elder brother Edmund, as before-mentioned. He held courts as Lord of the Manor from Oct., 1586 to his death in May, 1608. The contraction of Richard here and elsewhere looks as much like Rich^r as Rich^d.

Bap. 1581. RICHARD BVNNY borne at Newland the 3 of Aprill.

First son to Richard and Anne. He was baptised at Normanton 7th May, 1581, as son of “Richard Bvnnny, of Newland, the Younger.” He was slain in Ireland, 1599.

Bap. 1582. FRAUNCIS BVNNY of Newland borne at Durha’ the 13th of Jully. Eliz. 24.

Second son to Richard and Anne. He married, 1608, Mary Cartwright. He succeeded to Newland after his father’s death in 1608; but from 1608 to 1612 William Cartwright, Esq., his wife’s father, was Lord of the Manor of Newland, “Firmarii de Newland,” perhaps as trustee, Francis’s mother, who married (secondly) George Rokeby, of Over Cudworth, being beneficial owner of the estate until August, 1613, when she and her husband granted it to Francis, but reserved 50*l.* a year out of it. The first Manor Court in Francis’s name was held in Sept., 1613, and in April, 1659, the last. He lived in eventful times; supported the cause of Charles I., and is named among the Royalists who compounded for their estates, his delinquency being “that he lived in the enemies quarters and collected assessments and moneys for maintenance of the forces raised against the Parliament,” &c. It was found that he was “seized in fee to him and his heirs in possession of and in one capitall house or messuage lying and being in Newland and Altofts in the parish of Normanton p. an £40;” and “a personal Estate to t value £100—indebted £120—fine £90—16 April 1646.” F e was

therefore not large as these particulars show.⁷ He and his son "Edmond," with others, were summoned before the Standing Committee of the West Riding in August following to give testimony on the information of "Francis Nevell," Esq., against others. He seems to have been a good man of business, and to have looked after his manorial rights. At the heading of the first existing book of Court Rolls is the statement in his handwriting that it was "Copied oute by my apoyntment to save the searchinge of the ould Rowles at Newland by me Fra. Bunny: 13... 1655;" and we frequently find his writing upon the papers. He died Nov., 1669.

Bap 1583. DOROTHY BVNNY born at Gallyker August the 25 A° 1583. Eliz 25.

Daughter to Richard and Anne. She was married to Thomas Heath, Nov., 1600.

Mortie 1584. } RICHARD BVNNY the Grandfather Esquier
Sonne to } dyed at Boulton Perssye XXX of Aprill A°
Rich^d & Rosse. } 1584 and brought to Normanton Church
buried in the Ladye Quier their, his age...XX°...Eliz.

Son to Richard and Rose; husband of Bridget. The brass upon his and Edward Restwould's tombstone is mentioned before. He was about 70 years old, and was buried at Normanton, 1st May, 1584. He seems to have been on a visit to his son Edmund, the pastor at Bolton Percy, when he died.

Bap. 1585. RAPFFE BVNNY borne at Newland August 6. (4)

Son to Richard and Anne (fourth child). He was baptised at Norman-
ton, 10th Aug., 1585. He died Oct., 1603.

Bap. 1586. GEORGE BVNNY borne at New. August 14. (5)

Baptised at Normanton according to the parish register, 17th Aug.;
fifth child to Richard and Anne.

Bap. 1587. ELIZ BVNNY borne at New. Decemb^r 20. (6)

Baptized at Normanton 28th Dec.; sixth child to Richard and Anne;
died Oct., 1605.

Bap. 1588. RESTWOULD BVNNY borne at New. January 16. (7)

He was seventh child to Richard and Anne; was baptised at Nor-
manton, 26th Jan., 1588.

Bap. 1590. MARYE BVNNY borne at New. July 18. (8)

Richard and Anne's eighth child was baptized 28th July, at Norman-
ton; was married 12th Feb., 1609 to Mr. George Wortley, of Normanton,

⁷ Royal Commission Papers, vol. v. MS., extracted by Mr. James J. Cartwright.

youngest son of Francis Wortley, Esq., of Wortley. *See* Hunter, S. Y. Vol. 2, p. 316.

Bap. 1592. **PRECILLA BVNNY** borne at New. Decemb^r 27. (9)

Ninth child to Richard and Anne. The year 1592 ought to be 1591, for the Normanton parish register says she was baptised 3rd Jan. 1591, at which date the child would be seven days old. It is said in "Mis. Gen. et Her.," Vol. 2, p. 135, that she was married to Charles Hall, of Leventhorpe, in Swillington.

Bap. 1592. **HEN. BVNNY** borne at New. February 24. (10)

Tenth child to Richard and Anne, baptised at Normanton, 4th March, 1592.

Nuptie 1600. **DOROTHYE BVNNY** the daughter of Richard Bvnnny of Newland Gent. and Anne his Wife maryed Thomas Heath the sonne of John Heath of Keep in the Bishoprick of Durham Esquier Novemb^r 12 at Normanton Church.

She was born 15th Aug. 1583, as above stated. In the inventory of Bridget Bunny's (Dorothy's grandmother's) effects, goods are mentioned as in "Mr. Heath's Chawmbr," at Newland.

Mortie 1599. **Richard Bvnnny** sonn to Rich^d & Anne Slayne in Ireland warres.

This entry appears to have been made at a date some time subsequent to the date of the death. It is out of order of date.

Mortie 1602. **M^{rs} BRIDGITT BVNNY** widdow dyed at Newland XXI^o of Decemb^r Eliz. 45 of hir raigne about the age of LXXXVII, buryed in the Lady quire at Normanton.

She was the Bridget Restwould before mentioned; wife of, and joint holder of Newland with, Richard Bunny, who died in 1584.

Morti 1603 } **RAFFE BVNNY** one of the sonnes of Rich^d
1st yeare of } Bvnnny of New. & Anne his Wife dyed at
king James } Rothwell Octob^r 12 Jacobij 1 yeare.

Morti 1605. **ELIZ. BVNNY** one of the daught^{rs} of Rich. Bvnnny of Newland & Anne his wife buryed the XI.^o of October in the Lady quier at Normanton.

Morti 1608. **RICHARD BVNNY** the sonne of Richard Bvnnny & Bridgitt his Wife buryed in the Lady quier at Nor. the second of May A^o 1608, his age about LXVI.^o

See his baptism in 1541.

Nupti 1608. **FRAUNCIS BVNNY** the sonne of Richard Bvnnny & Anne his Wife maryed the XIII of September in the VI yeare of King James raigne to Marye Cartwright the daughter of W^m Cartwright of Newhall juxta Midleton Gent.

See an account of Francis Bunny under date of his baptism, 1582. He had nine children baptised according to the Bunny register—five girls and four boys. Edmund, his youngest son, succeeded to Newland, having survived his three brothers.

Nuptie 1609. **MARYE BVNNY** the daughter of Richard Bvnnny of Newland & Anne his Wife, maryed the XII^o of February to Mr. George Wortley of Normanton the youngest sonne of Frauncis Wortley of Wortley Esquier.

On the 14th Aug. 1631, Raffe, son of George Wortley, of Altofts, Gent., was baptised at Normanton on 26 of Aug^t 1667. "Mr Wortley of Altofts" was buried at Normanton.

Bap. 1609. **ELIZ. BVNNY** the daughter of Fra. Bvnnny of Newland & Mary his wife Decemb^r 24. borne a. New.

Bap. 1610. **MARGERY BVNNY** the daught^r of y^e sayd Fra. & Marye borne at Newland the III^o of Februarye—died 1612.

Bapti 1612. **RICHARD BUNNY** the sonn of Frauncis Bunny of Newland gent. the VIII of October.

Eldest son ; died in father's lifetime, namely, in 1628.

Morti 1612. **MARGERIE BUNNY** the daughter of Frauncis Bunny of Newland the 12 of November.

Baptised 1610.

Bapti 1614. **FRAUNCIS BUNNY** the daughter of Frauncis Bunny of Newland & Marye his Wife the 12 of September.

Died 1623.

Bapti 1615. **HENRYE BUNNY** the sonne of the said Frauncis and Marye his wife b. the 2 of Januarye.

Second son ; died 1627.

Borne 1617. **WILL^M BUNNY** the 3rd Sonne of Frauncis

Bunny & Marie his Wife was borne at Newland the first day of June A° dni....

He was third son. I do not find an entry of his burial in the register; but he must have died in his father's lifetime.

[borne] 1618. EDMUND BUNNY borne at Yorke Sept. 20.

I presume he was the Edmund, fourth and youngest son to Francis and Mary, who died October, 1691, father to the Edmund who sold Newland to John Silvester. Some account of him has already been given, and referred to in the introduction to this register. He married thrice, first in 1652 to Theodosia Molyneux, daughter to Sir Francis Molyneux, of Teversall, Notts, Bart., who died in 1654, and was buried at Normanton; secondly, in 1657, to Elizabeth Palmer, daughter of Wm. Palmer, of Southwell, in Notts, Esq., who died in 1658, and was also buried at Normanton; and thirdly, in 1664, to Mary Bosville, daughter to William Bosville, of Gunthwaite, Esq., who survived him. He had by his first wife only one child, a daughter, who died young; by his second wife no child; by the third he appears to have had ten children, of whom five, two sons and three daughters, survived him. In three years after his death Newland was sold by Edmund, his heir, to Mr. John Silvester. In 1666 the pedigree of Bunny of Newland was entered at Dugdale's Visitation, and the arms were given as quarterly of 9—1, Bunny; 2, Haselden; 3, Restwold, per Saltire gu. and er.; 4, Restwold, ar. 3 bendlets, Sa.; 5, De la Vache—6 Sa., 3 lions ramp., ar.; 7, De Boyville, gu., a fess or, between 3 Saltires ar.; 8, Murdac, ar., 3 bendlets gu.; 9, Rykeden (?) ar. in bend, 3 boars' heads coupé sa., Cottised potent, Counterpotent of the last. The names of the bearers of the above arms I copy from 2 "Miscellanea Gen. et. Her.," p. 135.

Morti 1623. FRANCIS BUNNY the daughter of Francis Bounny of Newland Gent. 17 of February.

She was baptised 1614.

[Bap.] 1625. MARIE BUNNYE daughter of Francis Bunnyo was baptised the laste day of July 1625.

She died May, 1651.

Baptised Decemb. } JANE BUNNY the daughter of Francis
14° 1627. } Bunny of Newland Gentlem.

Buried 5 March } HENRY BUÑY Sone of Frācis Buñy of
1627. } Newland Gentlem.

He was second son, and was baptised 1615.

Buried 9 Jan. } RICHARD BUÑY Sone of Francis Bunny of
1628 } Newland Gentlem.

He was eldest son; was baptised 1612, and if he had lived to his father's death would have been heir to Newland.

Buried the 24 day }
of April [1647] } MRS. CARTWRIGHT of Newland.

Probably mother to Mary, wife to Francis Bunny. On 14th Feb. 1637, "Elizabeth, daughter of John Cartwright, of Noland," was baptised at Normanton.

Buried 6 day of } MARY BUNNY daughter of M^{ter} Bonny of
May [1651] } Nuland.

She was baptized 1625.

This ends the special Bunny register so far as the Newland Bunnys are concerned. Those of the Durham family are to come ; but I here add the following entries from the Normanton and Peniston parish registers to finish with the Newland people before copying the entries relative to the Durham branch.

1. From Normanton Register :—

1654 May 7. THEODOTIA BONNY wife of Mt^r Edmond Bunny of Newland.

Before marriage Theodosia Molyneux, first wife.

1658 Aug. 8. MRS. ELIZABETH BUNNY of Newland buried.

Elizabeth Palmer, second wife to Edmund Bunny.

1665 Aug. 24. RICHARD BONNY the Son of Mt^r Edmond Bonny and Mary his wife of Newland, baptized

1665 Sep. 17. RICHARD Son of Mt^r Boonny buried.

1666 July 28. MARY an infant daughter of Mt^r Edmond Boonny Newland buried.

Mr. Bunny had another daughter, Mary, who died 1679.

1666 Jan. 16. EDMOND Son of Mt^r Edmond Bonny and Mary his wife of Newland, baptized.

Second and eldest surviving son. The Edmond who sold Newland to John Silvester in 1694. As already stated he went to live at or near Penistone, and was buried at Penistone Church, 11th Jan. 1738, as "Edm^d Bunny, Gentⁿ." He appears to have married, for in the Penistone Register is this entry of burial in 1724, "Rachel ux. Edmund Bunny, Jan. 15." I do not find any entry relating to his marriage, nor relating to any child of his. Newland was apparently the only estate the Bunnys had at the time of the sale in 1694. The purchase money was £5,421 ; but about £2,500 was owing for debts contracted by Edmund, the father, leaving only

£2,934 13s. 0d. for the heir and his mother, his surviving brother Molyneux, and their three sisters ; and it was thus divided :—

	£	s.	d.
The mother . .	1,000	0	0
Molyneux . . .	200	0	0
Elizabeth . . .	200	0	0
Margaret . . .	100	0	0
Dorothy . . .	80	0	0
Balance to Edmund the heir .	1,354	13	0
	<hr/>		
	£2,934	13	0

The daughters Elizabeth and Margaret I have not found entered either in the Bunny or the Normanton Register, but they are named as receiving their portions as above. Elizabeth was married to Rev^d William Herbert, who became Vicar of Normanton, and he and his wife released their claim on Newland on 20 Feb. 1694-5. I add extracts from the parish Registers relating to both husband and wife and their children in and after 1695. Margaret received her share on 20 Nov. 1701, when she was described as of Normanton, a spinster, and as one of the younger daughters of Edmund Bunny, late of Newland, Esquire, deceased.

1668 Janry. 17. ANN daughter of Edmond. [torn—? Bunny].

This very likely is what remains of the entry of Ann Bunny's baptism. Ann, daughter of Mr. Edmund Bunny, was buried at Normanton in 1677.

1669 Nov. 20. FRANCIS BONNY Gent. of Newland buried.

Francis, who married Mary Cartwright. See an account of him under date of his baptism, 1582.

1671 July 21. BOSSEVILLE BONNY Son of M^r Edmond Bonny of Newland baptised.

1673 June 3. THEADOTIA BONNY daughter of M^r Edmond Bounny of Newland buried.

Daughter, I presume, of Edmund and his first wife Theodotia ?

1674 July 1. MOLANAX sonne of M^r Boony of Newland bap.

He seems to have gone
Gunthwaite with the f

to live at or near
bered,

was Mary Bosville, and who died at Newland shortly after the sale of the property by her son. Molyneux appears to have been a soldier. He was buried at Penistone Church on 8th May, 1749, there being in the Register at that date the name "Molineux Bunny" amongst the burials. Against the east wall of the chancel in the graveyard is a headstone inscribed :—

"Here lieth Molyneaux
Bunny who served with
Reputation in the Armies
of King William and
Queen Ann and was a
Gentleman born. He
died on the 6th day of
May Anno Dom. 1749."

Molyneux appears to have been the last male of his own branch of his family. The statement on his gravestone that he was "a gentleman *born*," implies that his social position (doubtless from want of money) had become lower; and he had probably not attained to a great rank in the army, if to any. He was about 75 years old at his death.

1675 June 27. PALMER Son of Mt^r Edmond Bonny of Newland baptised.

1675 July 23. PAMMER Son of Mt^r Edmond Bonny of Newland buried.

1677 May. ANN daughter of Mr. Edmund Bvnnny. . . .

The Register is defective at and about this date, but this entry is amongst the burials. Some entries are quite lost.

1679 July 12. Mary daughter of Mt^r Edmond Buney of Newland buried in woollen.

1681 June 11. Dorathe daughter of M^r Edmond Bunney of Newland bap.

She being only thirteen at the sale of Newland, and did not receive her portion of £80 out of the estate till March, 1703, when it was paid to her by Mr. John Silvester.

? Elizabeth

and

? Margaret

Two other daughters of Edmund Bunny bore these names, but, as already stated, I have not found in the Register any entry of baptism or burial of either of them. I have mentioned them beneath the copy of baptismal entry relating to Edmund, the son, in 1666.

1691 Oct. 6. EDMOND BUNNEY Esq. of Nuland buried,

Edmund, the father, husband to Mary Bosville. An account of him is

given in the introduction and under the entry of his birth in 1618. He made his will 3 March, 1689 (proved at Newland Court, 4th March, 1691), directing his burial to be in the church of Normanton "amongst his ancestors in the quire in which he had a joint share;" stating that his wife at the request and persuasion of himself and others of his relations had resigned a great part of her jointure, whereby he was better enabled to raise money and settle lands for payment of his debts, and being desirous of making her some amends for her kindness, he gave her all his household goods, &c., she paying £15, more or less, owing to Mrs. Murfitt, of York, for his daughter Elizabeth's board. Wife executrix.

1694 Feb. 12. MISTRESS MARY BUNNY of Nuland buried.

Widow of the above Edmund; Mary Bosvile before marriage. Mr. John Silvester was owner of Newland at her death. The conveyance to him bears date 14th and 15th May, 1694; Mrs. Bunny's release of her right in consideration of £1000 is dated 18th of May, 1694, and Mr. John Silvester's first manorial court was held 16th July, 1694, all the dates being old style.

As before mentioned, Elizabeth, daughter of the above Edmund and Mary, was wife to William Herbert. Mr. Herbert was vicar of Normanton from about the year 1688 to about 1727. Richard Hill was vicar and signs the Registers down to 1687. In 1689 Mr. Herbert signed as vicar and continued to do this until 1722. I do not find an entry of his burial, but at Newland Manor Court, 4 Oct. 1727, it is presented that William Herbert had died since the last Court [held Oct. 1726] seised of lands in Normanton. A new handwriting begins in the Register in 1729, and in that year Benjamin Wilson's signature occurs as that of the vicar. The following entries are in the Normanton Register.

1695 May 8. W^x y Son of Mr. W^m HERBERT of Normanton & Elizabeth his Wife, baptised.

1697 April 27. W^x Son of Mr. Herbert of Normanton, buried.

**1698 June 13 } HENRY EDMUND Son of Mr. W^m Herbert &
born } Elizth his Wife of Normanton.
July 1 bapt. }**

1699 Aug. 10. ROBERT Son of Mr. W^m Herbert and Elizabeth his wife of Normanton.

1701 Sep. 16. W^m Son of Mr. W^m Herbert and Eliz. his wife of Normanton baptised.

Buried 10th March, 1706.

1707 May 11, ELIZABETH daughter of M^r Herbert of Normanton baptised.

Buried 1707, May 24th.

1710 June 8. Another Elizabeth his daughter was baptised.

2. From the Peniston Parish Register :—

Nupti 1664. EDMUNDUS BUNNEY Gen. et Maria Bosville Nov. 15.

The afore-named Edmund and Mary.

Sepult 1724. RACHEL ux Edmund Bunny Jan. 15.

Buried 1738. EDM^d BUNNY (Gentn.) Janry 11th.

Buried 1749. MOLINEUX BUNNY May 8th.

The Molyneux before mentioned.

Entries relating to the Durham Bunnys in the Normanton Book. As before stated these come first in the Compilation.

Nuptie 1572. FRAUNCIS BVNNY the thyrd Sonne of Richard Bvnnny of Newland & Bridgitt his wyfe did mary Jane Preestley the 28 of April A^o 1572, Eliz. XIII^o. Shee was about the age of XIX^o in September the XXX^o. A^o. 1572. They had one daught^r & 4 sonnes All dyed w^{thout} issue viz—

Bap. 1578. ELIZ. BVNNY borne at Durham the 16 of June—mortis.

This may mean dead at or after the time of compilation of the Register. The word may have been added after the death. She was married to William Feunay, 1595; died 25th or 26th April, 1608; was buried at All Saints' Pavement, York, in which city she died.

Bap. 1582. JOHN BVNNY bo^r at Durha. the 15 of October. mortis.

Bap. 1584. FRAUNCIS BVNNY bor at Ryton the 15 Novembr.
mortis.

Bap. 1585. HENRY BVNNY bor at Ryton the 16 of January.
mortis.

Mortie 1588. The sayd JOHN BVNNY dyed at Ryton the
15 of Octob^r 1588.

Mortie 1588. The sayd HEN. BVNNY dyed at Ryton Sep-
temb^r 1588.

Bap. 1589. MATTHEW BVNNY bo^r at Ryton viii of February.

Mortie 1591. The sayd Matthew Bvnnny dyed at Ryton Vth
of October.

Nuptie 1595. ELIZ. BVNNY aforesayd maryed W^m Fenay of
Fennay.

Uptie 1606. FRAUNCIS BVNNY the sonne aforesaid of New-
same did marrye Marye Wortley the daughter of John
Wortley Gen. Sr Rich^d Wortley brother the xvii of
Novemb^r 1606 in the prishe of *Garro in Wyraksheir*?

I cannot make anything else of these words ; and instead of *k* in the
last word the letter may be *t*.

Mortie 1608. ELIZ. FENAY the wife of W^m Fenay of Fenay
gen. She dyed without Issue the 26 of Aprill at
Yorke 1608.

Mortie 1610. FRAUNCIS BVNNY the sonne afore sayd dyed
at Ryton without Issue the XXVth of February A^o
1610.

INSCRIPTIONS ON THE CHURCH BELLS OF THE EAST RIDING.*

Communicated by W. CONSITT BOULTER, F.S.A., of Hull

III. HARTHILL WAPENTAKE.

8. WILTON BEACON.

Allerthorpe (S. Botulph) 2.

1. (nil.)
2. + **A B C**

Barmby-moor (S. Catherine) 3.

- ISTA**
1. + **FAC TIBI BAPTISTA FIT**
[UT] ACCEPTABILIS
2. GLORIA DOE TRIBVENDA NON NOBIS 1598
3. VENITE EXVLTEMVS DOMINO AO DOM 1670
I O I W CHVRCH
WARDENS

Bishop Wilton (S. Edith) 3.

1. SOLI DEO GLORIA PAX HOMINIBVS 1649
M^r R D P H
2. GLORY TO GOD IN THE HIGHEST HALLELUIAH • DALTON FECIT YORK • 1791
W: METCALFE VICAR. THO: WILLIAMSON. THO: DICKSON CHURCH WARDENS
THO: SANDERSON CLERK.
3. GLORIA IN EXCELSIS DEO 1687
Ebor

Burnby (S. Giles) 2.

1. (nil.)
2. + **CAMPANA SANCTI ESIDII**

Catton, Low (All Saints) 3.

1. GLORIA IN ALTISSIMIS DEO 1681
I: HORSLEY I: BOLDERSTON CHVRCH S.S.
WARDENS Ebor.
2. POPULUM VOCO FESTA DECORO 1742 WIL. STOR CURATE WIL. WILSON CHURCH V. E.
JOH. QUARTON WARDENS Seller
Ebor.
3. VOS JUBILATE DEO 1719
WIL. WILSON CHURCH E. Seller
HEN. LOSTHOUSE WARDENS Ebor.

Fangfoss () 2.

1. IESVS BE OVR SPEED 1628
2. x G A

* Continued from vol. ii., p. 225.

INSCRIPTIONS ON THE CHURCH BELLS OF THE EAST RIDING. 27

Givendale, Great () 2.
(in West gable, nil.)

Huggate (S. Mary, anciently All Saints) 2

1. BE MERCIFULL TO ME O GOD
DALTON OF YORK FECIT 1791
2. VENITE EXVLTEMVS DOMINO A^{no} D^{om} 1665
CAROLI 2 REGIS 17
S S

Millington () 2

1. + THOMAS DEL WALD ME
[FECIT]
2. x Sca Margareta Orao Pro Nobis

Nunburnholme (S. James, anciently All Hallows) 2.

1. (nil.)
2. DEO GLORIA 1717 THO. HARTER
E. Sellar WARDEN
Ebor

Pocklington (All Saints) 5.

1. TE DEVM LAVDAMVS THO LOVETT VICAR
R WALKER I GANTHAM CH WARDENS 1754 DALTON
YORK
2. VOCO VENI PRECARE 1712 IO. LOWE VIC. I. MANBY CHVRCH
G. HAITSON WARDENS
S.S.
Ebor.
3. GLORIA IN¹ ALTISSIMIS DEO 1739 WILL. CHAMBERS CHVRCH
THO. LINTON WARDENS E.
Sellar,
Ebor.
4. SOLI DEO GLORIA PAX HOMINIBVS INET 1650 M P P B I L
S P 5
5. MEMENTO MORI IOSEPH LOWE VICAR GEO. OVEREND IOHN HORSLEY
[CHVRCH
WARDENS 1722 S.S.
Ebor.

Sutton-on-Derwent (S. Michael) 3.

1. AN NO D 1593
2. IESVS BE OVR SPEED 1637
3. THOMAS MEARS FOUNDER LONDON 1842

Thornton (S. Michael) 2.

1. 1767
2. SANCTE MICHAEL ORA
[PRO NOB

Wilberfoss (S. John Baptist) 3.

1. GLORIA IN ALTISSIMIS DEO 1759
2. DALTON OF YORK FECIT 1790
3. GLORIA IN ALTISSIMIS DEO 1667
W. D W. L CHVRCH
WARDENS
1 "N" reversed.

28 INSCRIPTIONS ON THE CHURCH BELLS OF THE EAST RIDING.

Yapham (S. Martin) 2.

1. 1766

2. + **MARTINUS**

4. HOLME BEACON AND HOWDENSHERE.

Aughton (All Souls, anciently All Hallows) 2.

1. SOLI DEO GLORIA PAX HOMINIBUS

JAMES COOKSON VICAR DALTON

GEORGE YOUNG } { CHURCH FOUNDER
JOSEPH HATFIELD } { WARDENS YORK.

1781

2. GLOBIA IN ALTISSIMIS DEO 1672

H: H CHVRCH
WARDEN

Barnby-marsh (S. Helen) 2.

1. T. MEARS OF LONDON FECIT 1813

2. WIL: BROWN RIC: BYLER ROB: LEAPER RO: YNDERWOOD NAT: BROWN

1726 ^{ss}
Ebor

Beilby (S. Giles) 2.

1. SOLI DEO GLORIA 1638

2. + **THOMAS DE WALD ME**
[FECIT MARTINI]

Blacktoft (S. Clement) 3.

1. G. MEARS & CO., FOUNDERS, LONDON, 1862.

2. + **IN HONORE B^e Marie**

3. + **IHSVS BE OVR SPEDE**
[b + s 1590]

Bubwith (All Saints) 3.

1, 2. PACK & CHAPMAN OF LONDON FECERUNT 1779

3. PACK & CHAPMAN OF LONDON FECIT 1779 PEACE AND GOOD NEIGH-
[BOURHOOD]

Cottingham, East () 2.

1. + **THOMAS DEL WALD ME**
[FECIT]

2. + **THOMAS DEL WALD ME**
[FECIT]

Eastrington (S. Michael) 3.

1. POPULUM VOCO DEUM LAUDARE 1718

ROBERT CHURCH E. SELLER
BRYTH WARDEN Ebor

2 SOLI DEO GLORIA PAX HOMINIBVS 1663

3. + **Sun Rosa Pulfata Mundi Maria Vocata**

INSCRIPTIONS ON THE CHURCH BELLS OF THE EAST RIDING. 29

Ellerton (S. Mary) 2.

[In bell-gable at west end; inaccessible, but apparently modern.]

Everingham (S. Emeldis, anciently S. Everilda) 3.

1, 3. GLORIA IN EXCELSIS² DEO ihc

MARIA

2 + SVM ROSA PVLSATATA
[MVDI MARIA BEATA
IHONES' VALD FECIT

Goodmanham (All Saints) 3

1. (illegible.)

2. + s + s

3. VENITE EXVLTEMVS DOMINO ROBERT CLARKE PARSON 1663
S A R T S S

Hayton (S. Martin) 3.

1. + Scē iohes ora nobis

2. + Abt Gracia Plē na Dominus Tecbm

3. + Abt Gracia Plena Dominus Tecbm

Holme-on-Spalding-moor (All Saints) 3.

1. + SOLI DEO GLORIA

1640 FB EB NA RM CHVRCH
WARDENS

2. 1825

3. NISI CRISTVS NEMO ANNO DNI 1602⁴

Howden (S. Peter) 8.

1, 4, 8. THIS BELL RECAST BY J. TAYLOR & CO LOUGHBROUGH 1869

WILLIAM HUTCHINSON VICAR FRANCIS JOHN MAW } CHURCHWARDENS
JOHN SAVILLE }

2. IF YOU HAVE A JUDICIOUS EAR YOU'LL OWN MY VOICE IS SWEET & CLEAR
PACK & CHAPMAN OF LONDON FECIT 1775

3. SUCH WONDROUS POW'R TO MUSICK'S GIVEN IT ELEVATES THE SOUL TO
PACK & CHAPMAN OF LONDON FECIT 1775 [HEAVEN

5. PEACE & GOOD NEIGHBOURHOOD PACK & CHAPMAN OF LONDON FECIT
[1775

6. YE RINGERS ALL THAT PRIZE YOUR HEALTH & HAPPINESS BE SOBER
[MERRY WISE & YOU'LL THE SAME POSSESS
PACK & CHAPMAN OF LONDON FECIT 1775

² "s" reversed

³ "N" in Ihones reversed.

⁴ "2" in 1602 reversed.

30 INSCRIPTIONS ON THE CHURCH BELLS OF THE EAST RIDING.

7. IN WEDLOCK BANDS ALL YE WHO JOIN WITH HANDS YOUR HEARTS UNITE
[SO SHALL OUR TUNEFULL TONGUES COMBINE, TO LAUD THE NUTTIAL RITE
PACK & CHAPMAN OF LONDON FECIT 1774

(scholar-bell, unhung) + **THOMAS^s DE WALD
[ME FECIT**

Laxton () 1.

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO 1756 CHR BAYLES ^E
seller
Ebor

Londesborough (All Saints) 3.

- 1, 2. JAMES HARRISON, OF BARTON-UPON-HUMBER, FOUNDER, 1833

3. JAMES HARRISON, FOUNDER. THE HON. REV. W. G. HOWARD, RECTOR
CHARLES FENTON & ROBERT WREGHITT, CHURCH-WARDENS, 1833

Market Weighton (All Saints) 6.

1. TE DEUM LAUDAMUS
DALTON YORK FECIT 1783
2. BONUM EST CELEBRARE IEHOVAH
DALTON FECIT YORK 1783
3. VOCAMUS VENITE VIGILATE ORATE
DALTON YORK FECIT 1783.
4. IN IUCUNDITATE SONI SONABO TIBI DOMINE
DALTON YORK FECIT 1783
5. LAUS HONOR DEO ET GLORIA IN EXCELSIS HALLELUIAH
DALTON FECIT YORK 1783
6. SOLI DEO GLORIA PAX HOMINIBUS
GEO. SKELDING VICAR W. BRIGHTON W. VAWSER C: H: WARDENS 1783

Seaton-Ross (S. Edmund) 1.

SOLI DEO GLORIA PAX HOMINIBUS 1650
T T s^r 5

Shipton () 2.

1. GLORIA IN⁶ ALTISSIMIS DEO 1730 ^{E. seller}
Ebor
2. + **S^hnt ^Te ^Mari ^A ^O ^Ra ^Prono ^Bic⁷**

Wressle (S. John of Beverley) 2.

1. VENITE EXVLTEMVS DOMINO 1681
^{s.s.}
Ebor
2. GLORIA IN ALTISSIMIS DEO 1681
^{s s}
Ebor

IV. OUSE AND DERWENT WAPENTAKE.

Barlby () 1.

VENITE EXVLTEMVS DOMINO 1704
^{s.s.}
Ebor.

⁵ "s" reversed.

⁶ "n" reversed.

⁷ Every letter of this inscription is separately reversed.

INSCRIPTIONS ON THE CHURCH BELLS OF THE EAST RIDING. 31

Dunnington (S. Nicholas) 3.

1. GOD SAVE THE KING 1639
IN WH
2. GLORIA IN ALTISSIMIS DEO 1700
T. LOTHRISTON CHVRCH WARDEN^s E.S. Ebor.
3. [. . . . defaced] CURATE ION. BELL CHURCH DEO GLORIA 1727
ION. PRESTON WARDEN

Elvington (Holy Trinity). 2.

1. + THOMAS^s DE WALD ME
[FECIT]
2. (nil.)

Escrick (S. Helen) 5.

- 1, 3. J. WARNER & SONS CRESCENT FOUNDRY LONDON 1857
PATENT
2. CAST BY JOHN. WARNER & SONS LONDON 1857
PATENT
4. JOHN WARNER & SONS CRESCENT FOUNDRY LONDON 1857
PATENT
5. CAST BY JOHN WARNER & SONS CRESCENT FOUNDRY LONDON 1857
PATENT

Fulford (S. Oswald) 1.

WILLIAM BLEWS AND SONS
[BIRMINGHAM 1869]

(Old church, 1, nil.)

Hemingbrough (S. Mary) 5.

1. INVOCO⁹ DEUM 1730 E. Sellar Ebor
2. TE DEUM LAUDAMUS 1730 E. Sellar Ebor
3. SOLI DEO GLORIA 1730 E. Sellar Ebor
4. GLORIA IN⁹ ALTISSIMIS DEO 1730 E. Sellar Ebor.
5. CUM SONEM MEMENTO MORI 1730 MARMAD. TEASDALE VICAR IOⁿ BARRET
[IO^s BUTLER NA¹⁰ ANDREWS IOⁿ SIMPSON CHURCH WARDEN^s
E. Sellar Ebor

Heslington (SS. Peter and Paul) 2.

1. + CAMPANA BEATE MARIE
2. + CAMPANA SANCTI PAULI

Naburn (S. Nicholas) 3.

1. 1849
2. VOVO VENI PRECARE 1709
E.S. Ebor.
3. C. & G MEARS FOUNDERS LONDON 1854

^s "S" reversed. ⁹ "N" in these words reversed.
¹⁰ "N" in sonem, memento, and Na reversed.

32 INSCRIPTIONS ON THE CHURCH BELLS OF THE EAST RIDING.

Riccall (S. Mary) 3.

1. CHA^a COWPER VICAR, RALPH WILKES & EDWD HARE CH WARDENS 1765
LESTER & PACK OF LONDON FECIT
2. (nil.)
3. IESVS BE OVR SPEED 1637

Skipwith (S. Helen) 3.

1. sanctus cuthbartus robartus talgor skppupth
2. GLORIA IN ALTISSIMIS DEO 1634 M F PAR SON
T O W M CHVRCH^s S.S. Ebor.
WARDEN^s
3. VT TVBA SIC SONITV DOMINI CONDVCO COHORTES 1700
I: LACKSON VIC: THO: WAIDE CHVRCH^s S.S. Ebor.
AR. MOVIS WARDEN^s

Stillingfleet (S. Helen) 3.

1. IESVS BE OVR SPEED 1626
2. GLORIA IN¹¹ ALTISSIMIS DEO 1747 ROB POTTER VICAR E. Scller Ebor.
3. DEO GLORIA PAX HOMINIBVS 1626

Thorganby (S. Helen) 3.

1. GLORIA IN¹¹ ALTISSIMIS DEO 1738 FRANC AINSLEY LD E. Scller Ebor.
JOHN BUTTON CURATE NEW. BROWN CHVRCH^s WARDEN^s
2. + CAMPANA SANCTE TRI-
[MPANIS EE OMNIUM
[SANCTORUM
3. BEATVS EST POPVLVS QVI EXAUDIENT CLANGOREM 1666
P B W F CHVRCH^s WARDEN^s C W MINISTER

Wheldrake (S. Helen) 3.

1. + EXVLTAO IN DEO 1640
R B T T CHVRCH^s WARDEN^s
2. TE DEVM LAVDAMVS 1676
S.S. Ebor.
3. GLORIA IN EXCELSIS DEO 1677
S.S. Ebor

¹¹ "N" reversed.

A MEMOIR OF FRANCIS DRAKE, OF YORK, F.S.A., F.R.S.
BORN 1696. DIED 1771.

By ROBERT DAVIES, F.S.A.

THE notices are few and scanty that have hitherto appeared of the personal history of Francis Drake, the author of "Eboracum, or the History and Antiquities of the City of York."¹

This well-known work, published nearly 140 years ago, placed its author in the first rank of topographical writers of the age in which he lived, and has since deservedly maintained a high reputation in the literary world. I am unacquainted with any printed memoir of Mr. Drake, besides the brief account of him in Hargrove's "History of York," and that contained in the General Biographical Dictionary, which is equally short, and consists chiefly of the slight notices of him to be found in Gough's "British Topography" and Nichols's "Literary Anecdotes."

Having collected some additional facts from various sources, I venture to present to the Yorkshire Archaeological and Topographical Association an enlarged biographical sketch of our venerable historian, which may, perhaps, be appropriately introduced among their proceedings.

He was descended from a Yorkshire family of ancient lineage, and of good property and position in the county. His great-grandfather was Nathan Drake,² of Godley, in the parish of Halifax, a gentleman volunteer in the army of King Charles I., and known as the author of the MS. account of the sieges of Pontefract, in the years 1644 and

¹ London, printed by William Bowyer, for the author, 1736, folio.

² Nathan Drake, of Godley, was the elder brother of Joseph Drake, from whom a large family of Drakes descended, many of them clergymen. To this branch

belonged Nathan Drake, vicar of Hefffield, rector of Kirkby Overblowers, and prebendary of Bilton in the church of York from 1703 to 1729; Joseph Drake, rector of Burleigh; and Dr. Drake, vicar of Rochdale.

1645, which was first partly printed in Boothroyd's History of that borough, and has since been published in its integrity by the Surtees Society, in one of their volumes of "Miscellaneous," under the careful supervision of Mr. W. H. D. Long staffe.

Nathan Drake's eldest son, Samuel Drake, after having graduated at the University of Cambridge, and obtained a fellowship of St. John's College, joined the royalist army and in acknowledgment of the assistance he had rendered to the king at the siege of Newark, was created D.D. by royal diploma. For their attachment to the royal cause, the father lost his estate of Godley, and the son was deprived of his fellowship. But, after the Restoration, Dr. Samuel Drake was rewarded for his loyalty by being presented to the vicarage of Pontefract and the rectory of Hansworth, in Hallamshire; and in September, 1670, he was collated to a stall in the collegiate church of Southwell. Nine years later he died, and was succeeded in the vicarage of Pontefract by his eldest son,³ the Reverend Francis Drake, who, in 1688, was collated to the prebendal stall of Warthill, in the cathedral church of York. He was twice married, and by his first wife, Hannah Paylin, daughter of a York merchant, had two sons, one of whom, John Drake, B.D., became the third Drake, vicar of Pontefract, and was afterwards prebendary of Holme archiepiscopi, in the cathedral church of York, and rector of Smeeton; and the other, a second Samuel Drake D.D., was rector of Treeton, in Hallamshire, and vicar of Holme-on-Spalding-Moor. The Reverend Francis Drake's second wife was Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of John Dickson, of Pontefract, and she was the mother of Francis Drake, the author of 'Eboracum.'

The subject of the present memoir was born at Pontefract in the year 1696.⁴ How or where he was educated is not upon record. In his early youth he chose medicine as his profession, and probably his father's connection with York by his first marriage induced him to apprentice the boy to Mr. Christopher Birbeck, a medical practitioner in that city whom Drake himself describes as "a very eminent surgeon and his instructor in that art." The death of his father

³ Dr. Samuel Drake had a younger son called Nathan, a clergyman, who was a prebendary of Southwell. He published a translation of Bishop Andrews's *Præces*

Private, in 1675.

⁴ "22 Jan. 1695-6. Franciscus filius Francisci Drake, vicarii." (*Register of baptisms at Pontefract.*)

took place in 1713,⁵ whilst he was serving his apprenticeship, and his master, Mr. Birbeck, died in 1717, when Drake had just attained his majority. The opening occasioned by the master's death might be an inducement to the pupil to commence the practice of his profession at York.

Mr. Drake had not been long in practice, when he added to his domestic comfort by marrying Mary Woodyeare, one of the daughters of George Woodyeare, esquire, of Crook-hill, near Doncaster, a gentleman of family and fortune, who was at one time secretary to Sir William Temple. He died in 1710, at the early age of fifty-four, and it seems probable that after his death his widow and family removed to York, where one of his sisters had settled, having become the wife of the Reverend John Bradley,⁶ a prebendary and canon residentiary of the cathedral.

The nuptials of Francis Drake and Mary Woodyeare were solemnised at York Minster on the 19th of April, 1720. Unfortunately, our historian's matrimonial happiness was not destined to be of long duration. His wife died in May, 1728, having borne him five sons, of whom three survived her. She was buried in the church of St. Michael-le-Belfrey, at York, and a monumental tablet to her memory was placed there with the following inscription :⁷—

Maii 18, 1728.
 Positæ juxta hanc columnam sunt exuvie
 Mariæ
 Francisci Drake, inelytæ huic civitati et perantiquæ
 Chirurgi
 Uxoris dilectissimæ ;
 Georgii Woodyeare de Crook-hill prope Duni-fluminis-castrum
 arm. Filiae.
 Si virginem, si conjugem, si matrem spectes,
 castam, innocuam, amantem, amabilem,
 Suorumque mirum in modum studiosam,
 diceres.
 Filiorum quinque parens, tres tantum reliquit
 Superstites.
 Ob. Anno ætatis tricesimo quinto
 Fœminæ maritus desideratissimæ
 Memorem hanc mœrens statuit
 Tabellam.

⁵ By his will, made several years before his death, the vicar of Pontefract devised his manor of Warthill and a house at Pontefract to his "dearly beloved son, Francis Drake."

⁶ 5 June, 1712. "Mr. John Bradley, Prebendary of the Prebend of South Newbald, and Mrs. Mary Woodyer." (*Register of Marriages in York Minster.*)

⁷ Eboracum, p. 243. Nichols's *Literary*

The premature loss of one who was endeared to him by so many attractive and estimable qualities, must have been a source of severe and permanent affliction to her bereaved husband. Although Mr. Drake survived his wife more than forty years, so faithfully did he cherish her memory, that he never married again. Before he became a widower, Mr. Drake had established himself in the estimation of his fellow-citizens as an able and successful practitioner of the art of medicine. In May, 1727, the corporation of York appointed him to be the city surgeon, an office of small emolument, but of considerable local importance. The favour thus shown to him by the municipal authorities very probably gave him the first impulse to become the historian of the ancient city in which he had pitched his tent.

The earliest intimation we have of Mr. Drake's having undertaken the arduous task of writing a history of the city of York, appears in the following letter addressed to Dr. Richard Richardson, of Bierley, a Yorkshire gentleman of literary tastes and of great eminence as a physician and a naturalist:—⁸

York, 22nd August, 1729.

DEAR SIR,

I some time since wrote to Dr. Stanhope about the loan of some books, or if he had them not, to desire you would be so good as to spare them to me. He sent me word that you was out of the country, and that he had not these books in possession. The books I want are *Leland's Itinerary*; and seeing your name as a subscriber to Mr. Hearne for his *Collectanea*, I imagined you would not miss the first. I am about a design to publish the Antiquities of this city; being incited thereto by a very valuable manuscript I have in my possession, wrote by Sir Thomas Widdrington, some time Recorder of this place. I know there are several collections in the books I mention, which would help my undertaking; and as you have been always an encourager of works of this nature, I doubt not but you will lend me them, or any els you think may advantage me. They shall be carefully look'd to, and as faithfully returned by, Sir,

Your most humble Servant,

FR. DRAKE.

Both the *Itinerary* and the *Collectanea* were in the library

Anecdotes, vol. iv., p. 179. The epitaph was written by Dr. Samuel Drake, the widower's half-brother. Upon the tablet is depicted a shield of armorial bearings: quarterly. 1 and 4, argent a wyvern gules. Drake. 2 and 3. Gules a cross charged with 5 ogresses between 4 eagles displayed or, Dickson: impaling, sable between 9 fleur de lis or 3 leopards' heads

proper, Woodyears.

⁸ Extracts from the literary and scientific correspondence of Richard Richardson, M.D., F.R.S., of Bierley, Yorkshire. 8vo, Yarmouth, 1835. Dr. Richardson's library was the nucleus of the noble collection formed at Eshton Hall by his descendant, the late Frances Mary Richardson Currer.

of the Dean and Chapter at York, and Mr. Drake had ready access to them there; but he was not allowed to remove them to his own house, and he was much disappointed when nearly three months had passed without his receiving an answer from Dr. Richardson. On the 18th of November he addressed a second letter to him:—

York, November 18th, 1729.

SIR,

I am sorry that neither the cause of antiquity, my own acquaintance with you, nor Sir John Kaye's mediation in this affair, can gain the favour of the perusal of *Leland* for a fortnight only; in which time I would certainly return it. But to stimulate more, I have here enclos'd you a scheme of my whole design, and doe assure you that I am thoroughly bent (*gratiâ Dei*) to pursue it. As I am inform'd, there is not much to my purpose to be met with in the *Itinerary*, and I can goe on without it; but it would be ill-judg'd in a General to leave the smallest fortress unsubdued in the course of his conquests, when it may prove a thorn in the end. I know the value of the books, and that, if lost, they are irretrievable; but, if you please, I will send a servant over on purpose, and give you my security for their safe return. Mr. Hearne, of Oxford, has been mov'd in this behalf; and a letter from you w'd certainly make him warm in it. If you w'd further oblige me in this, I shall ever own myself, Sir,

Your most devoted humble Serv't,

F. DRAKE.

In the meantime Mr. Drake attempted himself to move on his behalf the great Oxford antiquary by writing to him the following letter:—⁹

REVEREND SIR,

I presume upon no other acquaintance with you, than the seeing your name affixed to many excellent treatises in history and antiquity, to beg your advice and assistance in executing a design I have formed, which is giving the public the History and Antiquities of the truly ancient City of York. The subject is noble, and deserves a much abler penman than I can pretend to be, and besides requires an age to collect, digest, and deliver down to posterity, the transactions of 2,000 years; during which time, allowing the British Historians to be true, there are few pauses in history, or, to speak plainer, few years, in which our city cannot be traced *ab origine* to the present time. My genius and inclinations in study have a natural bent to that of history and antiquity, and whenever the business of my profession will allow me that secess, an historian is my delight. Your learned labours in the several editions you have published of *Leland*, &c., have afforded me abundance of pleasure, and tho' I was never so happy as to learn when any subscription was carrying on, yet I can never want the perusal of any, whilst Dr. Richardson,

⁹ Letters from the Bodleian Library, 2 vols. 8vo, London, 1813, vol. ii., p. 76.

[whom] you know, can furnish me. Thus, you may guess, Sir, that what you have already printed I am no stranger to; but I am told there are several things much to my purpose in Mr. Dodsworth's collections in the Bodleian Library, which I can never come at unless assisted by you; these, and whatever else you think worthy to communicate to me, shall meet with the most grateful acknowledgment. Dr. Richardson will, in a short time, give you a testimonial of me, as also I shall claim it from another hand, the Reverend Mr. Fothergill, at London, who married my aunt, and whose principles of conscience, honour, and integrity, I am told, you do not disrespect.

I have by me large collections, deduced in the course of my reading, from British and Roman historians, as well as all the monkish writers; the best editions of which, by Savil, Twisden, and Gale, are to be met with in our church library, and above all *Leland's Collectanea* are an inexhaustible fund for me, tho' I am surprised the *Itinerary* has so little to my purpose to be found in it, the traveller having, by an unfortunate turn out of the way for me, not touched upon York, or very little, at all. I have, besides, the perusal of a copy of the MS. History of this city, by Sir Thomas Widdrington, sometime Recorder here, which will be of vast help to my design in law affairs; that gentleman having taken the pains to draw out of Year-books, Acts of Parliament, Public Records, and City Books, all that is proper to insert about the several charters, privileges, and customs of the city, which I confess I had neither leisure nor inclination to do; but as to the historical part, I must say I can go beyond him, both in connection and facts, a great way. You have, inclosed, a draught, hastily drawn, of the whole building I propose, and as I know you capable to furnish me with many materials for it, I hope you will consult your vast magazine of this kind of learning for some proper supports to the fabrick. As I intend no interest in the affair, but resolve to publish it, if God sends me life and health, your generous way, it may be some inducement to you to lend a helping hand to one, who, swayed by no thirst of interest or vain glory, undertakes to deliver down to posterity the transactions of this famous city; which if you consent to do, the warmest acknowledgments that either my tongue or pen can testify to the world, shall be justly and faithfully paid you.

In which pleasing thought give me leave to subscribe myself,

Your much obliged humble Servant,

F. DRAKE.

YORK, 8r 27th, 1729.

We may infer that neither of Mr. Drake's applications for assistance was successful. Hearne had a strong objection to lend his books to any person,¹⁰ and we gather what was his answer to Mr. Drake, by the following entry in his diary

¹⁰ He noted in his diary on the 8th March, 1728-9, as his answer to a friend who desired to borrow a book of him for a short time, "I must tell him (what I must also to all that pretend to borrow books of me, for if I should lend to one I must to another), that being debarred

the Bodleian library, I am now confined to my own books, which I am every minute using, and therefore desire to be excus'd from parting with any, even for so little time as a minute." (*Reliquiae Hearnianae*, 8vo ed. vol. iii., p. 17.)

under date January 21st, 1729-30 :—" Mr. Francis Drake, who (I am told) is an eminent chirurgeon of York, hath undertaken to compile and publish the History and Antiquities of the city of York. He hath sent me a letter, dated from York, October 27th last, with a plan of his design. Mr. Marmaduke Fothergill married his aunt. He wants my advice and assistance. The best advice I can give is, to bring it into as short a compass as he can, and to consult the MSS. of Dr. Nathaniel Johnson, who had copied all that relates to Yorkshire from Dodsworth, and had made vast additions of his own."¹¹

In spite of the neglect and discouragement of persons from whom he expected greater courtesy and liberality, Mr. Drake pursued his design with undiminished earnestness.

In April, 1731, he represented to the Corporation "that the work was so far completed that he should be able to put out his proposals in a short time, and he desired liberty to inspect the ancient registers, cartularies, &c., belonging to the city, and extract out of them what was for his purpose, being unwilling to leave any leaf unturned which might anyways be capable of illustrating his subject." The Corporation immediately made an order expressing "their desire of having justice done in that way to this venerable and ancient city, and giving Mr. Drake the liberty to inspect and extract out of the ancient registers, deeds, and writings such things as he should think requisite for completing and illustrating his proposed History."

In the following year (1732) Mr. Drake issued from the London press of Mr. William Bowyer,

"Proposals for printing by subscription, *Eboracum*, or the History and Antiquities of the City of York, from its original to the present year. Together with the History of the Cathedral Church, and the Lives of the Archbishops of that see, from the first introduction of Christianity into the northern parts of this island, to the present state and condition of this magnificent Fabrick. Collected from authentic MSS., public Records, antient Chronicles and modern History. By Francis Drake, of the city of York, gent."¹²

With all the labour and industry the author could devote to it, the work advanced but slowly. From the time of issuing his proposals, nearly three years passed before he

¹¹ *Reliquiæ Hearnianæ*, vol. iii., p. 47.

¹² *Nichols's Literary Anecdotes*, vol. ii., p. 13.

was able to announce that his "History was in the press, and that the many copper plates, necessary to the work, were under the hands of the best masters in that art." In September, 1735, being desirous of adding to his numerous illustrations engravings of the two market-crosses, Ouze Bridge, a map of the Ainsty, the front elevation of the Mansion or Lord Mayor's House, then recently erected, and an interior view of the state-room, Mr. Drake applied to the Corporation for a grant of pecuniary assistance towards the expense he must necessarily incur. They liberally voted him a contribution of fifty pounds, to be paid to him upon his delivering a complete book with those prints to the Lord Mayor, to be kept for the use of the city, or give such security for the delivery of such book, or repayment of the money, as my Lord Mayor should approve. This cautious stipulation was probably occasioned by some doubt that had arisen as to the ultimate completion of a work which had been so long in progress; and, in fact, the book was not actually published until the latter part of the year 1736. On the 26th of November in that year Mr. Drake attended a full meeting of the Corporation in the Guildhall, and in person presented to them six copies of his History and Antiquities of the city, one of them richly bound in blue Turkey leather, gilded and beautifully painted and illuminated, in two large folio volumes on royal paper, to be kept amongst the city records. At the same time "he made a very handsome and elegant speech to the assembled Corporation, acknowledging the several orders they had made in his favour, as also the favour of giving him this opportunity of paying his acknowledgments and expressing himself in person to the city, which, by reason of his many obligations to the Earl of Burlington, he could not do to them in writing, by dedication, but that in gratitude he was bound to dedicate his work to the said Earl."

This apology was taken in good part by the assembly, and the Lord Mayor was unanimously requested to "return their thanks to Mr. Drake for his present, and also for the infinite labour, pains and expense he had been at, to revive and illustrate the honour and grandeur of this ancient city."

Mr. Drake was evidently conscious that the citizens of York might reasonably have expected him to pay them the compliment of dedicating his book to the Lord Mayor

and Corporation, rather than to a nobleman who held a merely nominal office in the city. To the corporate body he was indebted for many favours. In the early part of his professional career, they had conferred upon him the only medical appointment in their gift. They had allowed him free access to the archives and muniments of the city, from whence he had derived the most valuable part of his materials ; and they had assisted him with a liberal contribution from the city purse. Yet we find that the only notice he took of his civic patrons was a simple remark in his preface, "that by the indulgence of the city an order was made to suffer him to inspect their records and copy what he pleased for his book."

But when we inquire into the source of that deep sense of gratitude which impelled our historian to dedicate his book to Lord Burlington, we discover that it originated in circumstances at once honourable to that distinguished nobleman, and creditable to the character and disposition of Mr. Drake.

In his preface, Mr. Drake alludes to his having sojourned in London whilst his work was in progress. In returning his thanks to several eminent literary persons for the assistance he had received from them, he particularizes his relative the Reverend Thomas Barnard,¹³ master of the free-school at Leeds, to whom, he says, the whole performance was, in some measure, owing. "He it was that principally encouraged me to undertake it ; lent me several very scarce historians out of his own collection ; and, upon perusing some part of the manuscript, gave it as his judgment, that I needed not despair of success."—"I had no other living guide to help or conduct me through the various scenes and mazes which I must necessarily tread till I came to London. And there, indeed, whatever was the occasion of the journey, or howsoever the author might suffer by the accident, the book lost nothing ; but, on the contrary, was considerably enriched, corrected, and amended by it."

The true cause of our historian's visit to the metropolis, which is thus obscurely hinted at, is explained in a letter of the Reverend Benjamin Forster,¹⁴ written several years

¹³ Mr. Barnard married Frances Drake, the historian's sister of the half blood.

¹⁴ Mr. Forster for some time held the lectureship of Wakefield. He was an

eminent antiquary, and intimate with most of the literary men of his day. He was, doubtless, personally acquainted with Drake.

after the event, to Mr. Gough, the well-known antiquary. Mr. Forster thus tells the story :—"Mr. Drake, the surgeon, for such he was at that time, and in some practice, being at the Inn at Knaresbrough, met there with Sir Harry Slingsby. Sir Harry was borrowing money, 600*l*. I think was the sum, of a farmer upon a bond. The farmer would not lend unless there were two names in the bond. Sir Harry had brought no second person with him, and persuaded Mr. Drake to lend his name as a mere matter of form. Sir Harry for some time paid neither principal nor interest, and being in parliament could not be come upon himself, and had the cruelty to let Mr. Drake be arrested and thrown into the Fleet for the money. There he lay some time, and in that retirement he sent for what papers he had by him relating to York, and began digesting them. His confinement, of course, threw his physical business into other hands, and he commenced antiquary solely from that time. He might have lain in the Fleet to this day, had not Lord Burlington interposed, who assured Sir Harry he would use all his interest to prevent his being re-chosen for Knaresborough unless he paid the debt, and made a compensation to Mr. Drake."¹⁵

As Sir Harry Slingsby retained his seat for Knaresborough until his death in the year 1763, we can have no doubt that, rather than forfeit the favour of the powerful patron whose will was law in that borough, he had, by discharging his debt to the farmer, obtained Mr. Drake's release from imprisonment, and made him some reparation for the injury he must have sustained. The date of this transaction does not appear from Mr. Forster's letter, nor do we know the duration of Mr. Drake's confinement in the Fleet prison. Most probably it terminated at, or about, the time of his publication of '*Eboracum*,' or shortly afterwards. The dedication and preface are both dated "London, August 1, 1736." As I have previously stated, the author had returned to York some weeks before the close of that year.

Mr. Drake somewhat ungraciously complained that "his work was raised by the heavy method of subscription, thrust into the press, and dragged through it by all the force and strength that he or his friends could apply to the engine." The printed list of subscribers, however, shows

¹⁵ Nichols's *Illustrations of Literature*, vol. v., p. 298.

that 'Eboracum' received a liberal and widely extended patronage.¹⁶ It included the names of many of the nobility and other members of the aristocracy, and of the clergy and persons eminent for their literary and scientific attainments. Nor did the citizens of York stand aloof. Many of the dignitaries of the church of York are among the subscribers, but the name of the archbishop is conspicuous by its absence. "It was a sensible concern and discouragement to me (the author says) when our present most reverend and most worthy metropolitan,¹⁷ not only refused, upon my repeated application to him, to accept the dedication of the church account, but even to subscribe to the book."¹⁸

It is worthy of remark that of the two persons to whom he acknowledges himself to have been chiefly indebted for promoting the subscription, one was the head of an ancient family in the county of Durham, and the other a Roman Catholic nobleman who was not at that time connected with either York or Yorkshire. John Hylton, esquire, of Hylton Castle, "though a stranger in some measure to York, took great pains to solicit the subscription, and bear off that dead weight from my own shoulders." Of the generosity of Lord Petre, and his promoting the subscription to the utmost of his power, the author speaks in the highest terms.

Mr. Drake's long compulsory absence from home must necessarily have occasioned such an interruption of his professional business as could not fail to be detrimental; there is, however, no reason to suppose that, when he regained his liberty, he did not successfully resume his medical practice. But he continued to combine with it an ardent pursuit of the literary and antiquarian investigations in which he so much delighted. Writing from York, in April, 1738, to his friend

¹⁶ The total number of subscribers was nearly 540. Among them were several of the name of Drake, most of whom were relatives of the author.

¹⁷ Dr. Lancelot Blackburn.—As a compensation for the neglect of the head of the northern province, the historian could boast of having the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishop of London among his subscribers.

¹⁸ Drake took a singular mode of showing his resentment against the archbishop. To his notice of archbishop Thomas II. [who died in 1114], on whom he bestows high praise for having chosen

to die rather than sacrifice his personal purity, he adds the following enigmatical passage:—"Whether so easy remedy would be rejected * * * * *

after this manner die a martyr to celibacy, and shew such an uncommon contempt for carnal affection" (*Eborac.* 416). Pegge, in his *Anonymiana* (*Century* xii., No. xxiv), says,—“the asterisks are intended for archbishop Lancelot Blackburne, intimating that his grace would never have died a martyr to his chastity. But quære, whether Mr. Drake was a proper person to make this observation.”

Mr. Richard Richardson, the son of Dr. Richardson, of Bierley, he says, "I return you thanks for Lwhyd, which at my leisure I shall dip into. I am sorry that my ignorance of the ancient British or modern Welsh will hinder me from taking that pleasure in it which a right Taffy must do. I long to be poring, you must know, over your Saxon gentry, and if your father would be so good as to spare them me for some time, I would take a little pains to unriddle these dark emblems of royalty." Then follows a scrap of York gossip :—"By the desertion of most of our gentry and a whole regiment of dragoons from this place, we are become exceeding bare and lonesome."—"To-morrow, Councillor Slingsby and myself design for Wheldrake to survey a bed of tulips, which they say cost the proprietor, Mr. Scawen, £400. If it be so, the ill-natured cannot but say, he has some colour for what he did."¹⁹

Upon the original establishment of the York County Hospital in the year 1741, Mr. Drake was appointed one of the medical officers of that institution. This is a proof of the high estimation in which his professional talents were held by the citizens of York, as well as the gentry of the neighbourhood.

In political feeling our historian was a decided Tory. He inherited that strong attachment to the royal house of Stuart which had been displayed by his ancestors a century earlier. Even in the sober pages of 'Eboracum' he could not always repress the exhibition of his party spirit. We are not surprised to find that, like his friend and contemporary Dr. Burton, he had to endure the bitter hostility, almost amounting to persecution, which was engendered by the events of the memorable year 1745. It is noticed in one of Cole's MSS., that when the oaths to Government were tendered to Mr. Drake in the year 1745, he refused to take them ; and this is undoubtedly true. Upon the records of the court of quarter sessions in that year, the name of Francis Drake appears among those of a great number of highly respectable persons then residing at York, who under the description of papists and non-jurors had been called upon to enter into recognizances to keep the peace, and not to travel five miles from their houses without licence. At the Michaelmas sessions it was certified to the court that

¹⁹ Nichols's *Illustrations of Literature*, vol. i., p. 300.

the magistrates had tendered the oaths to "Francis Drake, of the parish of St. Martin, Coney-street, surgeon," whom they suspected to be dangerous and disaffected to his Majesty and his government, and he had refused to take the same. Upon these facts being reported to the Corporation at a meeting held on the 20th of December, 1745, they, in the exuberance of their loyalty and patriotism, immediately, and, as it appears, without further inquiry, resolved that Mr. Francis Drake, the city-surgeon, was not a proper person to be continued in the service of the city, and they ordered that, being a non-juror, he should be discharged from the said employment, and he was discharged and superseded accordingly.

This signal mark of the displeasure of the municipal authorities does not seem to have had any prejudicial influence upon Mr. Drake's position in the city, or to have diminished the regard of his literary friends. The circumstances in which these harsh proceedings originated soon ceased to exist, and all bitterness of feeling speedily passed away. In the month of July, 1746, our historian, and all other suspected persons at York, were discharged from their recognizances.

Mr. Drake had been elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries in the year 1735, and on his occasional visits to London, he attended the meetings of the society and took part in their proceedings, but no written communication from him is printed in the volumes of their transactions. In the following year he was admitted a Fellow of the Royal Society. From that time until nearly the close of his life, he kept up a correspondence with many of the eminent literary characters of the day, among whom he enjoyed a high reputation as an able and zealous antiquary. He had formed a cordial intimacy with Mr. Emanuel Mendez da Costa, the secretary of the Royal Society, to whom he wrote from York in December, 1749:—"I have some natural curiosities to present you with, which, if worth your acceptance, are heartily at your service. I have the tooth or tusk of the sea-lion, given me by a sailor who was on board Admiral Anson's ship throughout the whole voyage, and now lives in this town; part of a young elephant's tooth, in the section of which is an iron bullet, which had been shot into it when younger, and the ivory grown over the bullet; a

hair-ball found in the stomach of a calf; and a fossil or two; which shall all find their way to your cabinet if you think them worthy a place in it; for my amusements being more in the antiquarian way, my collections are the same; and I shall think myself happy if I could add anything to your own most noble repository. If any of my friends come to town, and have curiosity enough, I shall take it kindly, if on my account you will allow them an inspection. Perhaps the young gentleman who was with me before, and who is since married to a daughter of the Earl of Carlisle, may have a desire to treat his lady with so noble a sight."²⁰

Dr. Ducarel, the librarian at Lambeth, a well-known antiquary, was another of Mr. Drake's correspondents, and took great interest in his pursuits. The following letters are sufficiently characteristic to be worthy of being reproduced here:

York, June 30, 1753.

SIR,

I have purchased both the books you wrote for, from the author himself, who happens to be a printer in this city, and was my predecessor also in a History of York, but indeed I stole little out of him. You may see a further account of him in the preface to my book. I doubt you will think them very dear when you have read these volumes, for this author, like old Tom Hearne (spare the comparison), when he has done with his subject, prints everything else that comes to hand to swell his volume. (Hull 5s., Ripon 4s. 6d.) I believe the towns of Newcastle and Manchester have been both described; and if you have a mind to have them, I will endeavour to get them for you. I readily accept of your correspondence, and shall do my part to deserve it, consistent with the business of my profession. I shall be glad to learn what passes further at the Society; for without a correspondent, it is impossible for a stranger to learn what is doing amongst you.

Your most obliged humble Servant,

FR. DRAKE.²¹

To Doctor Ducarel.

York, July 16, 1753.

SIR,

I have procured for you two more books of Ripon and Hull, but cannot meet with either Newcastle or Manchester in all this city. I shall be obliged therefore to send to those two places for them, though, on second thoughts, I much question whether the latter place was ever published. As to any other local antiquities in the North I know of none, though, as you say, there is a much larger field here than in any

²⁰ Nichols's *Illustrations*, vol. iv., p. 746. The young gentleman, who had been Drake's companion, was Thomas Duncombe, esquire, of Duncombe Park. He

married Lady Diana, daughter of Henry fourth earl of Carlisle.

²¹ Nichols's *Illustrations*, vol. iv., p. 618.

other part of England. They are, indeed, cursorily described by general writers, but that does not answer the end of the more inquisitive in our way, in which I find you have a true taste. I have heard nothing from Dr. Ward ²² yet, which I am a little surprized at, as he wrote to me about a drawing of our late Roman altar, which was lost or mislaid, and he wanted another. I hope it is found again, for it would be difficult for me to get one so well done as the last.

As to Saxon or Danish coins, we have none here that collect them except myself, and those are only such as have been found with us. I have not many silver coins, but a good number of those called Sticas, the humble monies of our Northumbrian kings in the Heptarchy. If you have a mind, I will send you a catalogue of them; who am, Sir,

Your friend and brother,

To Dr. Ducarel.

FR. DRAKE.

York, August 12, 1753.

Please to make my compliments to Dr. Ward, and tell him the original drawings of our Roman altar are at last found. It seems I left them in one of my agents' hands to be restored to the Doctor, but he, forgetting this, has brought them down with him to me here. I will return them by the same person, and have ordered him to deliver them to the Doctor's own hands. I thank you for your antiquarian intelligence; if anything else occurs to you in that way, I shall be glad if you will communicate it to,

Sir, your assured Friend,

To Dr. Ducarel.

FR. DRAKE.

The Roman altar mentioned in this correspondence was, doubtless, the remarkable sculptured stone, now in the Museum of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society, representing a celebration of Mithraic rites by the Romans at Eburacum,²³ which was found in Micklegate in the year 1747, and of which a description was communicated by Mr. Drake to the Royal Society, and is printed in their Transactions for 1743-1750.

Doctor John Burton, the author of 'Monasticon Eboracense,' settled at York as a medical practitioner about the time that Mr. Drake was engaged with the publication of 'Eboracum,' and by a congeniality of tastes and pursuits they were soon brought into close and friendly intimacy, which was probably cemented by a similarity of political feelings and opinions. In the earlier part of the memorable year 1745, the events of which were destined to be disastrous to them both, they visited the Yorkshire Wolds together, and explored the country about Goodmanham and Londesbrough, with the

²² Dr. John Ward, professor of Rhetoric at Gresham college.

²³ See 'Eburacum' by the Rev. Charles Wellbeloved. 8vo, York, 1842, p. 80.

design of contributing to settle the long-disputed question as to the site of the Roman station called Delgovitia. Mr. Drake communicated the result of their investigations to the Royal Society, in a paper which is printed in the *Philosophical Transactions* for 1746 (vol. ix.). Some years later (Oct. 1754), we find the two antiquaries making an excursion to Skipwith Common,²⁴ ten or twelve miles from York, where they opened a number of small mounds or barrows, called Danes' Hills, or burial-places. Drake took great interest in the 'Monasticon Eboracense' which Dr. Burton was preparing for the press, and when he was in London in the early part of 1755, he had a discussion with Dr. Ducarel as to the most advisable mode of publication.²⁵

At the close of his preface to 'Eboracum,' the author disclaims all desire or expectation of having another edition of it pass through his hands. Yet there is reason to suppose that he employed some part of the leisure of his later years in making collections with a view to the publication of a corrected and enlarged edition. Mr. Nichols informs us that a copy of the *History of York*, with large MS. additions by the author, was in the hands of his son, the Reverend William Drake, who would have re-published his father's book, if the plates could have been recovered, and even had thoughts of getting them engraved anew; but he died without accomplishing this very desirable project.

Writing to Dr. Ducarel [York, July, 1753], Mr. Drake observes, with reference to the engravings published in 'Eboracum':—"There are no prints of York taken off more than served the books, and of them there are none left but about ten copies, nor have I any intention to trouble myself about another edition: a much greater work, which I have been long and am still engaged in, having laid the *scribendi cacoëthes* sufficiently in me."²⁶

Neither in any biographical notice of Mr. Drake, nor in his correspondence, do we find a specific account of any literary undertaking that occupied his time subsequently to the publication of his *History of York*; but we can have no doubt

²⁴ More than a century afterwards Skipwith Common was visited by a distinguished geologist, accompanied by a few antiquarian friends from York. See Professor Phillips's "Rivers, Mountains

and Seacoast of Yorkshire," 8vo, London, 1853, pp. 84, 203, &c.

²⁵ Nichols's *Illustrations*, vol. iii., pp. 378, 379.

²⁶ *Ibid.* vol. iv., p. 619.

that the "greater work" alluded to in his letter to Dr. Ducarel was the 'Parliamentary History' to which he was an anonymous contributor. In one of Cole's MSS. it is stated that Drake was one of the compilers of the 'Parliamentary History of England,' in 21 volumes, 8vo. The credit of being the author of a parliamentary history is distinctly claimed for him in the inscription upon the monumental tablet to his memory, placed in the church of St. Mary, at Beverley, by his son, the Reverend Dr. Francis Drake.²⁷

In the year 1751, were issued from the London press, the first eight volumes of a work entitled "The Parliamentary or Constitutional History of England from the earliest Times to the Restoration of King Charles II., collected from the Records, the Rolls of Parliament, the Journals of both Houses, the Public Libraries, original Manuscripts, scarce Speeches and Tracts, all compared with the several contemporary Writers, and connected throughout with the History of the Times. By several Hands." The preface to the first volume tells us that some years previously "several gentlemen were induced to begin to collect proper materials for an authentic history of the proceedings of Parliament from the earliest times." After referring to the public records and other documents, and the various printed works necessary to be inspected in the prosecution of this design, it is stated that "all had been carefully examined by some gentlemen well acquainted with English history, who chose rather to deserve well of the public than to receive their thanks." In the year 1753 five volumes, and two years later as many more, were published, making together eighteen volumes. The nineteenth and twentieth volumes did not appear until 1757, and in 1760 the work was completed by the issue of two additional volumes, comprising an appendix and a copious index. This voluminous production was received with so much favour by the public, that a second edition was soon called for, and before the close of the year 1763 was given to the world in twenty-four goodly 8vo. volumes.²⁸

This, then, was the "greater work" to which Mr. Drake had devoted his time and talents for many years before and after the date of his letter to Dr. Ducarel. He was one

²⁷ See also Watson's *History of Halifax*, and A. Millar, in the Strand, and W. Sandby, in Fleet-street, 1762-63. p. 250.

²⁸ London, printed for J. and R. Tonson, VOL. III.

of "the gentlemen who chose rather to deserve well of the public, than to receive their thanks." What department of the work was assigned to Mr. Drake, or what was the extent of his contributions, we do not discover either from the book itself or from any other source. It seems not improbable that some original matter was introduced by him, illustrative of transactions at York during the civil war of the 17th century, which possesses peculiar interest, and has been used with good effect by several modern writers, and especially by M. Guizot in his History of the English Revolution of 1640.²⁹

With no spirit of vain boasting the compilers of the Parliamentary History declared in their preface to the 1st volume of their 2nd edition, that the work was "not wrote in a garret, at so much a sheet letter-press, but by persons animated with a zeal more to serve their country than themselves; and who were not much concerned what success their labours would have in the world." It is no slight honour to our York historian to be included in a category of writers so patriotic and disinterested.

In 1756, Mr. Drake resigned the appointment of honorary surgeon to the York County Hospital, which he had held since the first establishment of that useful institution in 1741. He had been always very assiduous in his discharge of the duties of the office, and, after his relinquishment of it, he continued for several years to attend the meetings of the Governors of the charity.

It was probably about this period that our historian, having passed his grand climacteric, began to find his health giving way. In November of the following year he accompanied his friend George Lane Fox, esquire, to Bath, the use of the medicinal waters of that fashionable resort of invalids being recommended to him.

In the early part of the year 1761, Dr. Stukely communicated to the Society of Antiquaries a letter addressed to him by Mr. Drake, dated the 24th of December, 1760, giving an account of some late discoveries made in York, "particularly some stone coffins which were lately dug up *extra muros*, where the bodies were laid in lime, the skeletons of which were firm and entire."³⁰

²⁹ Ed. Hazlitt, 8vo, London, 1845, p. 154, etc.

³⁰ See 'Eburacum,' p. 109. Similar coffins have been found recently in the

same locality, which are now in the Museum of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society.

Mr. Drake had continued to correspond with his friend Richard Richardson, esquire, of Bierley, who had succeeded his father Dr. Richardson in 1741. The following letter was written to that gentleman towards the close of the year 1761 :—

York, December 19, 1761.

DEAR SIR :

I have a favour to beg of you, which I make no doubt, if it is in your power, you will do for me, and therefore I shall make no further apology for the freedom of asking it. I have an estate in the parish of Halifax, which, I believe, you know, was left me by my kinsman of Craven, but which I never was fully instructed in, either in nature or value. About four years ago I carried over a surveyor with me from hence, but as it was in summer, and the hedges full of leaves, he could not see to make a proper judgment of the number of acres, for he did not measure ; and, being a stranger also to the country, was so to their value. Now what I have to desire of you is, to recommend to me a person so qualified as to overlook and take a survey, if needful, of the whole estate ; and herein you may, if you please, consult my friend Leedes, who knows the premises, and may better assist in the affair. If such a person can be met with in your neighbourhood, please to inform me, and I will give him further instructions.

I have set your kinsman, Marmaduke, so much agog by my description of your Druidical works, that he seems determined to come next summer to see them, and especially as I have assured him there is a turnpike up to your door. He has read Borlase, and therefore is a better judge of such matters.

My best respects to your lady, who am, Sir,

Your real friend and servant,

FR. DRAKE.³¹

During the earlier years of Mr. Drake's residence at York he occupied a house situate in the parish of St. Wilfrid, but subsequently to the death of his wife he appears to have given up housekeeping and become a lodger in the house of Mr. Cæsar Ward, printer and bookseller, in Coney-street, who with his co-partner Richard Chandler were proprietors and editors of the weekly newspaper called the *York Courant*, originally established in the year 1725. In 1745, when Ward, through the imprudence of his partner Chandler, fell into difficulties and was made bankrupt, it is said that Mr. Drake with some other friends kindly afforded him such pecuniary assistance as enabled him to resume his business and to repurchase the newspaper, which was afterwards carried on in his sole name.

³¹ Nichols's *Illustrations*, vol. i. p. 300.

In Ward's lodgings Mr. Drake continued to reside until his final departure from York, which probably took place in the year 1766. The last time of his attendance at a Court of the Governors of the York County Hospital was on the 13th of May in that year. He passed the last few years of his life at Beverley, the inmate of his eldest son, Dr. Francis Drake, who was vicar of the church of St. Mary in that town. There our venerable historian departed this life on the 16th of March, 1771, having entered the 76th year of his age. He was buried in the noble church of St. Mary at Beverley, where a monumental tablet was erected to his memory by his son, the vicar, bearing the following inscription :—

Memoriæ sacrum
Francisci Drake Armig^r
Reg. Soc. necnon Antiquar^m Socii
Eruditione, et studio quantum profecerit,
Historia ejus Eboracensis,
Necnon et Parliamentaria
Palàm testantur.

Si amicum, si civem, si sodalem spectes,
Quâque in vitæ conditione,
Omnium gratiam et amorem,
Mirum in modum conciliant:
Adeo benignus, adeo benevolus, adeo urbanus,
Ut nihil supra.

Franciscus Drake, S. T. P.
Filius ejus natû maximus,
Et hujusce Ecclesiæ Vicarius,
Patris tam benè meriti
Haud immemor,
Hoc monumentum fieri voluit.
Obiit anno Christi 1771, ætatis 76.

Mr. Drake's only surviving children were his two sons, Dr. Francis Drake and the Reverend William Drake.³² The former had held a fellowship of Magdalen College, Oxford, and had been lecturer of Pontefract and vicar of Womersley. In 1767 he was instituted to the vicarage of St. Mary, Beverley, and in 1775 to the rectory of Winestead, in Holderness, which he retained until his death in 1795.

³² 5 June, 1721. "Francis the sonn of Mr. Francis Drake."—10 Jan., 1722-3. "William the son of Mr. Francis Drake, surgeon" (*Register of Baptisms at St. Michael's-le-Belfrey*).

The Reverend William Drake, A.M., F.S.A., the younger son, was third master of Westminster school, master of Felsted school, in Essex, and vicar of Isleworth, in Middlesex.³³ He was the author of several papers upon antiquarian subjects printed in the early volumes of the *Archæologia*. His son, Nathan Drake, M.D., was the well-known essayist, author of 'Shakespeare and his Times,'³⁴ 'Literary Hours,'³⁵ and numerous other works.

We obtain a few glimpses of the general tenor of Mr. Drake's mind and character from his preface to '*Eboracum*,' which is full of autobiographical touches. History and antiquities, he tells us, were always from a child his chiefest taste. He felt keenly the disadvantages under which he laboured from possessing only a moderate share of what he termed school-learning. "Consciousness of inability in an author (he observes) is a necessary ingredient to cool and temper a too-forward presumption, and I had enough of it." Were any proof needed, beyond that which the work itself affords, of his zeal and indefatigable industry, we have it in his own statement, that he "copied or wrote almost every individual thing in the whole book, even to the index, with his own hand." That he was not free from the reserve and shyness which are said to be characteristic of persons attached to literary pursuits, appears from his acknowledgment that he never did or could ask one subscription for the book himself. "I know (he says) this may be called pride in me, as well as modesty. But, whatever it was, it restrained me from standing the shock of a refusal." It is obvious that he looked upon himself as a lively and genial member of society. "My intimates (he says) all know that Mercury was a more predominant planet at my birth than Saturn." And this opinion of himself is confirmed by that of his surviving friends at York, where he passed the greater part of his life. A short notice of him in the obituary of a contemporary York newspaper³⁶ described him as "a person whose social and convivial qualities endeared him to all his friends and acquaintances."

It is not within my province to enter into any critical examination of the literary merits of Drake's '*Eboracum*.'

³³ See *Illustrations of Literature*, vol. iv., p. 620.

³⁴ London, 1817, 4to. 2 vols.

³⁵ London, 1798, &c.

³⁶ York Courant, March 19, 1771.

It was a noble undertaking, and, upon the whole, successfully executed, although not free from numerous errors and deficiencies. A striking testimony to the value and importance of the work in the estimation of that portion of the public, which might be supposed to be especially interested in the information it conveys, is the fact that half a century after its first appearance a reprint, in an 8vo form, was issued as a trade speculation by the York booksellers, and had an extensive sale. The anonymous editor professes to have added some account of the occurrences that had happened in the interval, but the additional matter is not considerable.

A portrait of Mr. Drake is preserved in the Mansion-house at York, which gives a pleasing impression of his personal appearance. It was painted in the year 1743 by Philip Mercier, a native of Berlin, who was brought to England by Frederic, prince of Wales, and was much patronized by the court of George the Second. He lived many years at York, and executed a great number of portraits of the nobility and gentry in all parts of the county.

Another portrait of our historian, representing his appearance at a more advanced period of life, was painted by his relative Nathan Drake,³⁷ who published an engraving of it in mezzotinto by the eminent artist Valentine Green. This print, which was not issued until June, 1771, a few months after Mr. Drake's death, is frequently inserted in the folio edition of 'Eboracum.'

³⁷ Nathan Drake was a son of our historian's cousin-german, the reverend Samuel Drake, minor canon of Lincoln and prebendary of Southwell. Soon after 1750 he settled at York as an artist, and was married there in 1763 to Mary Carr, the daughter of a coffee-shop keeper. He applied himself to painting portraits chiefly, but did not meet with much

encouragement, and was more successful in miniatures. About 1754 he painted a view of the New Walk with the minster in the background, a print of which, engraved by Grignon, was published in 1756. About 1769 he issued a mezzotinto print of Arthur Wentworth, the earth-stopper, and in 1771, one of Thomas Gent, the printer.

principal cities and towns were ordered to send representatives "ad tractandum nobiscum, tam de nostra quam sua utilitate."

They soon found the king's message to mean that they were to raise for him among their own people 20,000 marks. The required amount was not raised, and the Jews were accordingly treated with the utmost cruelty. From Aaron of York alone, as we learn from Matthew Paris, the king extorted what was then equivalent to 32 oz. of gold, and 2,666*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* in silver—"Ita ut quanquam de aliis taceamus, ab uno *Judæo*, videlicet *Aaron Eboracensi*, quatuor marcas auri and quatuor millia argenti emunxit. *Angl. Hist.* ed. Wats. 1644, p. 410. All sorts of absurd accusations were brought against the Jews as pretexts for imprisoning them in order to obtain money for their release; and in transactions between Jew and Jew of that period, which for obvious reasons were generally recorded in Hebrew, we find, together with the promise of payment, the ominous proviso, "unless I am cheated out of my property by any false accusation on the part of the king or the queen." (*See Note c*, p. 63.)

As the fac-similes and translations will be found in a great measure to explain themselves, I need only say very little on each separately; but before doing so I will offer a few remarks on the somewhat unfamiliar word "Starr," the special designation of Jewish legal documents.

This word (Lat. *Starrum*; Fr. *Estar*) is of Jewish origin, and was imported into Rabbinical or mediæval Hebrew from the Chaldee שְׁטָר (*sh'tar*) explained by Buxtorf to mean "Scriptum obligationis vel contractus, instrumentum litterarum vel contractus." It occurs three times in the Chaldee Targum or paraphrase of Jer. xxxii. 10—14, which records how the prophet bought a field of his cousin Hanameel to show his belief that a time would come when land would be once more a secure possession. It answers to the emphasised words in the following quotations from the English version: "And I subscribed the *evidence*;" marg. "Heb., wrote in the book" (ver 10). So in the subsequent verses "*evidence*," "*evidences*." Buxtorf shows that in Rabbinical Hebrew the word acquired a more extensive signification, and gives quotations showing its application to acknowledgments of debt, receipts, discharges, &c., and indeed it would seem to have been applied among the later Jews to any legal document

whatever. It corresponds then in signification to the Latin "*scriptum*" or the English "*writing*." (See Note a, p. 63.)

Starrs were written in Hebrew, Latin, or French, and whether entirely in Hebrew or not, often had Hebrew attestations, such as these now before us. They resembled other legal documents in having a number of stock phrases common to all, as may be readily seen by comparing these with such as may be found in Tovey's work above mentioned, and in Selden's "Titles of Honour." Tovey gives specimens of Hebrew, Latin, and French Starrs, some being reprinted (with several mistakes in the Hebrew) from Selden, who points out that in a Hebrew Starr the English title "Sir" is represented by a prefixed ש (*Si*) and that the law-word *appertinentiis* is retained in Hebrew characters, thus, אפרטנטיז.

Spelman in his Glossary speaks of there being some Starrs in his time in the Tower of London, an observation referred to by Ducange, *Gloss.*, s. v.

In answer to inquiries made by me some time ago respecting these, I had a most obliging note from Mr. Joseph Burt of the Public Record Office, informing me that there are about a dozen there now, and that half of these were in the old chapter-house of Westminster, when used as a Record Office; that in the British Museum there are about a dozen or more, but that among the muniments of the Abbey of Westminster there is quite a large collection. In the series of photozincograph fac-similes of national MSS., published under the direction of the Master of the Rolls, is a "Jewish Starr" (Part I. No. xxvi.). It is, however, so indistinct as to be illegible to the ordinary Hebrew reader, and no printed copy or translation is given. Starrs will perhaps be better done now that we have a Jew Master of the Rolls; that this is quite possible may be evident to any one comparing our admirable illustrations with the one I have mentioned.

I believe that some at least of the Westminster Starrs are now exhibited under glass in the restored Chapter-house, and I know that some of those in the British Museum have been carefully copied, though not hitherto published, by Mr. Myer Davies, a learned Jew,² who is perhaps as well qualified for such work as any man in England. To him, and to Mr. A. Elzas of Hull, I am indebted for most obliging and valuable

assistance in a department of palæography with which few are familiar, and in which I had had no experience when my attention was directed to the Durham Starrs by Canon Greenwell a year or two ago. Mr. Elzas was the first to make out the general sense of the Hebrew subscriptions; and I think a comparison of the printed text with the fac-similes will satisfy the Hebrew reader that we have now correctly made out every word and every letter. Mr. Davies confirmed the readings arrived at by Mr. Elzas and myself, and showed me the copies he had made at the British Museum of similar inscriptions.

I now give translations of the Starrs, with the Hebrew in modern type, and the few remarks that seem necessary.

No. I.

"To all who shall see or hear this present writing. Deulecres, son of Jocey of Kent, and Jorin his brother, Jews of York, wish health. Know ye that we have quit-claimed for us and our heirs, the prior and convent of the church of Durham and their house for ever, from all debts and demands which the said prior and convent of Durham at any time have owed to us or to any other Jews by charter or indenture, or any other instrument or obligation, from the beginning of the world to the feast of the Apostles Peter and Paul in the thirty-fourth year of the reign of king Henry, the son of king John, so that no Jew in the world can from them or their monastery anything require by reason of any debt which the said prior and convent at any time have owed in Jewry by any instrument unto the aforesaid day of the Apostles Peter and Paul. We will also and concede, and by the present writing do testify, that if any writing or other muniment be found with us or any other Jew, concerning any debt binding the said prior and convent or their house, from the beginning of the world to the day aforesaid, as is aforesaid, it shall be esteemed null and void, and we the said writing will show to be false, and the said prior and convent and their house we will hold indemnified. In witness whereof we have signed in our Hebrew letter the present writing.

We the undersigned do make known a full declaration, that the prior and convent of Durham are released from us and from our heirs and from all other Jews from the creation of the world to the feast of Pierce and Paul, the thirty and fourth year of the coronation of our Lord the king, Henry, son of king John, and this we have written in four lines and a half—Dulecres, son of Jocey of Kent.

Jornin, son of Jocey of Kent.

Aaron, witness.

This is the seal of Aaron in testimony."

(Seal of yellow wax, showing the remains of a classical head, as if from a Roman gem, attached to a long slip.)

This is an example of a "quit-claim" or release, made

in the 34th year of Hen. III. (1249), Bertram de Middleton being Prior of Durham. There is nothing to show to what particular transaction it related, further than that it was in acquittance of a debt incurred by the Prior and Convent to two Jews of Kent. Aaron appears to have had no scruple in using a classic gem as a seal, although bearing a "likeness." Tovey gives a Jew's seal with a sort of monster like a gryphon, and the legend S. IACOBI D'LVNDRES. Such representations are forbidden by the Jewish canon law, based on the second commandment in the Decalogue, but are tolerated by ordinary Jews at the present day. (*See Note b*, p. 63.)

The endorsement is merely the number 4455.

The Hebrew subscription, "We the undersigned," &c., is as follows:—

נחנו חרומי מטה מודים הודאה גמורה אשר חפריאור והקוניט מדוריים
פטורים ממנו ומיורשינו ומכל יהודים אחרים מברית עולם עד ה'
פירש ופולא שנת שלשים וארבעה לעיטור אדונינו המלך הנרי בן
המלך יאן וזה חתמנו בד' שורות וחצי
דלקריש בן יוסי מקנט
ירנן בן יוסי מקנט
אהרן עד

The technical words "Prior," and "Convent," and the proper names, are written in Hebrew letters. "Peter" is written as "Pirs," as if for "Pierce." Jornin and Dulecres are Jewish names found in other documents of the period, and Matthew Paris states that when the Jews circumcised a boy at Norwich, in 1240, they gave him the former name. (*Angl. Hist.*, p. 359.)

No. II.

"I Aaron the Jew of York acknowledge by this my present Starr, that I have quit-claimed to Hugh, Prior of Durham and his successors, all the lands which at any time belonged to Thomas the Serjeant of Alverton, in the vill of Alverton, and in all other places. So that neither I the said Aaron, nor my heirs, nor any other Jew for us, anything against the said land, or against anything to the said land belonging, can enforce by reason of any debt, plaint, suit or demand, in which the same Thomas was ever beholden to me by charters, indentures or by any other instrument, either on his own account or as surety for others, from the beginning of the world to the end of time, and especially by a certain charter which speaks under my name, and under the name of the said Thomas the Serjeant of Alverton, concerning six pounds sterling, from the term of the feasts of the Apostles Peter and Paul, in the year of grace

one thousand two hundred and thirty-seven ; and if it happen that a charter, foot-piece, tally, or any other instrument under my name and under the name of the said Thomas, be found in or out of the Archives of the Lord the King, that it shall have no force and be of no value. Be it known also that I, Aaron, am bound to enrol this quit-claim at the Court of our Lord the King before the justiciaries assigned for the custody of the Jews.

These being witnesses, Sir Richard Morin, knight, Adam le Cerf, then mayor of York, Richard de Vescy, then constable of York, Sir Gilbert, Rector of the Church of All Saints in Usgate, and Stephen Sperry, John le Espec, then keepers of the Archives of the Lord the King at York, Peter Noel, Geoffrey de Stokton, John, son of Henry the Goldsmith, then Clerks of the Jews, Jocey, nephew of Aaron, Mayrot and Baruch, sons of Jocey, Ursell, son of Mansel the Jew. In witness whereof, I have signed this present writing in my Hebrew letter in the presence of John Gocelin.

I the undersigned do certify that all whatsoever is written above in Latin is true. Aaron of York, son of Jocey."

These two are quit-claims by which Aaron the Jew of York delivered to Hugh, Prior of Durham, certain lands at Northallerton, of which he had become possessed through a transaction between himself and Thomas the Serjeant or steward of the Prior and Convent at that place. The only difference between them seems to be that the former one is directed more against any claim that Thomas might set up by redeeming his mortgage, and the latter against other deeds which might be supposed to give him a title. The Prior referred to is Hugh Derlyngton, who held the office from 1285 to 1289, which gives proximately the date of these documents. The "Justiciaries of the Jews" were officers first appointed by Richard I., and, like the Domesday officials, employed to find out and register all debts and possessions. (Matt. Par., pp. 521, 553, 556, 573.)

The Hebrew subscription in both these Starrs is as follows :—

אני החתום מטה מודה שכל מה שכתוב למעלה
בלשון שהוא אמת אהרן מאוריק בן יוסי

Here the words "in Latin" are expressed by the untranslated word "Latin" with the Hebrew preposition prefixed, and "York" appears as "Eorvic."

The endorsements are, of No. 2. P'ma j° Ebor. P. 1, No. 15. Carte iudei de t'ris in Alu'ton (and two or three words defaced) Aluerton, . 2. Of No. 3. P'ma 9^m P. 1 Alu'ton . 3.

No. III.

"I Aaron son of Jocey the Jew of York acknowledge by the present Starrum, that I have quit-claimed to Hugh Prior of Durham and his successors and the Convent of the same house for ever, all lands which at any time were the property of Thomas le Lung formerly Serjeant of Alverton in the vill of Alverton or in any place. So that neither I the said Aaron nor my heirs nor any other Jew for us anything against the said land or against anything to the said land appertaining, can enforce by reason of any debt plaint obligation or demand in which the said Thomas was ever bound to me by Charters Indentures or by any other instruments on his own behalf or as surety for others from the beginning of the world to the end of time, and if any writing henceforth be found which makes mention concerning any land or tenement which the same Thomas held of the Prior and Convent of Durham I grant that it shall be void of effect and be held for nought. In witness whereof I have signed the present writing in my Hebrew letter.

I the undersigned certify that all whatsoever is written above in Latin is true.

Aaron of York son of Jocey."

No. IV.

"Know all men that I Thomas the Serjeant of Alverton owe to Aaron the Jew of York six pounds sterling to be repaid at the feast of the Apostles Peter and Paul in the year of grace one thousand two hundred and thirty-seven. And if I do not then repay it I will give to him for every pound for each week two pence for interest. As long as by his favour I shall hold that debt and therefore I have mortgaged to him all my lands rents and chattels until I discharge the said principal and interest and this I have sworn and confirmed by my seal. Done at York xvii. day of June preceding."

Endorsed *טומש לשרייונט מאלמרטון* (Tomas le Sergunt, of Almerton.)
17 June, 1237. 1.

No. V.

A great part of this is decayed away, but it appears to be a counterpart of No. 4. Part of the Hebrew endorsement remains, in a different hand and different spelling. See Plate.

טומש שרייונט מאלברטון (Tomas Seryunt of Albertona, and the beginning of something more, illegible.)

These Chirographs show that Thomas the Sergeant of Northallerton had mortgaged lands, &c. to Aaron for 6*l.*, and that he covenanted to pay the moderate interest of nearly 44 per cent. if he failed to repay the borrowed principal on the appointed day. Thomas failing in this, the land, &c.

came into Aaron's possession, and it appears from the Starrs (Nos. 2, 3) that the land was redeemed by the Prior and Convent of Durham, whence it happens that the Chirographs which show Aaron's title to the same, and the Starrs which release the Abbey from any obligation to him in respect of it, are still in possession of the Dean and Chapter. When found they were tied together with a strip of parchment; and Thomas's seal, apparently representing an insect of some sort, but in a very crumbling condition, was attached to No. 4.

The Hebrew reader will observe that the Jew who has endorsed the chirographs seems not to have been aware of the etymology of the name "Thomas" or he would never have written a ת for ט.

As the backs only of Nos. 4, 5, are seen in the Plate, I here give the original Latin as far as it remains.

No. IV.

C Y R O G R A P H U M

Sciant Vniu'si q'd Ego Thom̄ S'uiens de Alu'ton Debeo Aaron Judō Ebor' sex libr' est'ling' redd. ad fest' ap'lor' peti & pauli Anno grē M CC Tricēs Septimo. Et si tūc nō reddid'o Dabo ei p q'libz lib^a q'libz Sept. duos den. de lucro Q'mdiu ist'd de(bitum) p g'tū ei' tenue'o (Et idō) iudiani ei (om'es) t'ras mās reddit (us & c) atalla mā. Don^c dem catall' & lucr psolu'o. Et h^c affidaui & sigillo mō cōfirmaui Actū xvij die Jun aūcedente.

No. V.

— — — — — O G R A P H U M.

Sciant vniu'si q'd Ego Thom̄ S'uiens de Alu'ton debō Aa ———— est'ling' redd. ad fest' Ap'lor. pet' et pauli. Anno grā. ———— tūc nō reddid'o Dabo ei p q'libz lib^a q'libz Sept. ———— debit p g'tu ei' tenu'o. Et idō iudiani ei om̄ ———— solu'o. Et h. affida ————

In conclusion I may remark that the Hebrew writing is a somewhat cursive form of the ordinary Rabbinical character, itself derived from the "square" form of letters here used in printing the subscriptions. Nos. 1, 2, 3, are all in Aaron's writing, but the endorsements of 4, 5, are in different hands.

NOTE.—a. Among the various explanations which have been given of term "Star-chamber" (*Camera Stellata*) one is that the apartment so

called was formerly used for the conservation of these "Stars" or Jewish documents, but this is mere conjecture. Probably the best explanation is the simple one to which Sir Edw. Coke accedes, that "haply the roof thereof was at the first garnished with gilded stars." That apartments in monastic establishments were sometimes named after the heavenly bodies, and probably distinguished by representations of them, is certain from the case of St. Osyth's where an inventory refers to "the Mone Chamber," "the Sterre Chamber," and "the Sonne Chamber" (Mackenzie Walcott, *Archæologia*, xliii. p. 204). So "Ceiling" or "Cieling" from the French "Ciel" (compare Germ. *Himmel* in the same sense). "The roofs or ceilings of churches," says Pugin, "were generally powdered with stars, to signify the canopy of heaven over the faithful." *Glossary*, p. 189.

b. With regard to the Jewish use of seals, it appears from Maimonides (*De Idololatria*, cap. iii., sections 13, 14), that a signet ring with the figure of a man might not be worn if the figure were in relief, but it might be sealed with, because the impression would be concave. So, if the figure were concave, the ring might be worn, but not sealed with, because the impression would be in relief. Similitudes of the heavenly bodies and of angels might not be made—even on a picture. All animals except man, and trees, might however be represented "*etiam figura gibba*." Aaron would seem to have transgressed in sealing with the gem (p. 59) which made an impression in relief, unless the fact of its being the face only, and not the entire figure, rendered it permissible.

c. The "false accusations" referred to on p. 56 are well discussed by Mr. Baring-Gould in his *Life of St. William, the Child Martyr of Norwich*—"Lives of Saints," vol. iii. pp. 462—464. He considers that though many of the charges brought against them were undoubtedly false, yet some of them may have been true, that they would have been something more than human if their pent-up wrongs had not sometimes exasperated them into committing acts of vengeance, such as savage murders, in parody of the Crucifixion, or sacrilegious outrages on the Blessed Sacrament. "But at the same time," he adds, "it is impossible to doubt that most of these charges brought against them were invented by their enemies, for the purpose of plundering them; and that others had their origin in the imagination of the people, ready to believe anything against those whose strong-boxes they lusted to break open."

LOCAL MUNIMENTS.

THE following copies and abstracts have been made from the original evidences, preserved in the muniment-room at Langton Hall, in the East Riding, and they are published by the kind permission of Mrs. Norcliffe, the owner of that mansion.

I.

Norclyff tertia, Southowrom.

[1540. Nov. 22.] Omnibus Christi fidelibus ad quos hoc presens scriptum indentatum pervenerit Iohannes Norclyff de Barslande filius et heres Nicolai Norclyff salutem in Domino. Sciatis me prefatum Iohannem pro summa decem marcarum et viginti denariorum legalis monetæ Angliæ ad sigillacionem et deliberacionem hujus scripti mihi verabiliter soluta dedisse concessisse vendidisse et hoc presenti scripto meo confirmasse Thome Gleddyll de Barslande predictæ Thome Waterhuse de eadem et Iohanni Fyrth de Sourby unam marcam annuatim sive annualem redditum triginta trium solidorum et quatuor denariorum exeuntem et tenendam de omnibus terris tenementis pratis boscis clausuris et pasturis cum pertinentiis vocatis norclyff terciæ predicti domini parcella terra et tenementorum vocatorum Norclyff infra villatam de Southowrom in com. Ebor. modo in possessione Nicolai Brodlee de Hobegge etc. . . . termino annorum etc. . . . In cujus rei testimonium huic presenti scripto sigilla nostra alternatim apposuimus. Datum xxi^{da} die Novembris anno regni Henrici Octavi Dei gratia Regis Angliæ et Franciæ Fidei defensoris Domini Hiberniæ et in terra Supremi Capitis Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ tricesimo tertio.

Witness to livery of seisin. Henricus Savyle de Elande, sen.,
generosus.

Nicholaus Bothrode de Flande
Gerge Whytlee de Rysshworth

II.

Yorkshire Estates of Thomas Pygott, esq., deceased.
Partition. (*See also* p. 80.)

[1544 March 9. 37 Henry VIII.] Indenture Tripartite between Christopher Metcalfe Esq. son and heir of Dame Margaret Metcalfe deceased, one of the daughters and heirs of Thomas

Pygott of the County of York Esquire deceased of the first part, and Sir Charles Brandon Knight and Dame Elizabeth his wife late wife of Sir James Strangeways Knight deceased another of the daughters and heirs of the said Thomas Pygott of the second part, and Thomas Folkinghame Esquire and Dame Jane his wife, late the wife of Sir Gyles Hussee Knight deceased, another of the daughters and heirs of the said Thomas Pygott of the third part, with a view to a partition of all the manors lands and hereditaments.

- (1) First, the said Christopher Metcalfe shall have the Chantry of Clotherum and the Manors of Clotherum, Neyther Studley, Place, Nauton, Knaptonn, Liverstowne, West Lutton, Est Lutton, Thurlebye, Rippon, Asserdley, Bysshopton, North Studley, Granntley, Byssopmonnketon, Studdeley Roger, Fyrbye nexte Massam, Helay, North Carletonn, Stanke, Foxtonn, Kelck, Scorton, Gricethorpe, Homondbye cum Falthorpfylde, and Helingtonne, and lands in the same.
- (2) The said Sir Charles Brandon and Dame Elizabeth his wife shall have the Chantry of Siggestone and the Castell or Manor of Sygstonne, certayne messuages called Wynstonne, Stanke, Heldred, Mese, Brighame, Rudstonn, Rollestone, Swathorpeilde, Banton, Sewardsbey, Okewell, Gomersall, Burstall, Parva Gomersall, Hekmonwicke, Byrkinshawe, Denbye, Wheatleye, Allertonne, Melmerbye, Eglesthorpe, Carleton in Coverdale, parva Scraftonne, Baldersdale, Pekersgell, Newtounne, Morrell, and Lemynge, to them and their heirs, and for default of such issue to the said Sir Charles Brandon and his heirs.
- (3) The said Thomas Folkinghame and Dame Jane his wife shall have the Chauntrie of Rippon, the Vicarage of Carleton and Sandhoytonne, and the Manor of Northall next Leeds, the township of Syggestonne, the township of Norton next Maltonne, Muthorp, Doglebye, Kyrkbye Kendaleleth, Heaton, Friskinghall, Carletonne Myniat, Catton, Sandhuttonne, Skypstone, Thormanbye, Firby next Bedall, and Exelbye Co. York, and lands in the same.

Covenants for peaceable enjoyment of the several purpartyes so conveyed.

Indorso.	1	{ Let malis never cause the to reveale
		{ What friendship onse did bynd the to conceale.
	2	{ My eyes have seene, my hart hath chose
		{ Love hath it bownd till death doth lose.

[1565. Easter Term, 7 Eliz.] Fine. Between Thomas Husse Esq. son and heir apparent of Jane Folkingham plaintiff and Thomas Folkingham and Jane his wife deforciant. Of manors of Okewell, Gomersall, Heckmondwike, Heton, Segston, and Carleton Myniot, and 100 messuages 30 cottages 2 watermills 1 windmill 1 dovecot 60 tofts 100 gardens 60 orchards 2000 acres of land 300 acres of meadow 1000 acres of pasture 200 acres of wood 1000 acres of moor 100 acres of turbary 1000 acres of furze und heath and £5 yearly rent in Okewell, Gomersall, Spen, Berkenshay, Shayfeld, Tonge, Laversege, Heton, Fressinghall, Sygston, Carleton Myniott, Sandhoton, Skipton,

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Catton, Exhilbye near Bedall, and Thormandby. Consideration 63£ yearly to said Thomas and Jane.

Exemplified 23. Jan. 1601-2. 43. Eliz.

III.

Norcliffe family. Gomersall, &c.

[1580. Sep. 4.] Richard Tottye of Gomersall husbandman sells to Thomas Norcliffe of Carlinghowe gentleman two closes in Gomersall called New Royde and le Scabroyde Inge.

Witnesses. Richard Stubley, Roger Clarkson, Jeffery Sharpells, Jervise Stevenson.

[1596 Michaelmas Term, 38 Eliz.] Fine. Between Thomas Norcliffe gentleman Plaintiff and John Breare and Alice his wife deforciantes of 2 acres of land 4 acres of meadow 2 acres of pasture in Gomersall. Consideration 40£.

[1616 September 30.] Francis Norcliffe Esquire of Beeston son and heir of Thomas Norcliffe late of Nunnington deceased grants to Thomas Norcliffe of Nunnington Esq. Councillor at law, his Brother, at 42£. yearly rent, the manor of Hunburton Co. York, and lands in Great Gomersall, Byrystall, Heckmonwyke, a messuage in Churwell, a close called Ostlenroyde, two closes called Mawnsell, two called Great Bromley and Little Bromley, one called Doffalde wood, Doffald wood, Lambe close, Quenewell flat close, Oxe close, Cow close, Ruine close, Cold well, Great Lea close, a close on the neather side of lands of William Crofte and John Crofte, Overlong close, the Horne close, lands called the Tenter Garths, in Beeston, Cottingley, Churwell, and Mooreley, and whatsoever lands Thomas Norcliffe Esq. the Father, purchased of Ralph Beyston in the parish of Batley, and an annuity of £6. 13s. 4d. purchased of Christopher Hodgson and Isabel his wife.

Witnesses. Stephen Norcliffe, Wm. Tompson, Cu. Robinson, Richard Skinner.

[1627 Nov. 3, 3 Chas.] Deed Poll of Covenant whereby Sir Thomas Norcliffe,¹ of Nunnington Kt., covenants with Sir Thomas Fairfax of Gilling Kt., Sir Thomas Wentworth of Elmsall Kt., Sir Richard Young of London Kt., William Robinson of Rocliffe Esq., Humphry Bamburgh of Aclam gent., and Richard Brend of Howsam gent., to levy a fine of his lands in Langton, his manor of Hunburton, tythes in Batley, lands in Beeston, Churwell, Cottingley, Morley, Gomersall, Marton, Normanby, Bulmer, Welburn, Gildersome, and Batley, to use of himself for life; remainder, one third to dame Katherine his wife in lieu of Dower, and one third till her sons are of age, and a third to raise portions for younger children, with divers remainders over.

¹ Son of Thomas Norcliffe, esq., of Carlinghow, West Riding, and Nunnington, North Riding, buried 8 Aug., 1616, by Elizabeth, dau. of Rob. Eland, of Carlinghow. Born 1579. Bought Langton,

1618, being then a knight, High Sheriff in 1626. Had a general pardon under the great seal, 10 Feb., 1625-6. Will dated 15 Oct., 1627, proved, 27 June, 1628. He had nine children.

[1627, 3 Chas., Mich. Term.] Fine accordingly.

[1649, Mich. Term.] A common Recovery suffered by Thomas Norcliffe² of the Manors of Hunburton and Langton, half the manor of Howsham and half the manor of Barton—John Turner, Gent., and Hugh Smith, Gent., Plaintiffs; Tobias Jenkins, Esq., and James Hebblethwayte, Tenants, and Sir Thomas Norcliffe, Vouchee.

IV.

Leeds, Kirkgate. Holy Trinity Priory, York. Pawson Family. Knowstrop.

[1425—6. Feb. 2. 4 Henry VI.] In festo Purificaconis Bē Mariae Virginis Apud Ledes. Omnibus Xpi fidelibus &c. &c. Thomas de Seytton, fil Johannie de Seytton de Fethirstan, salutem. Cum dicta Johanna Mater mea nuper in curia Reverendi viri Prioris See Trinitatis Ebor de Ledes teñt ibidem die lune prox.: ante festum Sci. Michaelis Archangeli anno regni regis Henrici Sexti quarto, concesserit unum messuagium in Kyrkgate in Ledes in usum Robti Rasyn & Alicie uxoris ejus, &c. &c. Noveritis me ordinasse &c. dilectos michi in Xpo Johem Dawtry Johem Ive Ricum Rawson meos veros attornatos ad concedendum & confirmandum in eadem curia prefatos Robtum & Aliciam. Hici testibus, Ric Pek, Ric Bukland, John Lake, Robt Flemyng, Peter de Rome, et multis aliis. Seal a crown.

[1552. June 20. 5 Edw. VI.] William Ramsden of Longley co. Ebor, Gent. and Edward Hoppey of Yeddon Gent. sell to Geo. Robinson of Leedes Cottager a Cottage in Kyrkgate and another cottage in Kyrkgate worth yearly 10s., which belonged to Arthur Darcy Knt., and sometime belonged to the Dissolved Priory of Holy Trinity York.

[1588. Oct. 7.] George Robinson grants same to his brother Alexander Robinson to secure 10£.
Witness. Robert Maliverer.

[1588—9. Feb. 21 & 22.] Indentures of Lease and Re-lease—George Robinson of Leeds, junior, yeoman, son of George Robinson late of Leeds deceased, re-leases 2 cottages in Kirkgate to Christopher Pawson of Kyrkgate, singleman, for 55£.

Witnesses: Alexander Robinson, Olyver Pawson × his mark. On the same day he conveys separately all the 'dores, keyes, Lockes, glass, windows, portalls, bords, underfote, and flaggs.'

[1588—9. Feb. 24.] Quitclaim by Alexander Robinson of Leeds, chapman, to Christopher Pawson of 2 cottages in Kirkgate.

² Son of Sir Thomas Norcliffe, Kt., and Katherine, dau. and coheiress of Sir William Bamburgh of Howsham, Bart. Born 1614. Fellow Commoner of Christ's College, Cambridge, 1634. Knighted at Durham, 23 April, 1642. Married, 28 March, 1639, at Holy Trinity, Goodram-

gate, York, to the Honourable Dorothy Fairfax, dau. of Thos. Lord Viscount Fairfax of Elmley. Was a Colonel of Horse. Buried at Langton, 8 Jan., 1669-70, leaving issue one son and seven daughters.

- [1590. June 20.] Grant by George Cowper to Christopher Pawson at 4*d.* yearly rent of a parcell of ground 14½ inches wide.
- [159½. Jan. 24.] Thomas Ambler yeo. of Kirkgait Leeds settles on his younger son Barachias Ambler, chapman, and his wife Grace, dau. of Christopher Boyes of Leeds, a messuage in Kirkgate, late bought of John Cowper of Knowstropp by deed of 5 April 8 Eliz (1566).
- [1627—8. Feb. 3, 3 Chas.] Writ of fieri facias to Sir Thomas Fairfax, High sheriff, to distrain goods of Edward Bolton, adjudged to pay 80£ to John Cowper, for working Coales within the manor of Leeds and Duchy of Lancaster under Copyhold lands.
- [1630. May 31, 6 Chas.] John Lambe of Leeds, chapman, conveys the abovementioned Messuage to John Clough of East Rigton, Gent. Consideration £101.
- [1639. Oct. 16, 15 Car.] John Clough of East Rigton, Gent., sells to Robert Clough of the same, Gent., his son, same messuage, also stony Roides, 4a. 1r. in Leeds Woodhouse field, a close of 8 acres at Barwick in Elmet lately bought of Richard Ingle of Scoles. Warrants same against Rosamond now his wife.
Witnesses : Rich. Bywater, Robert Chambers, clerk.
- [1665. May 31, 17 Car. 2.] Robert Clough the elder of Great Purston Co. York, gent., and John Clough of the same, attorney at Law, his son and heir, convey to Christopher Pawson of Leeds Kirgate, Gent., a messuage, Lathe, or barn, & garden, in Leeds Kirgate, for 71£ 10*s.* 6*d.*
Seal, a lion rampant.
Witnesses to livery of seisin : Saml. Pawson, Richard Fish, Seth Pawson, J. Garnett, Will. Ashe.
- [1669—70. Hil. Term, 22 Car.] Fine between Christopher Pawson, gent., John Gledhill and John Wright, plaintiffs, and Robert Clough, gent. and Elizabeth his wife, John Clough, gent. and Rebecca his wife, John Shawe, and Leonard Stables gent. and Dorothy his wife deforciants, of 3 messuages, 2 cottages, a granary, garden, 20 a. of land, 10a. pasture in Leeds, Burstall, Cleckheaton, Liversedge, and Pontefract. Consideration 100£ sterling.
- [1694. Nov 3.] Wi of Christopher Pawson, whereby he devises estates to his wife Susanna for life, remainder to his youngest son Christopher.
- [1701. May 27.] Will of Christopher Pawson, whereby he devises estates to his son Henry.
- [1717. Oct. 19.] Admittance of Henry Pawson, of full age, nephew and heir of Henry Pawson, deceased, to houses in Kirkgate.
- [1578. Nov. 8.] William Arthington of the Crosse Grene in Knowstrop, yeoman, sells to Anne Pawson of Kirkgate, Widow, a close of

3a. called Holting garth, free of all claims except dower of Margaret Arthington then his wife, and subject to a lease (13 years unexpired) to Anthony Harrison ; and states same to have been purchased of William Ramsden gent. and Edward Hoppey³ yeoman by Deed dated 19 Nov., 37 Hen. VIII. 1545. Livery of seisin witnessed by John Sykes, and Randall Arthington son of said William.

[1586. March 31, 28 Eliz.] Admittance of Anne Pawson of Kirkgate widow to 6 lands in Middlefield of Knowstrop upon one furshott there called Bothomes on surrender of Hen. Moxsone of Leeds Main-riding.

[1588. Oct. 8.] *Curia cum Turno de Leeds.* Christopher Pawson, son and next heir of Anne Pawson widow, who is dead, admitted to half an acre in lower field of Knowstrop and two parts of a close called Tofts and 6 selions of meadow, i.e. one acre and a half in Knowstrop and two parts of a close called Townescliffe in Leeds of one and a half acres.

[1600. Nov. 10.] Randall Arthington, son & heir of William Arthington of Crossegrone, deceased, gives bond in 30£ to perform covenants as to a close called Brakenhill 1½a. in Knowstropp, & one rood of land called Beanehead lands, duly surrendered to William Greave.

Witnesses: Christopher Pawson, Alexander More, John Pawson × Thomas Pawson ○.

Seal, a Pelican in her Piety.

[1603. March 25.] Randall Arthington of the Crosse Greene near Leeds leases to Christopher Pawson of Kyrkgaite, yeoman, Brakenhill close, Peefflatt close, and three roods of land in Knowstropp.

[1606. 3 James, Apr 4.] Manor Court of Leeds. Gilbert Earl of Shrewsbury Steward, William Richardson Deputy Steward, Sir Thomas Knyvett Supervisor. Ralph Arthington surrenders Peefflatt & Brakenhill to the use of Christopher Pawson.

[1606. Nov. 25.] Before Robert Somerscales, Deputy Steward, & Thomas Potts, Deputy Supervisor, Thomas Moxon demands the same of Christopher Pawson & James Iles.

[1606—7. March 7.] At Pontefract, Christopher Pawson is admitted Tenant & paid 4s. 4d. fine.

[1607. July 6.] Randolphus Arthington of the Mayneriding Leeds, yeoman, sells and conveys to Christopher Pawson of Kirkegate, yeoman, Brakenhill close and Peefflat in Knowstropp, which belonged to his late Father William Arthington and were by him purchased of William Ramsden, gent., & Edward Hoppey, yeoman.

³ One Edward Hoppey married Olive, dau. of Sir Robert Dyneley, Kt., by Olive, dau. of Sir Robert Stapylton. Her brother Robert died 1688, set. 82.

Whitaker's Thoresby, p. 35. 1630, June 21, Alice Gascoigne of Otley, widow, gives 5s. to each of her cousins, Nicholas Hoppey and Matthew Hoppey, gentlemen.

[1607. Mich. Term. Fine between Chr. Pawson Querent & Ranulph Arthington & Elizabeth his wife of four acres in Knowstropp & Leeds.

[1611. June 27. 9 Jac.] William Grave of Leeds, Baker, grants to Christopher Pawson & Thomas Grave of Leathley a close of $1\frac{1}{2}$ acres called Brackenhill in Knowstropp, in trust for his daughter Isabel now wife of Joseph Goodall of Leeds Chapman, & her heirs, her husband to be tenant for his life.

Witnesses : Henry Pawson, Richard Pawson.

[1630. March 16.] Enfranchisement to Christopher Pawson of Leeds Kirkgate yeoman for 17£ of four cottages in the Marsh lane, Townend closes, Greave closes, Holt Ing, Brakenhill, Peeblatt in Knowstropp, etc. from Thomas Metcalfe Esq. Alderman, John Harrison, Samuel Casson, Richard Sykes, Joseph Hillary, Benjamin Wade, & Francis Jackson of Leeds, Esquires, William Sykes, youngest son of the said Richard Sykes, William Marshall the younger, William Skelton, William Marshall the elder, John Thwnites, Henry Watkinson, John Wade, & Richard Simpson, of Leeds Gentlemen, Lords of the Manor of Leeds, which by virtue of an Indenture made 5 October 15 James between His late Majesty King James and Sir John Walter kt, Sir James Fullerton kt, & Sir Thomas Trevorkt, at the rent of 58£ 15s. 2d. and half a farthing, is come to them. Witnesses : John Fawcett Richard Kitchingman.

Witnesses to Livery of seisin : Francis Pawson, Thomas Pawson
 ☉ his mark, William Eshe.

[1640. April 25.] Isabel Lambert of Leeds, widow, & Tobyas Goodall of the same, Clothier, her son & heir apparent, convey to Henry Pawson of Leeds, Chapman, for 14£, that close of $1\frac{1}{2}$ acres in Knowstropp called Brakenhill.

Witnesses : Samuel Pawson S. P., Christopher Pawson x.

[1642. 14 Sept. 16 Car.] Inquisition taken at Hedingley before Mark Shaftoe, Esq. Escheator, after the death of Richard Pawson of Leeds Kirgate, deceased. The Jury find that he died 10th April last seised of a messuage in Kirkgate in fee, held of the Honour of Pontefract in free & common soccage & not by knights service or in chief, & it is worth 2s. 6d. yearly, & that Henry Pawson is his Brother & next heir, & aged 40 years.

Seal, a fess between 3 martlets.

[1644. August 1.] Enfranchisement from the Lords of the Manor of Leeds, Alderman Joseph Hillarie, Richard Sykes, William Sykes, etc. to Isabell Lambert of Leeds Widow & Henry Pawson of Leeds Kirkgate, Clothworker, for 8£, of Townend tofts being two acres, at 5½d. rent, the same being granted by King James to Sir John Walter, Sir James Fullerton, & Sir Thomas Trevor; and being granted by Letters Patent of 14 June 4 Charles to Edward Dichfield, John Highlorde, Humphrey Clarke, & Francis Mosse, Citizens of London, and by them conveyed to Hillarie Sykes etc by Indenture of 6 May, 5 Charles.

[1650. April 15.] Henry Nevill alias Smyth of Cressing Temple, Co. Essex, Esquier, sells to Henry Pawson of Leeds Kirkgate, Chapman, for 120£, a close at Knostrupp of 4 a ; lands of William Stable North, & Pomfret lane South, a lane called Crosse Green lane West, & two closes of said Henry Nevill alias Smyth East. Makes Lancelot Iveson of Leeds & Edward Rawden of Leeds, Attornies to deliver possession, to which Seth Pawson & Christopher Pawson are Witnesses.

[1653. May 13.] Indenture between Henry Pawson of Leeds, Chapman, of the first, William Stable of Knostrupp Gent & Alexander Foster of Leeds Mainriding of the other part. In consideration of a marriage shortly to be had between his son Christopher & Susanna dau: Henry Roundell of the Meadow lane in Leeds Mainriding, Chapman, Pawson settles a tenement in Kirgate, two closes in Woodhouse fields, Holt Ing in Knostrupp, a cottage in the Marshlane, a cottage in Kirgate, the Bothomes close in Knostrupp 1½ acre.

Witness : John Browne.

[1659. Sept. 21.] Indenture between Henry Pawson of Leeds, Clothworker, & Alice his wife, late one of the daurs. and heirs of Agnes Brown of Leeds Kirgate, & Richard Fishe, eldest son & heir of Mary Fish, deceased, another of the daurs. and heirs of Agnes Brown, & Christopher Pawson, eldest son, Samuel Pawson, second son, & Anne Pawson dau. of said Henry & Alice, of the one part, & John Garnett of Leeds, Gent, & Robert Bourman of Sturton Graunge par Aberford, yeoman of the other ; Covenant to levy a fine as to three houses in Leeds Kirgate, a close called the Tofts or Crosse greene close in Knowstropp of 2 acres ; two closes in Pontefract Lane called Brakenhill close & Peefflatt close, and half a selyon called Brandland, adjoining them, to the use of Samuel Pawson & his heirs.

Witness : Seth Pawson, Alice Pawson Junior.

[1675. Sept. 7.] John Pawson of York, Merchant, sells to Christopher Pawson of Leeds, Gent, & Susannah his wife, & Henry Pawson of Leeds, Clothworker, son of the said Christopher, for 20£, Brackenhill close in Knowstropp of 1½ acre, lands of John Stable Gent on the North, & land of the heirs of Mr Samuel Pawson, deceased, on the West.

Witnesses : Thomas Foster, Henry Pawson Senior, Nathaniel Rhodes.

[1676. May 2.] Will of Seth Pawson of Leeds gentleman ; devises lands in Leeds to wife Mary for life remainder to nephew Henry Pawson, son of his brother Christopher Pawson. To same nephew and brother, and to nephews Samuel Pawson and Richard Powell, each a mourning Cloak. To Anne daughter of William Carirle his brother in Law, 10£. To Marmaduke Coke Clerk and his wife, and the wife of Richard Powell each a gold ring.

[1677. Nov. 30.] Indentures of Apprenticeship of Samuel son of Christopher Pawson of Leeds, clothdresser, to Henry Dickinson of Hull, Merchant Adventurer.

[1679. Apr. 29.] Settlement by Christopher Pawson of Leeds, Gent., and Susanna his wife, in consideration of a marriage lately had between Henry Pawson their son and heir apparent, and Sarah one of the daughters of Richard Beaus of Ledston, Co. York, Gent., and of her marriage portion paid, of 2 messuages in Kirgate, messuage in Marsh laue, horsemill in Call lane, Townend closes, Cross Greene and Pontefract Lane closes, with Covenant to pay to said Sarah 24£ a year should she survive said Henry Pawson. Trustees: Denzil Guslows of Perford co. Surrey, Esq., and James Shiers of Brotherton, co. York, Gent.

Witness: Henry Smithson.

[1694. Oct. 29 & 30.] William Parker and Rebecca his wife to Christopher Pawson of Leeds, Gent., Lease and Re-lease of undivided moiety of Brakenhill Peeffatt, for 35£, warranted against Edward Hill of Beckwithshaw and Frances his wife, and Mary Broadbelt of Beckwithshaw.

Witnesses: Henry Pawson, Christopher Pawson.

[1702. April 30 and May 1.] Mary Broadbelt, widow of Richard Broadbelt of the City of York, saddler, deceased, and eldest daughter of Samuel Pawson late of Hamsthwaite, Clerk, to Henry Pawson, son and heir apparent of Christopher Pawson late of Leeds, Linen Draper, Lease and Re-lease of undivided moiety of Brakenhill and Pieffatt abutting east on lands of Sir Richard Lloyd. Consideration, 35£.

V.

Brooke family. Leeds.

[1567. July 1st and 3rd.] Ellen Young of Darrington, Widow, late wife of Baldwin Young, Gent., deceased; Thomas Walton of Pomfret, yeoman, and Mary his wife, and Margaret Gelstrobe, of Darrington, Widow, to William Brooke of the Crosse House, in the county of York, Tanner. Lease and Re-lease of a messuage called Brodeyat, in Leeds, and a shop in Leeds, descended to the said Mary and Margaret, by death of Baldwin Young, their father. Consideration, £51.

Witnesses: Robert Popeley, George Lacyter, Clerk, of Darrington.

[9 Eliz. 1567, Mich. Term.] Fine of same hereditaments.

[1591. Mar. 25.] Deed Poll whereby William Brooke of Crossehouse gives all his lands in Leeds to his son Thomas Brooke.

Witnesses: John Brooke of Adwalton, Tanner, Edward Brooke, of Okenshaw, John Brooke of Crossehouse, Tanner.

[1646. Aug. 25.] Inquisition post mortem of William Brooke of Crossehouse, taken before Benjamin Kent, Escheator, at Weskitt Hill. Thomas Brooke, father of said William, was seised of Crossehouse and 30 a. of land in Hunsworth, and by indenture dated 26 Apr. 14 James, settled same on his son William and his heirs male, remainder

to William Brooke of Drighlington in fee. The said William Brooke being so seised, and also of certain lands in Leeds, made his will 28 Apr. 1639, whereby he gave Broadyates and all his lands in Leeds to Thomas Brooke his 2nd son, and died 20th Oct. 1644. John Brooke is his son and heir, aged 14 at his father's death. The lands at Hunsworth are held of Henry Tempest, Esq., as of his Manor of Tonge, the lands in Leeds of the King, as of his Manor of Enfield.

- [1659. July 12.] Thomas Brooke of Farlington, parish of Sheriff Hutton, Gent., sells half a tenement in the Market Place at Leeds, called the Broad Yates, to William Smithson of Leeds, Draper.
Witness : Peter Roundell.

- [1661. Nov. 27.] William Smithson of Leeds, Draper, by will of this date, gave Broadyates to his eldest son John Smithson, names his sons William and Robert, his daughters Patience, Mary, Sarah, and Lydia—his wife Sarah now with child, and his mother-in-law Jane Dun—his brother Robert Smithson, and Martin Headley, Gent. Trustees. Devises lands in Woodhouse field, Marsh lane, Hunslett, Hooke, Middleton, a cottage in Leeds "as the same doth adjoin on the old Church-yard," a wool-chamber in Leeds, and a butcher's shop in the shambles there. Proved 9 Sept. 1680 and administration granted to Sarah his Widow, now wife of Henry Moorhouse, Clerk.

- [1689. Nov. 2.] Bond to keep covenants from John Dodgson of Leeds, Gent. and Sarah his wife, John West of Rotherham, Mercer, and Mary his wife, William Smithson of Rotherham, Gent. and Robert Smithson of London, Silkeman, with John Richardson of Leeds, Apothecary, and Lydia his wife.

VI.

Atkinson family. Leeds.

- [1671. Aug. 22, 23 Car. II.] Lucia Harrison of Eccupp co. York Widow grants and conveys to her only son and heir Wilfrid als Wilfrey Harrison, of same, husbandman, 2 closes called Eastcliffe close and Middlecliffe close, in Rigton near Almoscliffe als West Rigton, once the inheritance of Richard Tomlinson, deceased, who conveyed same to Richard Wyke brother of said Lucia, then deceased, and whose only sister and heir she is. Livery of seisin indorsed.

Witnesses : Henry Atkinson, William Atkinson, John Barker.

- [1673. 13th and 14th Oct.] Wilfrid Harrison to Henry Atkinson of Leeds, Esq. Lease and re-lease of same closes.
Witness : Chris. Thomlinson.

- [1673. Nov. 6.] Indenture between Lucia Harrison of Eccup Widow of the one part, and Henry Atkinson of Leeds, Esq. of the other part. Recites that in Trinity Term 23 Car. II said Lucia and

Humphrey Berry Godfrey,⁴ Esq., her Lessee recovered judgment in King's Bench in trespass against Philip Thomlinson of Rigton for £9, and assigns same judgment to Henry Atkinson.

By another deed of same date she assigns to same Henry Atkinson three judgments in King's Bench, after writ of Latitat to Sir Solomon Swale, Sheriff, against John Smith of Rigton for £12 11s. 4d., £60, 60s. costs.

- [1671. Sep. 18.] Bond of Thomas Horne of Horncastle, Co. Linc., Gent., to John Walker of Leeds, Gent., in £800, to perform covenants. He also warrants against Anne his wife.

Witnesses: James Twist, Clerk; Mary Watson.

- [1672. Nov. 22.] William Pollard of Leeds, Salter, to Henry Atkinson, of Leeds, Gentleman. Lease for a year of Upper Moor Close, Horsforth, abutting on lands of Thomas Layton on the north, west, and south.

Witnesses: M. Norecliffe⁵; Ralph Chetham (*see* p. 80, note); Tho. Mace.

- [1673. Oct. 16 and 17.] John Walker of Hedingley, Gent., to Henry Atkinson of Leeds, Esq. Lease and Re-lease of undivided moiety of Messuages in Leeds in the tenure of John Stephenson, Gent., William Fenton, Gent., Richard Wilson, Gent.; moiety of Bridge Closes in Woodhouse, Morris Close in Woodhouse, four closes near Shipscar Bridge in tenure of Joseph Ibbetson, Gent., after death of William Horne of Mexbrough Co. York, Gent. Recites said John Walker is seised in fee of the reversion of the other moiety after death of said William Horne, who is tenant for life. Warrants against claims of Lidia wife of said John Walker. Consideration £300.

Witnesses. Tob. Iles; Thomas Iles.

- [1673. Oct. 17.] John Walker to Henry Atkinson. Conveyance of Reversion of other moiety. William Horne, Gent., Tenant for life attorns to Henry Atkinson.

Witnesses. Jo. Walker; William Horne.

- [1673. Oct. 19.] Thomas Horne of City of Lincoln, Gent., to Henry Atkinson. Conveyance of reversion of undivided moiety of said lands, expectant on the death of William Horne of Mexbrough his father.

Witnesses. William Horne, senr.; William Horne, junr.; Leonard Stanley.

- [1679. October 3rd and 4th.] William Lodge of the City of York, Esq.

⁴ Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey, murdered 1678, took his name from the family of Berry of Lydd, co. Kent. He had three brothers, Peter, Benjamin, and Michael, who had a son of his own name. Was this Humphrey Berry Godfrey, of Ecupp and Rigton, in 1673, not a relation?

⁵ A Marmaduke Norcliffe appears in the Visitation of 1665 as grandson of Marmaduke N. of Oswaldkirk, who was

bapt. 25 April. 1591, at Nunnington, was a Justice of Peace, and married Mary, dau. and heiress of Ralph (not William) Dolman of Everingham. His dau. Anne married 15 July, 1656, at Nunnington, Thomas Wood of Thorpe. The grandson was a member of Furnival's Inn, and in 1691 had issue Henrietta Maria, wife of Pelham Haddlesey, of South Duffield, gent.

and Henry Atkinson of Leeds, Esq., and Elizabeth his wife, to Henry Stappylton of Wighill, Esq., and Roger Belwood of the City of York, Esq. Lease and Re-lease of Messuage in Briggate, 2 Bridge Closes, Woodhouse lane close, 2 other messuages in Briggate, Wade lane close, Blackman lane close, 4 Shipscar closes, Scurfe close, Bank close, in trust for Henry Atkinson and his heirs; except 2 tenements and stable, barn, and middle garden, and Woodhouse lane close alias Bridge close, and Woodhouse lane close alias Morris close, which are to the use of said William Lodge, to whom the said Henry Atkinson has paid £60. The Courtyard, and well, are to be held jointly, and the Chantry rent of 20s. to be apportioned between them. Henry Atkinson warrants against all persons claiming under him or Sarah, late wife of William Horne^a of Mexburgh, Esq., both deceased. William Lodge warrants against all persons claiming under him or Elizabeth, his late mother, deceased.

Witnesses: Alexander Horne, Gledhill Batts, Richard Lodge, William Midgely, Rowland Watson.

[1682. June 20.] Indenture. Thomas Jackson of Leeds, Gentn. of the first part; Hen. Atkinson, Esq. of Leeds of the second part, and William Atkinson of Kirskill Hall, Co. York, Gent., of third part. Covenant to sue out writ of disseisin of the ninth part of the Manor of Leeds, a tenement next the Bear in Briggate, divided into three, occupied by George Neale, M.D. Samuel Hobson, Apothecary, and Edward Tildesley Grocer, Gardens, Cottages in Boar Lane, Messuages in the Shambles, Briggate, Cut and Feather in Kirgate, in tenure of Oliver and Lawrence Breres, Gents., Claypit Lane Close, lands in Shipscar, Woodhouse lane, Timble Beck, Marsh Lane, Pitfall Mills, and the ninth part of seven messuages 40 a. of land, 20 a. of meadow, 20 a. of pasture &c. Consideration, £530 to William Rooke, and £1060 paid by William Atkinson.

Witnesses: M. Norcliffe; Rowl. Watson; Henry Watson.

[1682. 34 Chas. II.] Common Recovery of the above hereditaments exemplified 5th July, 34 Chas. II.

[1682. Decr. 5.] Will of said William Atkinson of Kirskill Hall, parish of Addle, Gent. To be buried at Addle church near his dear

^a These deeds add to the visitation pedigree of Horne (*Visit. Ebor. Surtees Soc.*, p. 353). Judith Horne, wife of Nicholas Maskall, died 16 May, 1682, æt. 39. There could only have been a year between her and Thomas Horne, son of the first wife, but she is called on her Monumental Inscription "Gulielmi Horne de Mexburgh Armigeri et Eliæ uxoris ejus filia primogenita." Her brother William died 3 Oct., 1685, aged 36. See Monumental Inscription, Leeds (Whitaker's Thoresby, p. 45, 47). One Captain Alexander Horne was governor of the Isle of Man about 1710. The Will of William Horne of Mexburgh was proved 3rd April, 1680, and administration

granted to his daughter Elizabeth, wife of Henry Atkinson. Who his second wife was, the visitation does not state, which is a singular omission if he himself entered the Pedigree. His sister Judith, bap. 1621, was married, 1641, to Sir Matthew Wentworth, and was buried 10 March, 1643-4, at Belfrey's Church, York. But for the epitaph at Leeds, it might have been thought that all the children of William Horne were by his first wife, who was an infant in 1618, notwithstanding the Visitation which, in MS. and especially as printed, is full of mistakes and inaccuracies. Benjamin Atkinson, 1st Jan., 1702-3, seals with the arms of Horne.

wife and daughter Jane. To eldest son and heir lands in Poole, called Hardcastle farm, the which was his paternal estate, conveyed by him to Alice his late dear wife. To second son William and any of his lawful issue male, or female, lands in Leathley, Ripton near Almescliffe, Burley near Otley, and Burney end purchased by him subject to an annuity of £60. To daughters Ann, Sarah, and Alice Atkinson, £1100 each. To daughter Rosamond Garforth, already preferred by him in marriage, one fourth part of his plate, linen, beds &c. To his two kinsmen and neighbours Samuel Midgeley and John Midgeley, £10, as Trustees of the poor of the parish of Addle to be lent out as a 'Town Stock.' Son Henry, sole executor; to his kind brothers in law Rowland Watson and Hugh Watson, 20s. each for rings.

[1684—5. Feb. 24th and 25th.] Thomas Jackson, William Atkinson, and William Rooke, to Elizabeth Atkinson, widow of Henry Atkinson (lately dead, leaving his son and heir Henry an infant). 'Conveyance of premises in Deed of June 20th, 1682, and the Common Recovery. Said Elizabeth Atkinson had paid debts to William Rooke and Thomas Jackson. Her son Henry to act as Trustee, and Joint Lord of the Manor of Leeds.

[1685. May 1st and 2nd.] Thomas Hodgson of Brokeabank in Craven Co. York, Gentleman, to William Atkinson of Kirsill Hall, Co. York, Gentleman. Lease and Re-lease of a messuage and tenement and four oxgangs of land in Eshton, a close called Lund Parrocke, and one cattle-gate in Husband pasture in Eshton; of which the first was the inheritance of the late Earl of Cumberland, deceased, the close of Thomas Bucke of Eshton, and the cattle-gate of John Dawson, all which John Kitching of Eshton, deceased, being seised in fee, by Will dated 8 March 1678 did divide into two equal parts, giving one half to Mark Smith, son of his sister Isabel, and after his death to John son of the said Mark; and the other half to John Smith, shoemaker, brother of the said Mark; after the decease of Mary then wife of him John Kitching. Since which time Mark Smith is dead, and Mary Kitching is dead, and John Smith the brother and John Smith the son have conveyed the same to the said Thomas Hodgson,—And also that messuage in Threshfield, late the inheritance of the Earl of Cumberland, deceased, held at the ancient rent of 15s. 6d. yearly, with all feedings, cattle gates in stinted pastures, beast-gates, sheep-gates, moores, mosses, wastes, balkes, raynes, wayes, pathes, & easments, which were conveyed by William Hodgson, son and heir of Robert Hodgson of Threshfield to the said Thomas Hodgson. Warrants against Catherine his wife. Consideration £500.

Witnesses: Rich. Rhodes, Mawger Mawde, Hu: Watson.

[1685. May 2.] Indenture of defeasance, declaring the above deeds are to secure £500 to said William Atkinson.

[1699—1700. Feb. 9.] Indenture between Thomas Hodgson late of

⁷ This Benefaction is not mentioned in Lawton's Collections.

Brokeabank, Gent., but then of Hornby, Co. Lanc., Gent. and Ann Atkinson of Poole, spinster. Remits all claim to lands in Eshton and Threshfield by him conveyed to William Atkinson, father of said Ann, as by deeds deposited in hands of Hugh Watson, senior, would more plainly appear.

Witnesses: Hu: Watson; Will: Watson; Wm. Atkinson; Robert Bankes. Seal, Atkinson. Ermine, a fess engrailed between three pheons, sable. Cress, a pheon.

- [1689. March 28. 1 Will. & Mary.] Probate of the will of Elizabeth Atkinson, widow and relict of Henry Atkinson, late of Leeds, Esq., deceased. Gives to Mr. William Atkinson, her Father-in-law, Edward Atkinson of Leeds, Esq., & Robert Garnett of Leeds, Gent., in trust, all her lands & messuages, & the undivided ninth part of the Manor of Leeds she purchased of Thomas Jackson late of Leeds, Merchant, & all the lands held as Administratrix of her late deceased husband, being either Mortgages in fee or for years, to be equally divided amongst Benjamin, John, William, Rowland, Richard, Elizabeth, Alice, & Judith Atkinson her children—"In case my eldest son Henry shall die before 21, then my son Benjamin to be excluded—him that shall be heir-at-law to my deceased husband to be excluded. If only one daughter live, she shall have 1200£." Son Benjamin 50£, son Henry all her Library & Books—he to be Executor—her Father-in-law Mr. William Atkinson, & her friends Mr. Edward Atkinson & Mr. William Calverley to be Tutors.

Pr. 30 August, 1692.

- [1694. June 11. 6 Wm. and Mary.] Anne Atkinson and Sarah Atkinson, both of Poole Co. York, Spinsters, sell to Rosamond Garforth of Poole, widow, for £650, a messuage and two barns, and seven closes called Dawcroft, over new croft, nether new croft The Ing, the Redinge, the little Sun Inge, and West Close, all in Poole, and late the lands of Tristram Thomlinson.

- [1696. Dec. 18.] Deed Poll, whereby Rosamond Crosland of Poole, wife of Thomas Crosland, Clerk, appoints to Benjamin Atkinson Gent., and also to John, William, Elizabeth, Rolland, Alice, Richard and Judith, sons and daughters of Hen. Atkinson, Esq. her late brother deceased, 20£ each, and to her two Sisters Ann Atkinson and Sarah Atkinson the yearly sum of 60£, and 1040£.

- [1698. July 14.] Will of Sarah Atkinson of Poole Spinster—to my Brother in law Mr. Thomas Crosland,* Rector of Kirk Bramwith 5£, to my cosen Henry Watson of Snaygill 5£, to my nephew Mr. Benjamin Atkinson of Leeds and to Susanna his wife 5£ each, to their son Henry 50£, to their daughter Elizabeth 40£. my nephews and nieces Mr. John and Mr. William Atkinson of Leeds, Mr. Richard, Mrs. Elizabeth, Mrs. Alice, and Mrs. Judith Atkinson each 100£. To my Uncle Hugh Watson of Bradley 10£. To my nephew Mr. Rowland Atkinson 100£ if he be put to a trade within 8 months,

* Bap. 7 Feb., 1660-1, at S. Mary Bishophill the Elder. Bur. 18 May, 1714, at S. John's, York. His second wife

Rosamond was buried 5 April, 1708, at Kirk Bramwith. *Priory and Peculiar of Snauik*, 1861, p. 99.

by the advice of Mr. Robert Garnett, of Leeds his guardian, my sister Mrs. Rosamond Crosland, and my sister Mrs. Ann Atkinson. I give my sisters all my lands, beast gates, cattle gates, and sheep gates, which I had by mortgage from John Atkinson of Arcliffe, and all my lands &c. at Hawksworth, Burney End, Otley, Linum, Poole, Rigton, &c. given me by the will of my late Father Mr. William Atkinson—they to be executors—to my Brother Mr. William Atkinson, supposed to be now in Carolina 100£.

- [1704. 10 and 11 Sep.] Ann Atkinson of Leeds, Spinster, to Benjamin Atkinson of Leeds her Nephew. Lease and Re-lease of farm called Lynam in parish of Addle, occupied by Henry Portington, Gent., farms at Rigton, Hawksworth, a place called Shevin-end in Otley parish, Gargrave, Eshton in Craven, Bank Newton, Rolton Brigg in Craven, Bradley nigh Skipton, Poole, Burley in Otley parish, and all horse gates and sheep gates called Almescliffe land and Newton land.

- [1694. Sept. 11.] Lease from Robert Garnett of Leeds Gent. (Trustee under the will of Elizabeth Atkinson Widow of Henry Atkinson, Esq.) to William Rooke of Leeds Merchant of the Pitfall Mills in Leeds, at 30£ yearly rent; to leave two water wheels, each with a stocke, and all of them fit to mill cloth in.

Whereas Henry Gilbert of Netherdale, Co. Leicester, Esq. and George Sorrocolld⁹ of the Town of Darby, Gentleman, have undertaken by engines to convey water into the town of Leeds, they are to have liberty to enter the premises, and as soon as their yearly profit is 60£, the premises are to be assigned to them. The fee-farm Rent of 3£ 18s. 8d. to be paid to His Grace the Duke of Leeds.

Witness: Jasper Blythman.

- [1697. 1 & 2 July.] Benjamin Atkinson of Leeds Gent., to Robert Parker of Extwistle Co. Lanc., Esq., and Lawrence Ormerod of Simonstone, Co. Lanc., Gent, settlement of messuages in Briggate Leeds, 4 closes in Shipscar etc. in consideration of marriage already solemnized between said Benj. Atkinson and Susan his then wife, and of £300 paid by her father Peter Ormerod in lieu of her jointure—1000£ to be raised for younger children.

Witnesses. Lawrence Eastwood, Peter Ormerod, Piers Ormerod.

- [1700. May 4th & 6th.] Robert Garnett, Gent. of Leeds, to Elizabeth Atkinson, Spinster. Lease and Re-lease of a messuage in Briggate, three closes in Marsh Lane, and two closes near Timble-bridge.

- [1704. June 1.] Hugh Sleight¹⁰ of Leeds, Gent. and Elizabeth his wife grant the same premises to Joshua Pickersgill, to lead the uses of a Fine.

⁹ See *Whitaker's Thoresby*, p. 77.

¹⁰ Hugh Sleight, attorney-at-law, described as of Leeds, 1703, who died 1733, was son of Ralph Sleight of Broadmeadow, lord of the manor of Sheen, co. Stafford. He was 17th in direct descent from John

del Slee, living 1288. He bore Gules a chevron betw. 3 owls Arg., and quartered the arms of Arderne Darcy Reddish, Ryley, Sutton, Dethick, and Longford. He was first cousin to Lady Alexander Brodie of Brodie, North Britain,

[1704. 3 Anne, Trin. Term.] Fine between Joshua Pickersgill, James Bentley, and William Scott, Plaintiffs, and Hugh Sleigh, Gent., and Elizabeth his wife, Henry Watkinson, Doctor of Laws, and Ann his wife, John Robinson, Gent., and Elizabeth his wife, Christopher Ripley and Rebecca his wife, Deforcians, of two messuages, two granaries, two Water-Mills, 30 acres of land, 12 acres of meadow 20 acres of pasture in Leeds and Rothwell. Consideration 100£.

[1705. Oct. 9th and 10th.] Richard Atkinson of Leeds, Apothecary, to Hugh Sleigh of Leeds, Gent, and Elizabeth his wife sister of the said Richard. Lease and re-lease of his house in Briggate.

[1704. May 15.] Indenture between William Garnett of Wykehouse, par Whitechurch, of the first part; Benjamin Atkinson of Leeds, Gent, John Atkinson of Leeds, Linendraper, William Atkinson of Leeds, Gent, Rowland Atkinson of Leeds, Merchant, Hugh Sleigh of Leeds, Gent, and Elizabeth his wife, Thomas Elwick of Stainforth, Gent. and Alice his wife, and Solomon Pollard of Leeds, Apothecary, and Judith his wife, of the second part; and Richard Atkinson of Leeds, Apothecary, of the third part—Recites the will of Elizabeth Atkinson, 28 March 1689, as to lands and the ninth part of the Manor of Leeds, and the trusts by it created, and that Sleigh, Elwick, and Pollard had married her three daughters, and that Richard Atkinson was 21 years of age, and that by consent of all parties Garnett should convey to him, as his child's portion, those houses in Briggate in Leeds occupied by Mr. Henry Witham, John Walker, and Thomas Kent. Conveyance accordingly.

Witness: Thos. Crosland.

[1704—5. March 7.] Will of Anne Atkinson of Leeds, Single woman. All her lands to Benj. Atkinson her nephew, who had given bond to pay £500 each to Rowland Atkinson, Richard Atkinson, Thomas Ellwick who married Alice Atkinson, Hugh Sleigh, who married Elizabeth Atkinson, and Solomon Pollard, who married Judith Atkinson.

[1705. Oct. 12.] Will of Richard Atkinson of Leeds, Apothecary. Lands in Briggate to his brother Mr. Hugh Sleigh and his heirs. To his brother William Atkinson 50£. To Children of his sister Alice Ellwick £100. To his niece Elizabeth Pollard 50£. A bond entered into by his brother Benjamin Atkinson. To his sister Judith wife of Mr. Solomon Pollard £100.

second cousin to Sir Samuel Dashwood, Kt., Lord Mayor of London, 1702, and to Sir Francis Dashwood, Bart.; second cousin once removed to Baron le Despencer, Baron Archer, Baroness Brooke, and Sir John Dashwood King, Bart.; and third cousin to the Countess of the 6th Earl of Ferrars, and to Lady Salisbury Cotton. His aunt Penelope, married John Fletcher, esq., of Hunslett, Leeds, who died 1709. At Langton Hall, E.

Riding, is a large portrait of him, and also miniatures of himself and his wife. His daughter's christening mantle is still preserved, and has been used ever since for her descendants. He married Elizabeth Atkinson, 7 July, 1703, at Kirk Bramwith Church, where her sister Alice on 2 January, 1700-1, had married Thomas Elwick; their uncle by marriage, the Rev. Thomas Crosland, being rector at the time. She was buried 29 March, 1723.

[1705—6. Mar. 7.] Will of Benj. Atkinson of Leeds, Gent.—Recites he is seized in fee of Messuages, burgages &c. in Leeds, messuages called Caley in Otley heretofore lands of his brother William and by him devised, and of other lands given him by his Aunt Anne by Deeds of 10 and 11 Sep. 1704, and devised same, together with leasehold lands called Knotsford and Stubbins, to Robt. Parker of Extwisle, Esq., Ambrose Walton of Marsden, co. Lanc., Gent., Edmund Butterworth of Windebank, co. Lanc., Merchant, and Bright Dixon of Leeds, Master of Arts, for a term of 20 years on Trust to raise 400£ a piece for younger children, Elizabeth, William, John and Benjamin when 21 years old—Daughter Elizabeth to have 15£ a year, the others 10£, for maintenance—subject as above, devises same lands to his eldest son Henry. To his wife 40£ in lieu of dower. “In consideration my dear Aunt Anne hath given me all her lands and also all her personal estate” he gave her 50£ a year so long as she lived with his wife and children, to be reduced to 40£ a year if she removed. Son Henry to have such allowance as Trustees thought fit.

[1709. Dec. 1.] John Atkinson of Leeds, Linen Draper, my personal estate to my Brothers Hugh Sleigh of Leeds, Gent, and Solomon Pollard of Leeds, Apothecary, to sell and divide between my four children Henry, Thomas, Anne, and William Atkinson ; a messuage called East Barden in Addle parish, worth yearly 20£, and a pasture in Leeds, near the Long Balke, worth 10£ yearly, to my said Brothers in trust, to allow 20£ yearly to my wife Elizabeth, afterwards to my children.

NOTE.—On the back of the Partition Deed of 1546 (p. 64), is written :—

“James Birkby, Elder, had issue William Birkby, William Birkby had issue Edward, Margaret Birkbye married to John Batt, Isabell Birkby married to Robert Rayner, Alice Birkbie married to William Brok of Scoles, by the first venture ; and after maryed again to a second wiff, and had issue by her James Byrkbie, of York, alderman, Robert Byrkby.

James Byrkbye of York issue ; Marye to Christopher Davil, and hath issue William Davil, Under Sheriff, who made the Returne of the Jury.”

See *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, Part iv., p. 276. Dugdale's Visit. Ebor. 1665, says Henry Batte purchased Okewell from Thomas Hussey, Esq., 7th Eliz. ; but it is among the places which fell to Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk.

NOTE.—(See p. 74). Ralph Cheatham of New Malton, gentleman, made his will, 28 April, 1709, leaving his lands in Rillington, Scarborough, Selby, Kippax, and elsewhere, to Edward, Mary, and Elizabeth, children of Mrs. Mary Preston, of New Malton.

THE REGISTER OF MARRIAGES IN YORK MINSTER.

By ROBERT H. SKAIFE, The Mount, York.

[CONTINUED FROM VOLUME II., PAGE 370.]

(1020). 1735-6, Feb. 1. Richard Turnbull,²⁴⁰ of y^e par. of Holy Trinity in King's Court, and Elizabeth Eastburne, of y^e same. (*Lic.*)

(1021). 1735-6, Feb. 3. Roger Wright, of Langton, & Mary Burnley, of Dunnington. (*Lic.*)

(1022). 1735-6, Feb. 10. William Mawe, of Wharram Percy, & Joanna Richardson, of St John Delpike's par., in y^e city of York. (*Lic.*)

(1023). 1735-6, Feb. 12. Robert Leadbeater & Mary Nelson, both of South Cave. (*Lic.*)

(1024). 1735-6, Feb. 14. Charles Carr, of Acaster Malbis, & Elizabeth Tanfield, of Nun Monckton. (*Lic.*)

(1025). 1735-6, Feb. 18. Edward Bourne, of Rotherham, and Mary Tolson, of the par. of the Holy Trinity in King's Court in York. (*Lic.*)

(1026). 1735-6, Feb. 26. W^m Thompson, of y^e par. of St Crux, & Mary Weightman, of y^e par. of St Dennis, Walmgate. (*Lic.*)

(1027). 1735-6, Feb. 26. Rob^t Burton & Eliz : Dewsberry, both of Allerthorpe, in y^e par. of Pocklington. (*Lic.*)

(1028). 1736, March 25. Bennet Langton and Diana Turner. (*Lic.*)

(1029). 1736, Apr. 5. Thomas Sowersby & Margaret Porter, both of y^e par. of Bainton. (*Lic.*)

(1030). 1736, May 1. George Hawley & Mary Appleyard, both of y^e par. of Terrington. (*Lic.*)

²⁴⁰ Richard Turnbull died in 1745, and his widow Elizabeth in 1761. See No. 602, *antea*.

(1031). 1736, May 6. Thomas Monkman, of Barton-in-y^e-street, & Mary Eadon, of Whitby. (*Lic.*)

(1032). 1736, May 20. John Clarke, of Skelton Grange, in y^e par. of Leeds, & Sarah Render, of Leeds afores^d. (*Lic.*)

(1033). 1736, May 27. William Scott, of Lumb, in y^e par. of Bristall, in y^e co. & diocese of York, Esq., & Sarah Hildyard,²⁴¹ of St^t Mich.; Belfrey, in y^e city of York. (*Lic.*)

(1034). 1736, June 10. Nicholas Cheeseman, of Cropton, in the par. of Midleton, & Mary Robinson, of Hutton-in-the-hole, in the par. of Lastingham. (*Lic.*)

(1035). 1736, June 24. William Ellis, of the par. of St^t Martin's in Micklegate, York, and Margaret Rudd, of the par. of St^t John over Owze. (*Lic.*)

(1036). 1736, July 25. George Swallow, of Kingston-upon-Hull, merchant, & Elizabeth Scofield, of Thursday Markett, in y^e city of York. (*Lic.*)

(1037). 1736, July 31. James Sherwood & Isabel Spink, both of Askham Bryan. (*Lic.*)

(1038). 1736, Aug. 10. Richard Leadley, of y^e par. of St^t Cruz, a batchelor, & Ann Waters, of St^t Margret's. (*Lic.*)

(1039). 1736, Aug. 18. Rich^d Simpson, of East Ness, in y^e par. of Hovingham, & Catherine Parke, of y^e same. (*Lic.*)

(1040). 1736, Sept. 18. John Hill, of Yarme, & Priscilla Hutchinson, of Maunby. (*Lic.*)

(1041). 1736, Nov. 9. Francis Johnson & Elizabeth Sandford, both of y^e Minster Yard. (*Lic.*)

(1042). 1736, Nov. 17. John Buttery, of Murton, in y^e par. of Osbaldwick, & Mary Seamour, of Heslington, in St^t Laurence par. (*Lic.*)

(1043). 1736, Nov. 22. Anthony Jerome, of y^e par. of Holme, and Elizabeth Barker, of the same par. (*Lic.*)

(1044). 1736, Nov. 22. Edward Smith²⁴² and Grace Whitelock, both of the par. of the Holy Trinity in King's Court. (*Lic.*)

²⁴¹ Sarah, daughter of Francis Hildyard, bookseller, York.

²⁴² Edward Smith, haberdasher of small wares, was one of the city chamberlains in 1741, and sheriff in 1764-5. In 1766 he fined for alderman, and was disfranchised at his own request. He died 16 April, 1799, aged 88, and was buried in the church of St. Saviour.

(1045). 1736, December 9. Francis Warwick, of Kirkby Misperton, & Ann Skelton, of the same. (*Lic.*)

(1046). 1736, Dec. 11. Richard Johnson & Jane Proctor, both of the par. of the Holy Trinity in King's Court. (*Lic.*)

(1047). 1736-7, Jan. 2. Quintin Acomb²⁴³ & Jane Clark, both of the par. of the Holy Trinity in King's Court. (*Lic.*)

(1048). 1736-7, Jan. 16. Thomas Richardson and Mary Burton, both of the par. of All Saints in Pavement. (*Lic.*)

(1049). 1736-7, Jan. 27. Robert Adcock and Mary Akam, both of the par. of Helaugh. (*Lic.*)

(1050). 1736-7, Mar. 1. Mr. Thomas Nelson,²⁴⁴ rector of Fingall, in the co. of York, and Mrs. Catherine Preston, of y^e city of York. (*Lic.*)

(1051). 1736-7, Mar. 5. William Bolton and Mary Fewsdale, both of the par. of Little Osburn. (*Lic.*)

(1052). 1737, Apr. 5. Alexander Kay, of Beverley, and Ann Thornton, of the same place. (*Lic.*)

(1053). 1737, May 30. William Randerson, of the par. of St^t Mary's, Castlegate, Yorke, & Mary Maltus, of the par. of the Holy Trinity in Micklegate, York. (*Lic.*)

(1054). 1737, June 3. Charles Nelson, of Barton, in Lincolnshire, & Margaret Renison, of Kingston-upon-Hull. (*Lic.*)

(1055). 1737, June 6. George Cross & Elizabeth Kirby, both of Huggate. (*Lic.*)

(1056). 1737, June 9. Thomas Moorhouse and Mary Wilson, both of the par. of Hemsley. (*Lic.*)

(1057). 1737, July 10. Thomas Palmer, of Selby, and Eleanor Crosby, of the par. of St^t Sampson in York. (*Lic.*)

(1058). 1737, July 22. Francis Midgley, of Sheriff Hutton, and Elizabeth Sugget, of y^e par. of Huntington. (*Lic.*)

²⁴³ In the Marriage License, Quintin Acomb is described as a butcher, living in the parish of St. Crux. In 1758 he resided on Ouse-bridge.

²⁴⁴ Thomas Nelson was licensed to the curacies of Askham Brian and Healaugh in 1731, and held the rectory of Fingall from 1735 until his death in 1786.—Catherine, eldest daughter of Darcy Preston, esq., town-clerk of York (see No. 635, *antea*), by his first wife Catherine, daughter of Thomas Thompson, of the same city, gent. She had a marriage portion of £1000.

(1059). 1737, Aug. 14. Thomas Carver, of North Allerton, & Mary Brearey, of St Mary's in Castlegate. (*Lic.*)

(1060). 1737, Aug. 19. Anthony Brownbridge, of Ellerton, & Eleanor Burton, of the same. (*Lic.*)

(1061). 1737, Aug. 20. John Walker, of Haxby par., & Elizabeth Fowler, of the same par. (*Lic.*)

(1062). 1737, Sept. 8. Joshua Stobbart, of y^e par. of Sutton, in Holderness, and Anne Penrose, of y^e par. of St Mary's, in Hull. (*Lic.*)

(1063). 1737, Sept. 12. George Witty, of Luttons Ambo, and Hannah Scaife, of the same par. (*Lic.*)

(1064). 1737, Sept. 14. Thomas Thwaites & Elizabeth Glenton, both of St John's par. in Micklegate. (*Lic.*)

(1065). 1737, Sept. 27. George Dinmoore & Susannah Hands, of y^e par. of St Martin, Coney-street. (*Lic.*)

(1066). 1737, Oct. 5. William Wright, of Leeds, and Jane Breercliffe, of the same. (*Lic.*)

(1067). 1737, Nov. 11. Thomas Yeoman, of Melbourn, & Ann Hart, of y^e same. (*Lic.*)

(1068). 1737, Nov. 11. Henry Thackray & Catherine Doughty, both of Acaaster Malbis. (*Lic.*)

(1069). 1737, Nov. 7. (*sic*). John Fryer²⁴⁶ & Isabel Woodhouse; the former of St Michael the Belfrey, & the latter of Doddington, in the Diocese of Gloucester. (*Lic.*)

(1070). 1737, Dec. 10. Miles Dawson and Elizabeth Wilson; y^e former of Widdington, in y^e par. of Little Usburn, and y^e latter of y^e same. (*Lic.*)

(1071). 1737, Dec. 31. Major Judson and Ann Goodearth; the former of Leeds, & the latter of the par. of St Michael le Belfry. (*Lic.*)

(1072). 1737-8, Jan. 10. Richard Galloway & Ann Weatherill, both of y^e par. of St Martin's in Coney-strêet. (*Lic.*)

²⁴⁶ John Fryer has been previously mentioned (*see* Nos. 724 and 813, *antea*). Isabella Fryer, of York, widow, made her will 5 Dec., 1758 [Pro. 25 March, 1761], appointing her son-in-law (step-son?) Oswald Langwith, rector of Thornton, residuary legatee.

(1073). 1737-8, Jan. 28. John Hunter & Martha Durant, both of y^e par. of All Saints, in y^e Pavement. (*Lic.*)

(1074). 1737-8, Feb. 14. John Osburne & Esther Thompson; the former of y^e par. of S^t Martin's, in Coney-street, y^e latter of y^e par. of S^t Michael, in Spurriergate. (*Lic.*)

(1075). 1737-8, Feb. 23. Thomas Jobson & Elizabeth Hardcastle; the former of Ripon, the latter of Beverley. (*Lic.*)

(1076). 1737, Nov. 4 (*sic*). Michael Wilson, of the city of York, and Ann Abbott, of the par. of S^t Mary, Bishophill, the elder. (*Lic.*)

(1077). *No date.* Edward Barrett, of y^e par. of Bubbith, and Mary Taylor, of y^e par. of S^t Mary, in Castlegate, York. (*Lic.*)

(1078). 1737-8, Mar. 16. John Cosins,²⁴⁶ of Brompton, in y^e co. of York, gentleman, & Eleanor Sawden, of Ebberston. (*Lic.*)

(1079). 1738, Apr. 2. George Buckley,²⁴⁷ of y^e city of York, gentleman, and Ann Turner, of Belfray's par. (*Lic.*)

(1080). 1738, Apr. 13. John Bouchier, Esq^r,²⁴⁸ of Benningbrough, in the co. of York, & Mrs. Mildred Roundell, of S^t Martin's par. in Micklegate, in y^e city of York. (*Lic.*)

²⁴⁶ John Cosins, of Brompton, gent., died in 1742-3, leaving a widow Eleanor, and two children, Ann and William, then minors.

²⁴⁷ George Buckley, esq., joint lord of the manor of Thurnscoe, died, intestate, in the suburbs of the city of York, administration being granted to his widow Anne, 27 January, 1766.—Anne, daughter of John Turner, esq., of Stainsby, co. York (by Catherine, daughter of Roger Talbot, esq., of Wood End, in the parish of Thornton-le-street). She died, intestate, at Kippax, in 1771. Of their children, Edward Buckley, the eldest son, was vicar of Kippax from 22 Dec., 1770, until his resignation in 1783; the second son, William-Turner Buckley, esq., of Bond End House, Knaresbrough, died in 1805, unmarried; Anne became the wife of the Rev. John Fox, rector of Eton, and Catherine married, at Kippax, 28 October, 1773, her cousin, Sir Thomas-Turner Slingsby, of Scriven, Bart. (son of Charles Slingsby, esq., of Lofthouse Hill, by Catherine, eldest daughter of the above-mentioned John and Catherine Turner).

²⁴⁸ Son and heir of John Bouchier, esq., of Benningbrough (who died in 1736), by Mary, daughter of Roger Bellwood, esq., of York, sergeant-at-law. He was high sheriff of the county in 1749, died at Path. 14 May, 1759, aged 49, and was buried at Newton-upon-Ouse. In a codicil to his will, dated 25 Aug., 1753, he bequeaths to his wife Mildred his "new built house" in Micklegate. His only child Mildred married, 15 May, 1760, Robert Fox Lane, esq., only son of George Fox Lane, esq., of Bramham Park, lord mayor of York in 1757, who was created Baron Bingley in 1762. She died, without issue, at Bristol, 10 Dec., 1760, aged 20, and was interred at Newton.—Mildred, daughter and co-heiress of Richard Roundell, esq., of Hutton Wansley (see No. 325, *ante*), by his second wife Elizabeth, daughter and co-heiress of John Ramsden, esq., of Norton. "Mildred, daughter of Esquire Roundell," was baptized at

(1081). 1738, June 1. W^m Passman, of Upsall, in y^e par. of South Kilvington, & Mary Armstrong, of y^e par. of Hutton Rudby. (*Lic.*)

(1082). 1738, June 22. W^m Edmund, of Easingwold, & Anne Sanderson, of Dunnington. (*Lic.*)

(1083). 1738, July 8. Ralph Storr, of Strensall, and Mary Johnson, of Leeds. (*Lic.*)

(1084). 1738, July 15. Jonathan Simpson, of the par. of Bradford, and Mary Rhodes, of the par. of Guiseley. (*Lic.*)

(1085). 1738, Aug. 1. Rob^t Halliley, of South Milford, & Mary Burmby, of Brayton. (*Lic.*)

(1086). 1738, Aug. 1. W^m Nicholson,²⁴⁹ of Cawood, & Mary Cecil, of y^e same. (*Lic.*)

(1087). 1738, Aug. 27. W^m Blyth, of Marton, and Mary Wood, of the same. (*Lic.*)

(1088). 1738, Aug. 29. Mark Mackinder, of Hornsea, and Alice Doeg, of y^e same. (*Lic.*)

(1089). 1738, Sept. 7. Thomas Chambers, of Dunnington, and Mary Heselewood, of y^e same. (*Lic.*)

(1090). 1738, Sept. 21. Frank Bows, of Edston, and Anne Robinson, of Dalby, in y^e par. of Thornton. (*Lic.*)

(1091). 1738, Sept. 30. Robert Penrose, of Haxby, & Frances Thompson, of y^e same place. (*Lic.*)

(1092). 1738, Oct. 5. Ralph Lofthouse, of y^e par. of S^t Martin in Coney-street, York, and Anne Wilson, of Bawtry. (*Lic.*)

(1093). 1738, Oct. 10. John Froggat,²⁵⁰ of Aumpton, in the par. of Kneesall, in the co. of York (*sic*), and Susannah Stowin, of Luddington, in the co. of Lincoln. (*Lic.*)

St. Martin's, Micklegate. 19 Nov., 1716. She died at York, 12 Dec., 1796, aged 80, and was buried at Newton.

²⁴⁹ William Nicholson, of Cawood, fishmonger, was one of the chamberlains of York in 1743.

²⁵⁰ John Froggat, gentleman, died at Halifax in 1750, leaving a widow Susannah, and three children, William, Susannah, and Ann. It was probably the latter who married Thomas Lightfoot, apothecary. Crowle, and was mother of Anne, wife of the Rev. George Bethell, M.A., Provost of Eton College, whose son is the present William Froggat Bethell, esq., of Rise.—Susannah, youngest daughter of James Stovin, esq., of Crowle, co. Linc., brother of George Stovin, who was married at York Minster in 1717. See No. 500 *antea*, to which the following note ought to have been appended.—George Stovin, esq., the antiquary, of whom Mr. Hunter gives some account in his History of South Yorkshire, vol. i., p. 181.

(1094). 1738, Oct. 19. John Lamplugh & Mary Barmby, both of the par. of Garton. (*Lic.*)

(1095). 1738, Oct. 23. George Newbold & Mary Shepherd of Doncaster. (*Lic.*)

(1096). 1738, Nov. 1. John Dent, of y^e par. of Sledmore, & Joanna Newlove, of Wetwang. (*Lic.*)

(1097). 1738, Nov. 4. John Nicholson, of y^e par. of S^t Mary in Castlegate, York, and Sarah Robinson, of y^e par. of Brayton. (*Lic.*)

(1098). 1738, Nov. 16. Thomas Ruston, of Langton, in y^e diocese of York, and Ann Padmore, of the said diocese. (*Lic.*)

(1099). 1738, Dec. 23. John Brown, of the par. of S^t Sampson, in York, and Esther Gill, of the same place. (*Lic.*)

(1100). 1738, Dec. 27. Thomas Ascough, of the par. of Scrayingham, and Ann Pattison, of the same par. (*Lic.*)

(1101). 1738-9, Jan. 20. John Gilbank, of Whixley, & Rebecca Powell, in the par. of S^t Mary's, Bishopil, the younger. (*Lic.*)

(1102). 1738-9, Jan. 30. Mathew Spence,²⁵¹ of Trinity par., Micklegate, & Margaret England, of Bishop Hill, y^e Elder. (*Lic.*)

(1103). 1738-9, Feb. 14. W^m Ray, of Dishforth, in the par. of Topcliffe, and Margaret Groves, of the same. (*Lic.*)

(1104). 1738-9, Feb. 25. Thomas Walker, of the par. of All Saints in the Pavement, & Jane Nicholson, of the par. of S^t Saviour's, in the city of York. (*Lic.*)

(1105.) 1738-9, Feb. 27. John Lotherington & Elizabeth Sanderson, both of Dunnington. (*Lic.*)

(1106). 1738-9, Mar. 3. Matthew Catterton, of Nether Popleton, & Mary Whitehouse, of Upper Popleton, in the par. of S^t Mary, B^p Hill, y^e younger. (*Lic.*)

(1107). 1738-9, Mar. 10. John Hotham, of the par. of S^t John, in Beverley, & Catherine Metcalfe, of Kingston-upon-Hull. (*Lic.*)

²⁵¹ Matthew Spence, innholder, was living without Micklegate-bar in 1758.

(1108). 1739, Mar. 29. Edward Sampson, of Wooly, in y^e D. of York, & Ann Maunby, of y^e par. of Ledsham. (*Lic.*)

(1109). 1739, Apr. 2. Joseph Wilson & Hannah Jackson, both of y^e par. of Middleton.²⁵² (*Lic.*)

(1110). 1739, Apr. 4. Samuel Towell, of Cawood, & Mary King, of Belfrey's, in y^e city of York. (*Lic.*)

(1111). 1739, May 8. James Swaile, of Hampsthwait, & Mary Mawnby, of Knaresbrough. (*Lic.*)

(1112). 1739, May 14. Joshua Shaw & Frances Beardshay. (*Lic.*)

(1113). 1739, May 16. William Chambers and Sarah Geldart. (*Lic.*)

(1114). 1739, May 16. George Burton,²⁵³ of the par. of S^t. John's, in York, & Frances Veevers, of the same. (*Lic.*)

(1115). 1739, June 9. Thomas Whitonstall, of Wadsworth, & Arabella Barwick, of y^e par. of S^t. John's, in y^e city of York. (*Lic.*)

(1116). 1739, June 11. Tho^s. Pickersgill, of y^e par. of Hallifax, & Elizabeth Dickinson, of y^e same. (*Lic.*)

(1117). 1739, June 11. Thomas Tebb, of Pocklington, & Elizabeth Whip, of Bishop Wilton. (*Lic.*)

(1118). 1739, June 12. Richard Brown, of Knottingley, & Margaret Farnel, of the same place. (*Lic.*)

(1119). 1739, June 23. Thomas White, of Ampleford, and Grace Man, of the same place. (*Lic.*)

(1120). 1739, June 27. W^m. Fenton,²⁵⁴ of Leeds, & Eliz: Read, of y^e same. (*Lic.*)

(1121). 1739, July 2. Henry Favell, of Wakefield, & Jane Taylor, of the same place. (*Lic.*)

(1122). 1739, July 29. Thomas Raper, of Huntington, & Ellen Smith, of the same place. (*Lic.*)

(1123). 1739, July 25 (*sic*). Thomas Baron and Ellenor Pinder, both of the par. of Great Driffild. (*Lic.*)

²⁵² Middleton in Pickering-Lythe.

²⁵³ A breeches-maker in Skeldergate.

²⁵⁴ In his will, dated 8 March, 1749-50 [Pro. 10 Oct., 1751], William Fenton, of Leeds, cloth-worker, mentions his wife Elizabeth, his sons Read and John Fenton, then minors, and his brother-in-law Mr. Richard Read, of Lincolnshire.

(1124). 1739, Aug. 5. W^m Crosby, of Brompton, in y^e diocese of York, and Anne Browne, of y^e same. (*Lic.*)

(1125). 1739, Aug. 21. Mark Stead, of Askham Bryan, & Dorothy Fellison, of Huntington. (*Lic.*)

(1126). 1739, Aug. 27. Thomas Baines, of Borrowbridge, & Elizabeth Houseman, of Aldbrough. (*Lic.*)

(1127). 1739, Aug. 28. W^m Bower, of y^e par. of All Saints in Pavement, in y^e city of York, and Anne Walker, of y^e same par. (*Lic.*)

(1128). 1739, Sept. 6. George Watson, of the par. of Middleton, yeoman, and Sarah Jackson, of the par. of Lastingham. (*Lic.*)

(1129). 1739, Sept. 25. Cornelius Severs, of y^e city of York, and Elizabeth Cundall, of Kexby, in y^e par. of Cattan. (*Lic.*)

(1130). 1739, Oct. 9. Henry Hare, of Borrougbridge, and Mary Ibbotson, of the par. of S^t Mary, Bishophill, the elder, in York. (*Lic.*)

(1131). 1739, Oct. 14. Samuel Harrison, of y^e par. of Ryther, and Mary Appleyard, of y^e par. of Bolton Percy. (*Lic.*)

(1132). 1739, Nov. 13. Thomas Cowlam & Ann Wright, both of y^e par. of Bishop Wilton. (*Lic.*)

(1133). 1739, Nov. 13. Thomas Howard, of Farlington, and Elizabeth Fisher, of the same place. (*Lic.*)

(1134). 1739, Nov. 14. Robert Kirby, of Firby, in y^e par. of Westow, & Mary Milson, of Westow aforesaid. (*Lic.*)

(1135). 1739, Dec. 8. Thomas Perritt,²⁵⁵ of the par. of All Saints, North Street, and Ann Etty, of the Mint Yard, in the city of York. (*Lic.*)

²⁵⁵ Thomas Perritt was one of the city chamberlains in 1753. He appears to have married, secondly, in 1748, at Hampthwaite, Grace Perritt, of the parish of Holy Trinity, York. On 13 Dec., 1759, administration of the goods of Thomas Perritt, late of the Bedern, gent., who died intestate, was granted to Edward Wallis, Nicholas Suger, and John Tasker, guardians of Ann and Dorothy Perritt, daughters of the said deceased.

(1136). 1739, Dec. 18. Thomas Pulleyn,²⁵⁶ of Burley, in the diocese of York, Esq^{re}, and Mrs. Mary Sterne, of the city and diocese of York. (*Lic. Mar^d by Jaques Sterne.*)

(1137). 1739, Dec. 18. Thomas Thomlinson & Alice Mollett, both of the par. of Bolton Percy. (*Lic.*)

(1138). 1739-40, Jan. 17. Thomas Gilbank²⁵⁷ and Sarah Andrew, of the par. of Belfrey's. (*Lic.*)

(1139). 1739-40, Jan. 18. Langdale Morris & Mary Harrison, both of Darrington. (*Lic.*)

(1140). 1739-40, Feb. 9. Joseph Wainman & Elizabeth Green, both of y^e city of York. (*Lic.*)

(1141). 1739-40, Feb. 16. William Baker,²⁵⁸ of Belfry, & Ann Foster, of S^t Martin's par., Coney-street. (*Lic.*)

(1142). 1739-40, Feb. 18. Francis Fryar, of Foston, and Dorothy Poole, of Strensall. (*Lic.*)

(1143). 1739-40, Feb. 18. Joseph Foster & Hannah Duffield, both of y^e city of York. (*Lic.*)

(1144). 1739-40, Feb. 22. Thomas Linton, of y^e city of York, & Elizabeth Layland, of y^e Beddern. (*Lic.*)

(1145). 1739-40, Mar. 6. George Headley and Mary Burton, both of Newton-upon-Ouse. (*Lic.*)

(1146). 1739-40, Mar. 23. Thomas Taylor, of y^e par. of Huntington, and Martha Gray, of y^e same par. (*Lic.*)

(1147). 1739-40, Mar. 24. Jona: Jackson, of the city of York, and Elizabeth Wilson, of the same. (*Lic.*)

(1148). 1740, Apr. 10. John Ward, of the par. of Leeds, and Mary Maude, of the same par. (*Lic.*)

(1149). 1740, Apr. 21. Thomas Barff,²⁵⁹ of Hirst, in the

²⁵⁶ For some account of Thomas Pulleyn and Mary, his wife,—see "The Register of Burials in York Minster," No. 232.

²⁵⁷ Thomas Gilbank, coal-merchant, chamberlain in 1761, and sheriff in 1785-6, died 5 Dec., 1794, aged 84, and was buried at St. Olave's, near his wife Sarah, who died 6 July, 1793, aged 81.

²⁵⁸ William Baker, cheesemonger, was appointed cook to the corporation, 29 Jan^r., 1738-9, and filled the office of sheriff in 1753-4. He died 27th January, 1765, aged 65, and was buried at St. Martin's, Coney-street.—Ann Foster (his 2nd wife), widow of — Foster, died 14 June, 1774, aged 69, and was buried near her husband.

²⁵⁹ Thomas Barfe, of Hurst Courtney, widower, aged 36 years and upwards, married, secondly, in 1742-3, Ann Leech, of Temple Hurst, spinster, aged 24.—See No. 1271, *postea*.

par. of Birkin, & Elizabeth Robinson, of South Duffield, in the par. of Hemingbroug. (*Lic.*)

(1150). 1740, May 19. Rich^d Cooper, of Barmby Moor, & Margaret Scrafton, of Bubwith. (*Lic.*)

(1151). 1740, June 3. R^d Boyce, of Scackleton Grange, in the par. of Hovingham, & Mary Foxton, of the same place. (*Lic.*)

(1152). 1740, July 10. Richard Burton, of Falsgrave, in y^e par. of Scarbrough, and Anne Marshall, of Spaunton. (*Lic.*)

(1153). 1740, July 10. John Coale,²⁶⁰ of New Malton, & Mary Waite, of Kildwick Pearcey. (*Lic.*)

(1154). 1740, July 22. William Brand, of Scagglethorp, in y^e par. of Settrington, & Elizabeth Cowlam, of y^e same. (*Lic.*)

(1155). 1740, July 29. W^m. Tasker, of Willey, in y^e par. of Kellington, and Mary Elwes, of Fenwick, in y^e par. of Campsall. (*Lic.*)

(1156.) 1740, Aug. 11. Robert Hodgson, of y^e par. of Sutton-upon-Darwent, & Jane Edmundson, of y^e same par. (*Lic.*)

(1157). 1740, Aug. 14. John Farnell, of Scewsby, in y^e par. of Dalby, and Elizabeth Hornsey, of y^e same. (*Lic.*)

(1158). 1740, Aug. 15. George Smith, of Cornshaw, in y^e par. of Kildwick, and Mary Malton, of Wetherby. (*Lic.*)

(1159). 1740, Aug. 16. Edward Williamson, of Scarbrough, and Sarah Lee, of Thorn Park, in y^e par. of Seamer. (*Lic.*)

(1160). 1740, Aug. 25. Joseph Nettleton, of Barwick-in-Elmet, & Susannah Batty, of Thorner. (*Lic.*)

(1161). 1740, Sept. 10. John Lockwood, of y^e city of York, & Elizabeth Dearden, of y^e same place, and par. of St. Maurice. (*Lic.*)

(1162). 1740, Sept. 18. James Hamilton, of Sheffield, & Ann Fletcher, of the par. of St. Wilfred's, in the city of York. (*Lic.*)

²⁶⁰ John Cole, or Coale, of New Malton, innholder, by will dated 11 June, 1741 [Pro. 27 Jan., 1742-3], bequeaths all to his wife Mary.

(1163). 1740, Sept. 21. Geo. Welburn, of New Malton, & Eliz: Chapman, of the same town. (*Lic.*)

(1164). 1740, Sept. 25. John Pearson, of the city of York, & Eliz: Lynn, of Dunnington. (*Lic.*)

(1165). 1740, Sept. 30. Theophilus Garenciers,²⁶¹ of the city of York, apoth^y, and M^{rs} Eliz: Brooke, of the par. of St. Hellen, of y^e same city. (*Lic.*)

(1166). 1740, Oct. 6. John Smith, of Youlthorp, in y^e par. of Bishop Wilton, & Hellen ETTY, of Murton, in y^e par. of Osbaldwick. (*Lic.*)

(1167). 1740, Oct. 20. Christopher Soulby, of Hovingham, & Ann Peacock, of Braby, in the par. of Salton. (*Lic.*)

(1168). 1740, Nov. 10. John Pearson, of Claxton, in y^e par. of Bossal, & Mary Whitelock, of the same.

(1169). 1740, Nov. 14. Francis Colton, of Coverdale, & Anne Ayrton, of y^e city of York. (*Lic.*)

(1170). 1740, Nov. 19. John Dodsworth, of Cawood, and Martha Smith, of the Minster Yard, in the city of York. (*Lic.*)

(1171). 1740-1, Jan. 6. Thomas Holland, of Barton, in y^e co. of Lincoln, & Hannah Scotchburn, of y^e par. of St^t John Delpike, in y^e city of York. (*Lic.*)

(1172). 1740-1, Jan. 24. Mr. William Hotham,²⁶² of y^e city of York, & Mrs. Jane Goulton, of y^e par. of St. Maurice, in y^e same city. (*Lic.*)

(1173). 1740-1, Mar. 12. William Shepherd, of Moor Monkton, and Jane Gray, of Nether Poppleton. (*Lic.*)

²⁶¹ Eldest son of the Rev. Theophilus Garencieres, vicar of Scarbrough and Snainton (by Elizabeth, daughter of Charles Best, esq., of Emswell, co. York), and great-grandson, it is probable, of Theophilus Garencieres, a French physician, who died in London in 1680. Apprenticed in 1729 to William Dobson, alderman and apothecary, York, whose daughter Elisabeth became his wife in April, 1738, and was buried at St. Martin's, Coney-street, 9 Sept., 1739. He served the office of chamberlain in 1753, that of sheriff in 1771-2, and died at New Malton, 17 January, 1784, aged 69. His only son Theophilus Davye Garencieres was lord mayor of York in 1795.—Elizabeth (his second wife), daughter of Mr. Brooke, by Anne, eldest daughter of William Davye, esq., of Fockerby, co. York. She died in 1742.

²⁶² William Hotham, haberdasher of hats (youngest son of Robert Hotham, brewer, York), chamberlain in 1745, died 1st May, 1760, aged 50, and was interred in the church of St. Dennis.—Jane, youngest daughter of Francis Goulton, of Highborne, near Hustwaite, gent. She died 25 April, 1800, aged 82, and was buried near her husband. Their son, William Hotham, esq., lord mayor of York in 1802 and 1819, succeeded to Highborne, in 1815, on the death of his cousin Christopher Goulton, esq.

(1174). 1740-1, Mar. 12. John Beaumont, of Wakefield, and Elizabeth Richardson, of the par. of St^t Olave's, in the suburbs of the city of York. (*Lic.*)

(1175). 1741, Mar. 30. (Easter Monday). The Reverend M^r Lawrence Sterne²⁶³ and Mrs. Elizabeth Lumley, of Little Alice Lane, within the Close of the Cathedrall. (*Lic. Mar^d by Rich^d Osbaldeston, the dean.*)

(1176). 1741, Apr. 11. Rob^t Allanson, of Westow, & Alice Thorpe, of the same. (*Lic.*)

(1177). 1741, Apr. 11. Roger Walters, of Byland, in y^o par. of Coxwold, & Frances Isserwood, of Slingsby. (*Lic.*)

(1178). 1741, Apr. 16. James Freer, of the par. of Cramb, & Eliz: Lee, of the par. of Bossal. (*Lic.*)

(1179). 1741, Apr. 20. Christ^r Barker, of Sproxtton, in the par. of Hemsley Blackamoor, & Eliz: Dobson, of Hemsley Blackamoor afores^d. (*Lic.*)

(1180). 1741, May 4. Francis Webster, of Hinderskelf, & Sarah Elsworth, of Terrington. (*Lic.*)

(1181). 1741, Apr. 23 (*sic.*) Mathew Noble, of Sunderland, & Dorothy Fish, of Goodramgate, York. (*Lic.*)

(1182). 1741, May 5. The Rev^d John Murgatroyd,²⁶⁴ of Leeds, & Hannah Mancklin, of Coney-street, in y^o city of York. (*Lic.*)

²⁶³ The eccentric author of *Tristram Shandy*, whose "Life," admirably written by Mr. Fitzgerald, was published in 1864. He was the eldest son of Lieutenant Roger Sterne (a younger son of Simon Sterne, esq., of Elvington, by Mary, daughter and heiress of Roger Jacques, esq.), and great-grandson of Richard Sterne, archbishop of York. Born at Clonmel, in Ireland, 24 Nov., 1713; died at his lodgings in Bond-street, London, 18 March, 1768, and was interred "in the new burying-ground near Tyburn." His body is said to have been dug up by resurrection men, and sent to Cambridge, "his old university," where it was "anatomised." At the time of his decease Mr. Sterne was a canon of York, and held the livings of Sutton-on-the-Forest, Stillington, and Coxwold.—Elizabeth, daughter of the Rev. Robert Lumley, rector of Bedale, by Lydia, widow of Thomas Kirke, esq., of Cookridge (see No. 392, *antea*). She died at Angoulême about the year 1772, leaving an only child Lydia, who married a Mr. de Médalle, and is supposed to have perished in the French revolution of 1790.

²⁶⁴ John Murgatroyd, of St. Peter's college, Cambridge, was ordained deacon, by the archbishop of York, 22 Dec., 1723, and priest, by the bishop of Ely, 24 Sept., 1727. On 21 June, 1732, he was admitted to the curacy of St. John's, Leeds, which he held until his death on 5 Aug., 1768.—Hannah Mancklin (his 2nd wife) brought her husband a marriage portion of £1900. Shortly after his decease she removed to York, where she died in the parish of St. Martin's, Coney-street. In her will, dated 8 May, 1769 [Pro. 15 Jan., 1781], she desires to "be buried in St. John's church at Leeds, as near the body of my late husband as may be." Her next of kin was her cousin Benjamin Mancklin, of Beverley, gent.

(1183). 1741, May 13. Thomas Cousans, of Wistow, & Margaret Store, of y^e same. (*Lic.*)

(1184). 1741, May 14. John Barker, of Malton, & Elizabeth Crawforth, of Fridaythorp. (*Lic.*)

(1185). 1741, May 30. William Waind, of the par. of All Saints in the Pavement, and Catherine Beetson, of the par. of All Saints Michael Belfrey (*sic*), of York. (*Lic.*)

(1186). 1741, June 11. William Cheesman, of Cropton, in y^e par. of Middleton, & Anne Humble, of y^e same place. (*Lic.*)

(1187). 1741, June 13. Tim^o Belt, of Swine Brompton, & Ann Craven, of Hutton Bushel. (*Lic.*)

(1188). 1741, June 23. Ralph Greenside, of y^e par. of Kirby in Cleveland, & Jane Appleton, of y^e par. of St. Helen in Stonegate. (*Lic.*)

(1189). 1741, July 1. Joseph Halliday, of Fogerthrop, & Elizabeth Appleby, of y^e same, in y^e par. of Bubwith. (*Lic.*)

(1190). 1741, July 4. W^m Hessle, of y^e par. of Bossall, and Elizabeth Simpson, of y^e same. (*Lic.*)

(1191). 1741, July 6. Thomas Frank, of Knottingley, & Elizabeth Toft, both of y^e par. of Pontefract. (*Lic.*)

(1192). 1741, July 8. John Seamer, of Heslington, and Lydia Lazenby, of S^t Margaret's, in y^e city of York. (*Lic.*)

(1193). 1741, July 19. William Harsaw (?), of Ripley, & Mary Wood, of Leathly. (*Lic.*)

(1194). 1741, Aug. 3. W^m Wilson, of Menithorpe, in the par. of Westow, & Eliz: Kingrow (?), in the par. of Westow aforesaid. (*Lic.*)

(1195). 1741, Aug. 3. John Revis, of Menithorp, in y^e par. of Westow, & Mary Gurwood, of Langton. (*Lic.*)

(1196). 1741, Aug. 4. Rob^t Walker, of the par. of Kildwick, near Watton, & Catherine Weightman, of the same. (*Lic.*)

(1197). 1741, Aug. 8. Tho^o Foster, of Huddleston Hall, in the par. of Sherburn, & Maria Eliz: Grainger, of the same place. (*Lic.*)

(1198). 1741, Aug. 29. Richard Snowdon, of Huby, in y^e par. of Sutton on y^e Forrest, & Isabel Flawith, of Sutton aforesaid. (*Lic.*)

(1199). 1741, Sept. 16. Thomas Makin, of Swinefleet, in the par. of Whitgift, & Elizabeth Vertue, of Sandhutton. (*Lic.*)

(1200). 1741, Sept. 21. John Pennington, of Plumpton, in the par. of Spofforth, & Dorothy Gray, of Thornton Bridge. (*Lic.*)

(1201). 1741, Sept. 24. John Abbey, of Tockwith, & Mary Spink, of the par. of Nunmountain. (*Lic.*)

(1202). 1741, Sept. 29. John Hugill, of y^e Chapelry of Farndale, and Christian Talbot, of y^e same.

(1203). 1741, Oct. 1. Rob^t Comen, of Newsam, in the par. of Wresley (Wressle), & Mary Norwood, of the same. (*Lic.*)

(1204). 1741, Oct. 10. Robert Houfe, of North Duffield, in y^e par. of Skipwith, & Mary Ellis, of y^e par. of Escrick. (*Lic.*)

(1205). 1741, Oct. 20. Robert Plummer, of Helmsley, & Sarah Cross, of the same. (*Lic.*)

(1206). 1741, Oct. 22. Henry Dunnington, of Tollerton, & Mary Hare, of Linton, in y^e par. of Newton. (*Lic.*)

(1207). 1741, Oct. 27. Rob^t Fawdington, of Tollerton, and Agnes Fotherghill, of Belfrey's. (*Lic.*)

(1208). 1741, Nov. 9. Ahab Buttery, of Thornton, within the jurisdiction of the Deanery of York, and Margaret Cook, of Thornton aforesaid. (*Lic.*)

(1209). 1741, Nov. 10. M^r John Shaw, of the par. of St Michael of Belfrey's, and M^{rs} Margaret Morrice, of the par. of St Martin, in Coney-street. (*Lic.*)

(1210). 1741, Nov. 16. John Rousby, of Wharram, & Ann Scruton, of y^e same. (*Lic.*)

(1211). 1741, Nov. 18. James Gray, of Foxholes, & Elizabeth Boddy, of y^e same. (*Lic.*)

(1212). 1741, Oct. 30. Henry Childerson & Hannah Prince, both of y^e par. of Bramham. (*Lic.*)

(1213). 1741, Nov. 19. George Fisher, of Ampleford, and Rebecca Thompson, of y^e same. (*Lic.*)

(1214). 1741, Nov. 21. John Davison, of Wold Newton, & Jane Grey, of the same. (*Lic.*)

(1215). 1741, Nov. 22. William Shackleton, of Knottingley, and Ann Cawton, in the par. of S^t Mary's in Castlegate, in the city of York. (*Lic.*)

(1216). 1741, Dec. 12. James Nappy, of Osgodby, in the par. of Hemingbrough, & Ann Buttery, in y^e par. of Bos-sall. (*Lic.*)

(1217). 1741, Jan. 11. John Mountain, of Abberford, & Jane Cullingworth, of Potterton, in y^e par. of Barwick in Elmet. (*Lic.*)

(1218). 1741-2, Jan. 15. William Hare, of Moor Mountain, and Elizabeth Cowling, of Popleton. (*Lic.*)

(1219). 1741-2, Jan. 20. W^m Lee, of Huntington, and Ellin Pearson, of the par. of Sherriff Hutton. (*Lic.*)

(1220). 1741-2, Feb. 4. William Robinson & Rachel Ribey, of Wawne. (*Lic.*)

(1221). 1741-2, Feb. 6. Thomas Whitelock, of Bishop Monkton, in y^e par. of Ripon, & Elizabeth Wilkinson, of y^e par. of Coxwold. (*Lic.*)

(1222). 1741-2, Feb. 11. John Fountain, of Ripon, and Elizabeth Sidgick, of the same. (*Lic.*)

(1223). 1741-2, Feb. 15. John Beane, of Welburn, in the par. of Bulmer, & Grace Blake, of the same. (*Lic.*)

(1224). 1741-2, Feb. 23. John Nawton, of the par. of Oswaldkirk, & Dorothy Shepherd, of the same place. (*Lic.*)

(1225). 1741-2, Feb. 23. John Paver, of Angram, in y^e par. of Marston, & Elizabeth Brown, of Rufforth. (*Lic.*)

(1226). 1741-2, Feb. 26. William Watson, of Malton, and Jane Oates, of Pickering. (*Lic.*)

(1227). 1741-2, Mar. 2. Edward Belton, of y^e par. of Drax, & Isabel Gilderson, of y^e same par. (*Lic.*)

(1228). 1741-2, Mar. 12. Francis Clubley, of Beverley, & Sarah Fisher, of Brandsburton. (*Lic.*)

(1229). 1741-2, Mar. 18. Geo: Simpson, of Righton, & Jane Brown, of the same. (*Lic.*)

(1230). 1742, Mar. 29. Tho: Harper, of Sledmer, & Margret Kirkby, of the same place. (*Lic.*)

(1231). 1742, Apr. 20. John Thomas, of Housham, in the par. of Strayington (Scrayingham), & Mary Anderson, of the same. (*Lic.*)

(1232). 1742, Apr. 29. John Walker, of Pickering, & Dorothy Oates, of y^e same. (*Lic.*)

(1233). 1742, May 7. Luke Rowton, of the par. of St Mary in Castlegate, York, and Frances Allet, of the par. of St Olave, in the suburbs of York. (*Lic.*)

(1234). 1742, May 8. Thomas Garland, in the par. of St John in Michaelgate, and Ann Sugden, of the Mint Yard, in the city of York. (*Lic.*)

(1235). 1742, May 11. George Marshal, of Mennithorp, in the par. of Westow, and Ann Webster, of Eastrop Park, in the par. of Appleton-in-the-Street. (*Lic.*)

(1236). 1742, Apr. 22 (*sic*). William Coates,²⁶⁵ of y^e city of York, and Christiana Tennant, of y^e Beddern, in y^e said city. (*Lic.*)

(1237). 1742, May 15. Thomas Allison, of Dringhouses, & Mary Rose, of Dunnington. (*Lic.*)

(1238). 1742, May 27. Joseph Levitt, of Sledmer, and Anne Binning, of Bainton. (*Lic.*)

(1239). 1742, June 7. W^m Pratt, of Leeds, and Alice Smallpage, of the same. (*Lic.*)

(1240). 1742, June 22. Richard Kirby,²⁶⁶ of Sledmire, & Jane Mannel, of New Malton. (*Lic.*)

²⁶⁵ William Coates, glover, chamberlain in 1744, sheriff in 1750-1, and lord mayor in 1753, died 24 Nov., 1758, aged 62, and was buried at St. Mary's, Bishophill Senior, Nov. 26th. His widow Christiana re-married 2nd December, 1759, Edward Wallis, esq., M.D., lord mayor of York in 1771, and died at Alne in June, 1781.—Cancel the note to No. 1013, *antea*. The William Coates there mentioned was dead in June, 1740.

²⁶⁶ He is described in the Marriage License as Richard Kirkby, of Sledmire, gent., aged above 27 years, his intended wife being then 22 years old. His parentage is not known to me, neither have I discovered the date of his death, or any will or administration belonging to him. A few notices of the family from which he probably sprang may, however, prove acceptable. Mark Kirkby, merchant, Hull, lord of the manors of Eske and Rous (who died in 1718, aged 80), had, by Jane Richardson, his wife, three

(1241). 1742, July 3. Christopher Peckett, of Stitnam, in y^e par. of Sherriff Hutton, & Elizabeth Milles, of y^e same par. (*Lic.*)

(1242). 1742, July 8. Edw^d Robinson,²⁶⁷ of Beverley, & Sarah Tomlin, of the same. (*Lic.*)

(1243). 1742, July 28. Edward Foster, of Garton, and Mary Milner, of Aldbrough. (*Lic.*)

(1244). 1742, Aug. 16. Robert Hargraves, of Tadcaster, and Frances Colbeck, of y^e same. (*Lic.*)

(1245). 1742, Aug. 19. W^m Pickering, of Steeton, in y^e par. of Bolton Peiercy, & Jane Cryer, of y^e same place. (*Lic.*)

(1246). 1742, Sept. 4. Rob^t Romans, of Malton, & Ann Wilcock, of Great Osburn. (*Lic.*)

(1247). 1742, Sept. 4. John Varvell, of Seaton Ross, & Mary Walker, of y^e same place. (*Lic.*)

(1248). 1742, Oct. 9. Nath. Hone, of the city of York, and Mary Earl, of the par. of Stⁱ Michael Belfray's. (*Lic.*)

(1249). 1742, Oct. 11. Joseph Bridges²⁶⁸ & Mary Yoward, both of the par. of the Holy Trinity in King's Court, in the city of York. (*Lic.*)

(1250). 1742, Oct. 13. George Sherwin, of y^e par. of Hovingham, and Elizabeth Watson, of y^e same par. (*Lic.*)

(1251). 1742, Oct. 30. Thomas Pearson, of Asselby, in y^e par. of Howden, & Mary Robinson, of Spaldington, in y^e par. of Bubwith. (*Lic.*)

sons, Richard, Christopher, and Mark, and three daughters, Dinah, wife of Richard Mann, of York, gent., Isabella, wife of Leonard Collins, gent., and Mary, who married Richard Sykes, merchant, Hull, and died in 1714, leaving, with other issue, two sons, Richard, who succeeded to Sledmere on the death of his uncle, Mark Kirkby, was high sheriff of the county in 1752, and died without issue in 1761, and Mark, in holy orders, who was created a baronet in 1783, and was great-grandfather of the present Sir Tatton Sykes, of Sledmere, Bart. Of the sons of the first-mentioned Mark Kirkby, Richard, the eldest, lord of the manor of Eske, was living in 1724; Christopher, the second son, was a merchant in Hull, and died about 1733; the third son, Mark Kirkby, esq., of Sledmere, was high sheriff in 1737, and died at Beverley, intestate, and without issue, administration being granted 3rd Oct., 1748, to Isabella Collins, widow, his sister and only next of kin.

²⁶⁷ 8 July, 1742. Edward Robinson, of the par. of St. John, Beverley, clerk, bachelor, aged 24, and Sarah Tomlin, of the par. of St. Mary, spinster, aged 27. (*Marr. Lic.*) In 1755, Edward Robinson, M.A., was instituted to the rectory of Winstead.

²⁶⁸ See the Register of Burials in York Minster (Nos. 227, 246) for some account of the Rev. Joseph Bridges and Mary his wife. She was the daughter of Richard Yoward, of York, gent.

(1252). 1742, Nov. 1. John Green, of Darington, & Mary Oldfield, of the same. (*Lic.*)

(1253). 1742, Nov. 6. Thomas Pinckney, of y^o par. of S^t Wilfred, in y^o city of York, & Mary Elsworth, of Bickerton. (*Lic.*)

(1254). 1742, Nov. 7. William Jackson, of Aldwark, & Mary Anderson, of Alne. (*Lic.*)

(1255). 1742, Nov. 16. W^m Clark, of Lestingham, & Eliz: Coulson, of Lestingham par. afores^d. (*Lic.*)

(1256). 1742, Nov. 16. George Sanderson, of Catton, & Anne Grafton, of Dunnington. (*Lic.*)

(1257). 1742, Nov. 17. Timothy Johnson, of y^o par. of Bridlington, & Alice Smith, of North Froddingham. (*Lic.*)

(1258). 1742, Nov. 18. Tim^o Johnson, of Harswell, & Faith Solly, of Augton. (*Lic.*)

(1259). 1742, Nov. 24. John Caborn, of Hull, & Elizabeth Jackson, of York. (*Lic.*)

(1260). 1742, Nov. 24. Richard Parkinson, of Pickering, & Elizabeth Ware (?), of New Malton. (*Lic.*)

(1261). 1742, Dec. 2. John Champney, of Selby, and Martha Mitchell, of Barmby Marsh, in y^o par. of Howden. (*Lic.*)

(1262). 1742, Dec. 14. Thomas Ryley, of the par. of S^t Michael Belfrey's, & Mary Story, of the same. (*Lic.*)

(1263). 1742, Dec. 20. Thomas Scadlethorp, of York, & Mary Kettlestrings, of Clifton. (*Lic.*)

(1264). 1742, Dec. 23. Rob^t Cook & Elizabeth Watson, both of Escrick. (*Lic.*)

(1265). 1742, Dec. 29. William Fenton,²⁶⁹ of the par. of Rothwell, and Jane Mould, of Armin, in the par. of Snaith. (*Lic.*)

(1266). 1742-3, Jan. 2. Michael Eastburn,²⁷⁰ of the par. of S^t J^{no} Delpick, in the city of York, & Faith Jenkinson, of Belfray's, in the same. (*Lic.*)

²⁶⁹ William Fenton, of Rothwell, gent., was born about 1720.

²⁷⁰ Michael Eastburne, merchant, grocer and apothecary. chamberlain in 1746. was living in 1758. His daughter Sarah married in 1799, Robert Welborne Hotham, sheriff of York in 1801-2.

(1267). 1742-3, Jan. 5. William Wilson, of Thorton (Thornton ?), & Mary Smith, of Barnby. (*Lic.*)

(1268). 1742-3, Jan. 9. Stephen Robinson, of the par. of Birkin, and Dinah Gainforth, of the par. of St^t Mary's, Castlegate, in the city of York. (*Lic.*)

(1269). 1742-3, Jan. 13. Thomas Dobson, of Pickering, & Jane Smailes, of y^e same place. (*Lic.*)

(1270). 1742-3, Jan. 13. Joseph Bower, of Skelton, in y^e par. of Overton, & Elizabeth Plowman, of y^e same place. (*Lic.*)

(1271). 1742-3, Jan. 19. Thomas Barfe,²⁷¹ of Hurst Courtney, in y^e par. of Birkin, & Ann Leech, of Temple Hurst, in the said par. (*Lic.*)

(1272). 1742-3, Jan. 22. Francis Turner, of North Dufield, in y^e par. of Skipwith, & Elizabeth Ellis, of y^e par. of Escrick. (*Lic.*)

(1273). 1742-3, Feb. 1. Robert Wood, of Gillimoor, in y^e par. of Kirkby-moorside, & Tamer Potter, of Fadmoor, in y^e said par. (*Lic.*)

(1274). 1742-3, Feb. 5. Hugh Barnard, of Yapham, in the par. of Pocklington, & Rachael Bell, of the same place. (*Lic.*)

(1275). 1742-3, Feb. 10. Marmaduke Buckle,²⁷² of y^e par. of y^e Holy Trinity in Goodramgate, in y^e city of York, & Jane Micklefield, of y^e same par. (*Lic.*)

(1276). 1742-3, Feb. 12. Joseph Brown, of Ellerton, & Frances Cawood, of Grimston, in y^e par. of Dunnington. (*Lic.*)

(1277). 1742-3, Feb. 15. William Coall, of Gillimoor, in y^e par. of Kirkby Moorside, & Isabel Coall, of y^e same place. (*Lic.*)

(1278). 1742-3, Feb. 19. Peter Beal, of Skirpenbeck, and Isabella Gray, of Nether Popleton. (*Lic.*)

²⁷¹ See No. 1149, *antea*.

²⁷² Marmaduke Buckle, woolstapler, son of Marmaduke Buckle, of York, gent., who died in 1740. His eldest son, Joseph Buckle, was admitted a proctor in 1765, and died in 1818, leaving (with other issue) a son Joseph, also a proctor, lord mayor in 1842-3 and 1843-4, whose son is the present Joseph Buckle, Esq., Registrar of Her Majesty's District Court of Probate.

(1279). 1742-3, Mar. 24. John Hatter & Mary Bathurst, both of Murton, in y^e par. of Osbaldwick. (*Lic.*)

(1280). 1743, Apr. 11. Richard Plowman & Ann Northrop, both of Ripon. (*Lic.*)

(1281). 1743, Apr. 13. John Theakston and Mary Haigh. (*Lic.*)

(1282). 1743, Apr. 14. Thomas Lee, of Leeds, & Margaret Markam, of the same. (*Lic.*)

(1283). 1743, Apr. 21. Thomas Hartley,²⁷³ of Tadcaster, and Margaret Marshall, of the same. (*Lic.*)

(1284). 1743, Apr. 30. Walter Hickson (?), of the par. of St Michael, & Rebecca Nickson. (*Lic.*)

(1285). 1743, May 1. James Hobson,²⁷⁴ Gent., & Eliz: Preston. He of Kirby Moreside, & she of New Malton. (*Lic.*)

(1286). 1743, May 5. W^m Darwan,²⁷⁵ of the Close of St Peter's, York, and Eliz: Greenfield, of the same. (*Lic.*)

(1287). 1743, May 20. John Garbut, of y^e chappelry of Worlton, and Mary Leng, of y^e same place. (*Lic.*)

(1288). 1743, May 22. Joseph Broadbent, of y^e par. of Barwick in Elmet, & Sarah Jenkinson, of St John Delpike's par., in y^e city of York. (*Lic.*)

(1289). 1743, May 27. John Taylor, in y^e par. of Wakefield, & Frances Smith, of y^e same par. (*Lic.*)

(1290). 1743, June 3. Ralph Fowler, of y^e par. of Bulmer, & Sarah Frier, of y^e same. (*Lic.*)

(1291). 1743, July 2. James Garbut & Mary Garbut, both of Kirkdale. (*Lic.*)

²⁷³ Thomas Hartley, innholder, Tadcaster (the son, apparently, of John Hartley, of the same town), married, firstly, Jane Colbeck, who died in 1742; secondly, Margaret, daughter of Edward Marshall, of Tadcaster, gent., by whom he had an only child, Edward-Marshall, who was four years old at his father's decease in 1749. John Hartley, innholder, brother of the above Thomas, died at Tadcaster in 1804, aged 93, leaving (with other issue) two sons, Stephen and Thomas, both brewers. Stephen was sheriff of York in 1791-2, and his son William filled the same office in 1810-11. Thomas was lord mayor in 1789 and 1803, and died in 1808, aged 69.

²⁷⁴ James Hobson, of The Minster Yard, gent., died in 1792, leaving a widow Elizabeth, and an only child Eleanor, wife of the Rev. James Willoughby, rector of Guiseley, and vicar of Aakham Richard, co. York.

²⁷⁵ A William Darwin was clerk of the Cathedral Vestry from 1780 to 1782.

(1292). 1743, Aug. 4. William Hodge & Lucy Burnitt, both of Crake. (*Lic.*)

(1293). 1743, Sept. 4. John Waite & Mary Spence, both of the par. of the Holy Trinity in King's Court, in the city of York. (*Lic.*)

(1294). 1743, Sept. 17. James Oliver & Mary Simpson, both of y^e par. of Whenby. (*Lic.*)

(1295). 1743, Sept. 25. Arthur Burton, of y^e par. of Leeds, & Ann Fibson, of y^e same par. (*Lic.*)

(1296). 1743, Sept. 30. Bryan Boyes, of the par. of Little Driffeld, & Elizabeth Cockerell, of the par. of Pickering. (*Lic.*)

(1297). 1743, Oct. 18. John Brown, of Escrick, and Rosamond Tate, of Hessay. (*Lic.*)

(1298). 1743, Oct. 19. Francis Dyson, of y^e par. of Hallifax, & Rosamond Spencer, of Addingham. (*Lic.*)

(1299). 1743, Nov. 12. George Dalton and Mary Fearn, of the par. of St John's. (*Lic.*)

(1300). 1743, Nov. 21. Robert Thornborough, of Howden, & Ann Fletcher, of Drax. (*Lic.*)

(1301). 1743, Nov. 22. Henry Hawkins, of Newton, & Ann Cooper, of y^e same. (*Lic.*)

(1302). 1743, Nov. 22. William Dobson, of Ampleford, & Mary Nicholson, of the same. (*Lic.*)

(1303). 1743, Dec. 1. Michael Clarkson, of Foggathorp, & Elizabeth Foster, of Holme. (*Lic.*)

(1304). 1743, Dec. 21. Christopher Aisdall and Mary Sewer (?) (*Lic.*)

(1305). 1743, Dec. 27. John Dealtary,²⁷⁶ of Skirpenbeck, & Ann Wiley, of York. (*Lic.*)

²⁷⁶ Second son of the Rev. William Dealtary, rector of Skirpenbeck, who died in 1741. He was ordained deacon, by the bishop of Chester, 31 Oct., 1731, and priest, by the bishop of Durham, 2 Sept., 1733. On 7 Dec., 1736, he was instituted to the rectory of Skirpenbeck, which had been resigned by his father in the preceding month. On 7 Dec., 1741, he was admitted to the perpetual curacy of Bishop Wilton. On 1 July, 1758, he was collated to the vicarage of Bishopthorpe, and instituted to the perpetual curacy of Acaster Malbis, which livings he held until his death. On 25 Oct., 1759, he was admitted to the prebend of Norwell, at Southwell, which he resigned in 1785. In 1780 he was collated to the stall of Stillington, at York, and on 2 Feb., 1785, was instituted to the rectory of Barnbrough, holding both preferments until his decease, which occurred on April 30th, 1797, at the age of 89. He left two sons, the

(1306). 1743-4, Jan. 5. John Brown, of Barnby, & Ann Pennington, of y^e same par., viz. of Howden. (*Lic.*)

(1307). 1743-4, Jan. 6. Chr^t Dowell, of Bramham, and Esther Bowlby, of the same par. (*Lic.*)

(1308). 1743-4, Jan. 31. John Whare, of Scarcroft, & Mary Darby, of Bilton. (*Lic.*)

(1309). 1743-4, Feb. 11. W^m Knapton, of Sherburn, & Sarah Wilson, of Hunsingore. (*Lic.*)

(1310). 1743-4, Feb. 18. Christopher Steel, of Newton-upon-Ouze, & Sarah Vasey, of Tollerton. (*Lic.*)

(1311). 1743-4, Feb. 27. John Bulmer, of y^e par. of Gilling, & Jane Knowlson, of y^e same place. (*Lic.*)

(1312). 1743-4, Mar. 10. Robert Ewbank, of the par. of St^t Hellen, in the city of York, & Mary Rodwell, of the par. of St^t Martin, in the said city. (*Lic.*)

(1313). 1744, Apr. 3. Frankland Coats, of y^e par. of Danby, & Margaret Petch, of the same place.

(1314). 1744, Apr. 7. John Hall, of Harton, in y^e par. of Bossall, & Elizabeth Sturdle, of y^e same par. (*Lic.*)

(1315). 1744, Apr. 17. Thomas Wallshaw & Elizabeth Muse, both of Monkfryston. (*Lic.*)

(1316). 1744, Apr. 17. John Witty, of Luttons Ambo, & Mary Saunderson, of Warter. (*Lic.*)

(1317). 1744, Apr. 28. Henry Brown, of the par. of Aughton, & Susannah Cowpland, of the same. (*Lic.*)

(1318). 1744, May 9. Marmaduke Scott, of y^e par. of Bubwith, and Frances Grasby, of y^e same place. (*Lic.*)

(1319). 1744, May 17. Henry Hardy & Anne Shepherd, both of Seaton, in y^e par. of Siggleshorpe. (*Lic.*)

(1320). 1744, May 18. James Fenton, of Leeds, & Ann Green, of the par. of the Holy Trinity, in Micklegate, in the city of York. (*Lic.*)

Rev. William Dealtary, and Henry Dealtary, esq. The former, who was rector of Skirpenbeck and Wigginton, married, at St. Mary's, Castlegate, 6 Feb., 1776, Elizabeth Frances, daughter of Francis Barlow, esq., of Middlethorpe, near York, high sheriff of the county in 1735.—The marriage settlement between John Dealtary and Ann Wiley bears date 26 Dec., 1743. She was living in April, 17

(1321). 1744, May 28. William Hunsman, of North Newbald, & Arrabella Vauser, of the same place. (*Lic.*)

(1322). 1744, May 30. John Foster, of Thirsk, and Sarah Potter, of Wath. (*Lic.*)

(1323). 1744, June 2. John Gowland, of Nether Poppleton, & Elizabeth Hawkin, of Hessay. (*Lic.*)

(1324). 1744, June 11. John Parker, of Wetherby, and Elizabeth Lacy, of y^e same place. (*Lic.*)

(1325). 1744, June 24. Robert Lorriman, of New Malton, & Margaret Macknabb, of Pickering.

(1326). 1744, June 29. James Kendrey, of y^e city of York, & Elizabeth West, of Osbaldwick. (*Lic.*)

(1327). 1744, July 11. John Bolton, of Scrayingham, and Dorothy Seller, of y^e same. (*Lic.*)

(1328). 1744, July 14. James Egton, of Bishop Wilton, and Ellen Abba, of the same. (*Lic.*)

(1329). 1744, July 27. Nicholas Simpson, of Saxton, & Rebecca Lazenby, of the par. of Stillingfleet. (*Lic.*)

(1330). 1744, Aug. 1. Marmaduke Simpson & Eliz: Binnington, both of North Dalton. (*Lic.*)

(1331.) 1744, Aug. 5. John Rowning, rector of Anderby, in Linconshire, & Elizabeth Roberts, of y^e par. of St^t Michael Belfrey's. (*Lic.*)

(1332). 1744, Aug. 7. John Sowray, of Stillington, & Ann Young, of the same place. (*Lic.*)

(1333). 1744, Aug. 8. Nathaniel Ahid (?), of Aley (?), and Ann Wilks, of the same place. (*Lic.*)

(1334). 1744, Aug. 16. George Hartley, of y^e city of Lincoln, & Ann Harland,²⁷⁷ of y^e par. of St^t Cuthbert's, York. (*Lic.*)

(1335). 1744, Sept. 12. John Ward, of Garforth, & Eliz: Bond, of St^t Michael-le-Belfray's. (*Lic.*)

²⁷⁷ Ann, daughter of Richard Harland, of York, gent., by his 2nd wife Lois (who died in 1744), only daughter of the Rev. George Halley, D.D., rector of St. Cuthbert's, York, 1683-1708 (by Sarah, daughter of the Rev. Cuthbert Hesketh, rector of Moor Monkton). Her brother, George Harland, of York, gent., left at his decease in 1793, a daughter Lois, who married Timothy Morine, of York, gent. Their son, George Morine, esq., the Poet, died at Doncaster, 16 December, 1872, aged 63.

(1336). 1744, Sept. 17. William Stephenson, of Skirpenbeck, & Elizabeth Midgley, of y^e same. (*Lic.*)

(1337). 1744, Oct. 13. Richard Beilby, of Hinderskelf, & Sarah Hoyland, of S^t Trinity, in Goodramgate. (*Lic.*)

(1338). 1744, Oct. 15. Robert Wharton, of Hovingham, & Eliz: Surr, of Westow. (*Lic.*)

(1339). 1744, Oct. 29. Francis Iles, of Knaresborough, and Dorothy Pans, of the par. of S^t Michael's de Belfray. (*Lic.*)

(1340). 1744, Nov. 14. Anthony Gill, of y^e par. of Easingwoold, and Elizabeth Wallis, of y^e par. of Sutton in y^e Forrest. (*Lic.*)

(1341). 1744, Nov. 25. Thomas Gurnill, of Gainsbrough, & Mary Kell, of the city of York. (*Lic.*)

(1342). 1744, Dec. 2. John Chambers, of Wakefield, & Grace Shackleton, of y^e city of York. (*Lic.*)

(1343). 1744-5, Jan. 10. John Hopper, of Bugthorp, & Margret Blenkin, of Howsham. (*Lic.*)

(1344). 1744-5, Jan. 14. Will^m Jackson, of Otley, & Jane Brown, of y^e same. (*Lic.*)

(1345). 1744-5, Feb. 7. Christopher Heddon & Sarah Pew, both of Stonegrave. (*Lic.*)

(1346). 1744-5, Feb. 11. John Arminson, of Haxby, and Ann Daniel, of y^e par. of All Saints, in y^e Pavement, in York. (*Lic.*)

(1347). 1744-5, Feb. 14. John Scott, of Stanely, in y^e par. of Wakefield, and Isabell Mawson, of Wakefield aforesaid. (*Lic.*)

(1348). 1744-5, Mar. 3. Francis Littlewood, of the par. of S^t John, in the city of York, & Mary Nicholson, of the par. of S^t Crux, in the same city. (*Lic.*)

(1349). 1744-5, Mar. 9. Jonathan Piercy, of Leppington, & Alice Arnall, of the same place. (*Lic.*)

(1350). 1744-5, Mar. 19. Tho^s 1 jk of K borough, and Dorothy Dixon, of Kirby

(1351). 1745, April 1. John Walker, of Farnsley (*sic*), in the par. of Calverley, and Mary Hanson, of Moor Town, in the par. of Leeds. (*Lic.*)

(1352). 1745, Apr. 14. Will. Carr,²⁷⁸ of the par. of St. Olive's, in York, and Diana Mitley, of y^e city of York. (*Lic.*)

(1353). 1745, Apr. 27. George Cundall, gunner of his Majesty's sloop the Jamaica, & Rebecca Moxon, of y^e city of York. (*Lic.*)

(1354). 1745, Apr. 29. John Saxton, of Wakefield, and Martha Shuttleworth, of the same place. (*Lic.*)

(1355). 1745, May 2. James Richardson, of the city of York, & Elizabeth Key, of the par. of St. Maurice. (*Lic.*)

(1356). 1745, May 10. Jonathan Heward & Anne Cowper, both of y^e par. of Fishlake. (*Lic.*)

(1357). 1745, May 23. William Farthing & Hannah Gray, both of Great Driffild. (*Lic.*)

(1358). 1745, May 29. Abstrupus Danby,²⁷⁹ Esq^r, of Hull, and Hanah Woolfe, of the city of York. (*Lic.*)

(1359). 1745, June 4. John Smith, of Ripon, & An Wilson, of the same place. (*Lic.*)

(1360). 1745, June 25. John Hopkin, of the town of Kingston upon Hull, and Elizabeth Puckering, of the same place. (*Lic.*)

(1361). 1745, July 1. Joseph Forrest, of the town of Kingston upon Hull, & Sarah Walker, of the same place. (*Lic.*)

(1362). 1745, July 1. Josiah Walker, of y^e par. of Bedale, and Mary Jackson, of St Hellen's par., both in Yorkshire. (*Lic.*)

²⁷⁸ William Carr, joiner, died in 1757, after a "long and tedious illness."—Diana, sister of Charles Mitley, sculptor, York, who died in 1758. In 1745 the corporation granted a lease of the site of Davy or Lardiner Hall to Mr. Charles Mitley and his brother-in-law Mr. William Carr, who built thereon "a row of six good houses, which being roofed in July, 1746, on the very day when William, duke of Cumberland, visited York after the battle of Culloden, were, through respect to him, called Cumberland Row, though this part of the city is now far more generally termed New-street" (*Hargrove's Hist. of York*, II., 407). On 3rd April, 1763, Mary, daughter of the above-mentioned Charles Mitley, became the wife of William Peckitt, the well-known glass painter, whom she survived.

²⁷⁹ Abstrupus, 3rd son of Abstrupus Danby, Esq., of Swinton (*see* No. 412, *antea*), by his first wife Elizabeth Ingram. Born in 1717; died at York, 17 March, 1792.—Hannah, daughter of Richard Wolfe, Esq., of Bridlington Quay, died in 1792. Their only daughter, Elizabeth Danby, died unmarried in 1768.

(1363). 1745, July 2. John Ovington, of the city of York, and Margaret Smith, of the same. (*Lic.*)

(1364). 1745, July 2. William Keld, of Langdoleside, & Margaret Hill, of Slingsby, both of Yorkshire. (*Lic.*)

(1365). 1745, July 10. Leonard Terry,²⁸⁰ of the par. of St. Mary's, Castlegate, in the city of York, and Elizabeth Blanshard, of the par. of All Saints, Pavement. (*Lic.*)

(1366). 1745, July 10. John Ringrose and Ann Willson, both of the par. of Collingham. (*Lic.*)

(1367). 1745, July 16. Jonathan Hardcastle, of Stockton, & Mary Mitchel, of the par. of St. John's, within the city of York. (*Lic.*)

(1368). 1745, July 17. George Shepherd, of Wombwell, in the par. of Darfield, & Elizabeth Spink, of y^e par. of Ackworth. (*Lic.*)

(1369). 1745, July 30. William Davison, of Haddlesey, in y^e par. of Birkin, & Elizabeth Richardson, of Hirst, in y^e said par. (*Lic.*)

(1370). 1745, Aug. 10. John Blanshard, of the city of York, and Mary Atkinson, of the same city. (*Lic.*)

(1371). 1745, Aug. 12. George Lambert & Hannah Bladen, y^e one of Wetherby, y^e other of Tadcaster. (*Lic.*)

(1372). 1745, Aug. 15. Philip Grave & Frances Brown, both of Gilberdike, in Eastrington par. (*Lic.*)

(1373). 1745, Aug. 23. Jonathan Bosomworth & Ann Peckett, both of the par. of Slingsby. (*Lic.*)

(1374). 1745, Aug. 22 (*sic*). John Taylor & Ann Sturdy, both of Benningbrough. (*Lic.*)

(1375). 1745, Aug. 31. Thomas Wooller, of Osset, in the par. of Dewsbury, & Elizabeth Foster, of y^e same place. (*Lic.*)

(1376). 1745, Sept. 23. Ralph Robinson, of Leeds, and Elizabeth Bean, of the same place. (*Lic.*)

(1377). 1745, Sept. 24. Mathew Puckering & Mary Shaw, both of Hull. (*Lic.*)

²⁸⁰ Leonard Terry, carpenter, one of the city chamberlains in 1754.

(1378). 1745, Sept. 28. Robert Hood, of the par. of St Sampson, in the city of York, and Ann Clarke, of St. Michael le Belfray. (*Lic.*)

(1379). 1745, Sept. 28. Rich^d Ward, of Skirlaugh, & Frances Heplewood, of y^e same place. (*Lic.*)

(1380). 1745, Oct. 12. Jeremiah Tapling & Mary Rose, both of Humbleton. (*Lic.*)

(1381). 1745, Oct. 15. William Hick & Mary Stevenson, both of Beilby. (*Lic.*)

(1382). 1745, Oct. 21. John Hall, of Wragby, & Ann Anderson, of Stillington. (*Lic.*)

(1383). 1745, Oct. 22. William Foster, of Whitwell, in y^e par. of Cramb, & Eleanor Hornsea of Sticknam (*sic*), in y^e par. of Sheriff Hutton. (*Lic.*)

(1384). 1745, Nov. 12. William Carr, of Heslington, and Mary Clitheroe, of the same place. (*Lic.*)

(1385). 1745, Nov. 14. W^m Pearson and Mary Singleton, both of Yapham. (*Lic.*)

(1386). 1745, Nov. 23. Robert Bentley,²⁸¹ of Pannal, and Ann Housman, of Great Ribston. (*Lic.*)

(1387). 1745, Nov. 27. William Smart & Mary Appleby. (*Lic.*)

(1388). 1745, Nov. 28. Obadiah Kemp and Ann Smith, both of the par. of Leven, in the diocese of York. (*Lic.*)

(1389). 1745, Nov. 25 (*sic*). Thomas Tomlinson, of Linton upon Ouze, & Mary Jackson, of Newton. (*Lic.*)

(1390). 1745, Dec. 16. John Tod, of the par. of Bolton Percy, & Margaret Blythe, of Bilbrough. (*Lic.*)

(1391). 1745, Dec. 30. Daniel Dawson & Faith Dodding, both of y^e par. of Bramham. (*Lic.*)

(1392). 1745-6, Jan. 4. W^m Browne, of Loundsbrough, & Hannah Broadhead, of Market Weighton. (*Lic.*)

²⁸¹ Robert, son of Robert and Isabella Bentley, of Pannal, was baptized there 15 January, 1718. See No. 1729, *postea*. For an account of this family, see Grainge's History of the Forest of Knaresbrough, p. 221.

(1393). 1745-6, Jan. 5. Robert Thomas, of Meltonby, in the par. of Pocklington, & Elizabeth Leak, of the same. (*Lic.*)

(1394). 1745-6, Jan. 10. John Hebden, of Scarborough, and Mary Storry, of the same place. (*Lic.*)

(1395). 1745-6, Jan. 21. James Backhouse, of Fenton, and Ellen Coupland, of the same. (*Lic.*)

(1396). 1745-6, Jan. 24. John Willans, of Dewsbury, & Alathea Watson, of the Close of the Cathedral church in York. (*Lic.*)

(1397). 1745-6, Feb. 5. Robert Harper, of Wheldrake, & Anne Holderness, of the same par. (*Lic.*)

(1398). 1745-6, Feb. 6. Thomas Metcalfe and Ellen Pickersgill, both of North Coat Grange, in Massam par. (*Lic.*)

(1399). 1745-6, Feb. 8. John Bradshaw & Mary Dixon, both of Sutton on y^e Forrest. (*Lic.*)

(1400). 1745-6, Feb. 27. William Potter, of y^e city of York, bricklayer, & Mary Mudd, of the Beddern, in y^e said city. (*Lic.*)

(1401). 1745-6, Mar. 11. Thomas Bramwell and Mary Spedy, of the par. of Sheffield. (*Lic.*)

(1402). 1746, Apr. 7. Alexander Harrison,²⁸² of All S^t, in North-street, and Christiana Rider, of B^phill Jun. (*Lic.*)

(1403). 1746, March (*sic*) 10. Thomas Eadon, of y^e par. of S^t George wth Naburne, and Margaret Wiley, of y^e city of York. (*Lic.*)

(1404). 1746, Apr. 10. John Cutts, of the par. of S^t Crux, in the city of York, & Jane Craven, of S^t Wilfrey's, in the same city. (*Lic.*)

(1405). 1746, Apr. 11. Richard Allat, of y^e par. of S^t Martin, in Coney-street in York, & Anne Ward, of y^e par. of Rufforth. (*Lic.*)

(1406). 1746, Apr. 22. George Barrows, of y^e par. of S^t John Del Pike, & Mary Pearson, of Stockton. (*Lic.*)

²⁸² Alexander Harrison, brewer, North-street, was one of the city chamberlains in 1752.

(1407). 1746, Apr. 24. John Bowman,²⁸³ of Beverley, gentleman, and Jane Lockwood, of y^e par. of S^t Martin, in Micklegate. (*Lic.*)

(1408). 1746, Apr. 24. Rich^d Snowdon, of Cattell Hall, in y^e par. of Whixley, & Sarah Houseman, of Little Ribston, in y^e par. of Spofforth. (*Lic.*)

(1409). 1746, May 7. Thomas Clarkson, of Welburn, in the par. of Bulmer, and Ann Gray, of y^e same place. (*Lic.*)

(1410). 1746, May 10. Joseph Harper, of York, in the par. of S^t Giles, and Elizabeth Gawtry, of Stockton. (*Lic.*)

(1411). 1746, May 13. Richard Wilson, of Fishlake, & Hannah Wilson, of the same place. (*Lic.*)

(1412). 1746, May 15. Alexander Scott and Alice Hall, both of the par. of Bubwith. (*Lic.*)

(1413). 1746, May 19. William Wigglesworth, of Armley, in the par. of Leeds, and Hannah Marshall, of Rawden, in the par. of Guisley. (*Lic.*)

(1414). 1745, May 19. Thomas Lawton, of Roans House, in the par. of Sutton on the Forrest, and Rachael Tate, of Sherrif Hutton. (*Lic.*)

(1415). 1746, May 23. Thomas Beilby, of Beverley, & Rachel Harrison, of Wetwang. (*Lic.*)

(1416). 1746, May 29. William Wilkinson, of Nun-Monkton, & Elizabeth Brogden, of Tockwith, in y^e par. of Bilton. (*Lic.*)

(1417). 1746, June 12. Joseph Walker (a Trooper), of y^e par. of S^t Mary, in Castlegate, York, & Susanna Cawton, of y^e par. of y^e Holy Trinity, in Goodramgate, York. (*Lic.*)

(1418). 1746, June 16. John Farnell, of Farnham, & Jane Cooper, of Newton upon Ouze. (*Lic.*)

(1419). 1746, June 17. Caleb Noddings, of Wimbleton, and Elizabeth Spenceley, of the same place. (*Lic.*)

(1420). 1746, June 22. William Wood, of Acaster Malbis, and Elizabeth Massey, of the same place. (*Lic.*)

²⁸³ John, eldest son of John Bowman, alderman of Beverley (who died in 1746), and Hannah, his wife.

(1421). 1746, June 22. Thomas Yeoman, of West Cottingwith, & Susanna Nettleton, of Grimston, in y^e par. of Dunnington. (*Lic.*)

(1422). 1746, July 1. John Wilson, of Little Usburn, & Mary Atkinson, of Kirkleatham. (*Lic.*)

(1423). 1746, Aug. 3. John Kirk, of Wigginton, yeoman, and Margaret Calvert, of Moor Monkton. (*Lic.*)

(1424). 1746, Aug. 5. William Cundall, of Easingwoud, yeoman, & Alice Wilson, of y^e same. (*Lic.*)

(1425). 1746, Aug. 7. W^m Berry & Rebecca Henery, both of Kilburn. (*Lic.*)

(1426). 1746, Aug. 9. Robert Clayton, y^e younger, of Sherburn, and Ann Middleton, of Lenarton. (*Lic.*)

(1427). 1746, Aug. 12. Thomas Wright, of Sykehouse, in y^e par. of Fishlake, & Sarah Hopkinson, of Snaith. (*Lic.*)

(1428). 1746, Aug. 12. Rich^d Horncastle, of Leeds, & Martha Douglas, of the same place. (*Lic.*)

(1429). 1746, Aug. 13. Richard Foord & Mary Thompson, of the par. of Huggate. (*Lic.*)

(1430). 1746, Aug. 26. William Askam,²⁸⁴ of the par. of S^t Sampson's, in the city of York, & Mary Gowland, of the same city. (*Lic.*)

(1431). 1746, Sept. 1. Francis Shackelton, of Pontefract, & Jane Compton, of Badsworth. (*Lic.*)

(1432). 1746, Oct. 2. Herbert Lawson, of Kingston-upon-Hull, & Penelope Knipe,²⁸⁵ of y^e par. of S^t Dennis, Walmgate. (*Lic.*)

(1433). 1746, Oct. 9. W^m Whitaker, of Howden, & Ellen Pearson, of the par. of S^t Michael-le-Belfray, in the city of York. (*Lic.*)

(1434). 1746, Oct. 14. Christopher Manatt, of y^e city of York, & Elizabeth Cooke, of Stillington. (*Lic.*)

(1435). 1746, Oct. 15. William Flintoft, of Hovingham, & Ann Hawkins, of the same place. (*Lic.*)

²⁸⁴ William Askham, currier, chamberlain in 1740.

²⁸⁵ Probably the daughter of Thomas Knipe, common brewer, York, and Penelope, his wife.

(1436). 1746, Oct. 14 (*sic*). Robert Machael, of y^e city of York, & Elizabeth Meadley, of Osbaldwick. (*Lic.*)

(1437). 1746, Oct. 19. James Hodgson, of Huntington, & Esther Kirkby, of the same. (*Lic.*)

(1438). 1746, Oct. 19. Will^m Thompson, of Riccall, and Ann Morfit, of y^e same. (*Lic.*)

(1439). 1746, Nov. 8. Arthur Hoggart, of St^t Martin's, Mic[klegate], & Judith Day, of y^e city of York. (*Lic.*)

(1440). 1746, Nov. 11. Richard Crawshaw, of East Haddlesey, in y^e par. of Birkin, & Sarah Westerman, of y^e same. (*Lic.*)

(1441). 1746, Nov. 11. William Fretwell,²⁸⁶ of Thorp, in y^e par. of Barnby Dunn, and Elizabeth Smith, of Doncaster. (*Lic.*)

(1442). 1746, Nov. 19. Thomas Tetlay, of Hunmanby, and Mary Cape, of the city of York. (*Lic.*)

(1443). 1746, Nov. 21. John Wilkinson & Anne Wells, both of Raskelfe. (*Lic.*)

(1444). 1746, Nov. 22. W^m Sampson, of East Retford, in y^e co. of Nott., & Mary Hawton, of y^e city of York. (*Lic.*)

(1445). 1746, Nov. 24. John Unthank, of y^e city of York, and Priscilla Carr, of the aforesaid city. (*Lic.*)

(1446). 1746, Dec. 1. William Townsley, of Rothwell, & Rebecca Host, of Barwick in Elmet. (*Lic.*)

(1447). 1746, Dec. 26. Christopher Wise, of Pocklington, and Elizabeth Lorimer, of the same place. (*Lic.*)

(1448). 1746, Dec. 27. W^m Morley, of Rawcliffe, in y^e par. of Snaith, & Anne Gibson, of y^e par. of Aughton. (*Lic.*)

²⁸⁶ William, younger son of James Fretwell, gent., of Thorpe-in-Palne (son of James Fretwell, gent., of Maltby), by Mary, 2nd daughter of John Woodhouse, of Norton, in the parish of Campsall (*see* No. 798, *antea*). Born 21 July, 1708; died 26 Nov., 1778; will dated 12 Oct., 1778 [Pro. 18 July *seq.*]. His elder brother, James Fretwell, of Thorpe and Norton, gent., who died unmarried in 1772, left a Diary, which will shortly be published by the Surtees Society, under the editorship of Charles Jackson, Esq., of Doncaster.—Elizabeth, daughter of William Smith, of Doncaster, by his 2nd wife Dorothy Mitchell.—J. S.

(1449). 1746, Dec. 29. David Ward, of Bainton, & Hellen Hessay, of Warter. (*Lic.*)

(1450). 1746-7, Jan. 9. W^m Williamson, of Beverley, & Charlotte Newlove, of Wetwang. (*Lic.*)

(1451). 1746-7, Jan. 29. William Walker, of Wath, in the par. of Hovingham, & Jane Wardale, of the same place. (*Lic.*)

(1452). 1746-7, Mar. 10. Silvester Tart, of Huby, in y^e par. of Sutton on y^e Forrest, & Elizabeth Locksmith, of Sproxton, in y^e par. of Helmsley. (*Lic.*)

(1453). 1747, Mar. 26. John Leng & Mary Barker, both of y^e par. of Aughton. (*Lic.*)

(1454). 1747, Apr. 4. John Stocks & Ann Harland, both of y^e par. of S^t Michael Belfrey's, in y^e city of York. (*Lic.*)

(1455). 1747, Apr. 11. Joseph Mellanby, of Stockton upon Tees, in the co. of Durham, & Sarah Hitcock, of the par. of S^t John, in the city of York. (*Lic.*)

(1456). 1747, Apr. 22. George Brown, of Kexby, in the par. of Catton, & Elizabeth Weatherell, of Scarborough. (*Lic.*)

(1457). 1747, Apr. 25. William Ploughman, of Selby, & Mary Hembrough, of Kelfield. (*Lic.*)

(1458). 1747, May 4. Richard Sugden, of Millington, & Sarah Hide, of y^e same place. (*Lic.*)

(1459). 1747, May 7. John Marwood and Eliz: Hall, both of the par. of S^t Mary, in Castlegate, in the city of York. (*Lic.*)

(1460). 1747, May 12. William Lovell, of Carnaby, and Hellen Cross, of Huggate. (*Lic.*)

(1461). 1747, May 16. Thruscross Topham²⁸⁷ & Ann Sanderson, both of the par. of S^t Martin's, Micklegate, in the city of York. (*Lic.*)

(1462). 1747, May 19. John Carter & Sarah Barran, both of y^e par. of Rise. (*Lic.*)

²⁸⁷ The will of Thruscross Topham, of York, gent., bears date 30 July, 1755, and was proved 23 April, 1757. He left a widow, Ann, and a daughter, Mary.

(1463). 1747, May 19. Thomas Agar²⁸⁸ & Phillis Moorhouse, both of Duncombe Park, in y^o par. of Helmsley. (*Lic.*)

(1464). 1747, May 21. Robert Chaplin, in y^o par. of Bubwith, & Margaret Dunn, of Howden. (*Lic.*)

(1465). 1747, June 3. James Jefferson, of Bridlington, & Elizabeth Johnson, of the same place. (*Lic.*)

(1466). 1747, June 9. W^m Turner & Anne Storry, both of Howsham. (*Lic.*)

(1467). 1747, June 16. Robert Hewson, of y^o city of York, & Mary Pearson, of Ferry Bridge. (*Lic.*)

(1468). 1747, June 16. M^r Edward Heber,²⁸⁹ of y^o par. of St^t John Delpike, & Miss Margaret Cuthbert, of y^o par. of St^t Maurice, both in y^o city of York. (*Lic.*)

(1469). 1747, July 7. George Langton & Anne Dugleby, both of Haystrop, in y^o par. of Agnes Burton. (*Lic.*)

(1470). 1747, July 15. Rich^d Nelson, of Bimsey, in y^o par. of West Tanfield, & Jane Cowper, of y^o par. of St^t Trinity, in King's Court, York. (*Lic.*)

(1471). 1747, July 16. John Armstrong & Elizabeth Harrison, both of y^o par. of St^t Crux, York. (*Lic.*)

(1472). 1747, Aug. 5. Henry Avison & Mary Deighton, both of y^o par. of Hampsthwaite. (*Lic.*)

(1473). 1747, Aug. 17. William Whitehead, of Skerne, & Jane Whitehead, of the same place. (*Lic.*)

(1474). 1747, Aug. 17. John Ellis, of Ackworth, & Mercy Robinson, of Bramham Biggin. (*Lic.*)

²⁸⁸ Thomas Agar, of Duncombe Park, yeoman, died about 1775, leaving a widow, Phillis, by whom he had i-sue Christopher, Thomas, Phillis, Dorothy, and Catharine.

²⁸⁹ Edward Heber, proctor, York, 8th son of Reginald Heber, Esq., of Marton, by Heather, daughter of Sir William Cayley, of Brompton, Bart. Bap. at Marton 19 October, 1712: died intestate before 13 Aug., 1795.—Margaret, daughter and heiress of the Rev. William Cuthbert, of Thornton-le-Beans, rector of South Kilvington (who died in 1717). In her will, dated 16 Aug., 1779 [Pro. 13 Aug., 1795], she desires "to be interred in the parish church of Kilvington, as near the remains of my late dear papa and mamma as may be."—At the bottom of the fourth page the testatrix has written these words:—"Mr. Heber & my son Nedy, as you hope for mercy, for mercy (*sic*), for Christ's sake, I charge you do this—give to charity."—The "Nedy" here mentioned was the Rev. Edward Heber, vicar of Kirkby Wharfe and Fridaythorpe, who died at Thornton-le-Beans, 31 October, 1795.

(1475). 1747, Aug. 25. John Andrews,²⁹⁰ of Hull, and Elizabeth Norton, of Wakefield. (*Lic.*)

(1476). 1747, Sept. 7. James Heald, of Sowerby, in y^o par. of Thirsk, & Jane Coupland, of y^o same. (*Lic.*)

(1477). 1747, Sept. 28. Samuel Wilson, of Stanford Bridge, & Mary Leadley, of Dunnington. (*Lic.*)

(1478). 1747, Oct. 9. Thomas Horsfall & Hannah Hurst, both of y^o par. of Bradford. (*Lic.*)

(1479). 1747, Oct. 13. Thomas Braithwaite, of S^t Sampson's par., & Lydia Theakstone, of S^t John's, Micklegate. (*Lic.*)

(1480). 1747, Oct. 15. Nathaniel Fligg, of y^o par. of Hemingbrough, & Elizabeth Hepton, of y^o par. of Bubwith. (*Lic.*)

(1481). 1747, Oct. 21. Benjamin Stold & Alice Grimshaw, both of Hushwaite. (*Lic.*)

(1482). 1747, Oct. 29. William Chapman, of Bransby, & Mary Marshall, of the same place. (*Lic.*)

(1483). 1747, Nov. 8. George Wrightson, of Raskelf, & Ann Morley, of Hamilton, in y^o co. of York. (*Lic.*)

(1484). 1747, Nov. 12. Joseph Horseman, of Little Ussburn, & Margaret Edson, of y^o same place. (*Lic.*)

(1485). 1747, Nov. 17. William Gibson, of Thornton, & Mary Gibson, of y^o same place. (*Lic.*)

(1486). 1747, Nov. 19. Thomas Chapman, of Holtby, & Mary Todd, of Stockton. (*Lic.*)

(1487). 1747, Nov. 24. John Stabler,²⁹¹ citizen of London, and Ann Preston, of S^t Maurice's, in York. (*Lic.*)

(1488). 1747, Nov. 23 (*sic*). Isaac Brigham & Sarah Sherwood, both of Seaton Ross. (*Lic.*)

(1489). 1747, Dec. 17. Short Vickers, of Bradford, & Ann Watson, of Bingley. (*Lic.*)

²⁹⁰ Possibly John Andrews, of Kingston-upon-Hull, gent., who, in his will dated 22 January, 1761 [Pro. 24 Jan., 1765], desires his wife Jane to cause his body to be interred "in a private, frugal manner, in an evening, decently." His brother, Joseph Andrews, was vicar of Stanway, in Essex.

²⁹¹ John Stabler, draper, London, son of Emanuel Stabler, merchant, sheriff of York in 1738-9, by Mary, daughter of William Redman, alderman of York.

(1490). 1747, Dec. 21. Jeremiah Briggs, of South Milford, and Elizabeth Bradley, of Tadcaster. (*Lic.*)

(1491). 1747, Dec. 29. Thomas Kible, of Sheffield, & Thomasin Kenyon, of Scarborough. (*Lic.*)

(1492). 1747, Dec. 30. Rich^d Watson, of the chapplery of Egton, and Jane Grayson, of the chapplery of Rosedale. (*Lic.*)

(1493). 1747, Dec. 28 (*sic*). James Heblethwaite, of Bridlington, and Mary Johnson, of y^e same place. (*Lic.*)

(1494). 1747-8, Jan. 3. W^m Sotheran & Elizabeth Brown, both of y^e par. of All Saints, in North-street, York. (*Lic.*)

(1495). 1747-8, Jan. 5. Anthony Ingel, of Carlton-in-Lindrick, in y^e co. of Nott., & Elizabeth Tracy, of y^e city of York. (*Lic.*)

(1496). 1747-8, Jan. 18. John Nelson, of Laytham, in y^e par. of Aughton, & Prudence Hugill, of the same place.

(1497). 1747-8, Jan. 21. John Leadhall, of Wressle, and Elizabeth Horton, of the same place. (*Lic.*)

(1498). 1747-8, Jan. 21. William Slayton, of Berwick-in-Elmet, & Mary Toppin, of y^e same place. (*Lic.*)

(1499). 1747-8, Jan. 23. John Shepherd, of the par. of the Holy Trinity, in York, and Elizabeth Lee, of York. (*Lic.*)

(1500). 1747-8, Jan. 30. John Hide & Ann Hutchinson, both of Stamford Bridge. (*Lic.*)

(1501). 1747-8, Feb. 11. Rob^t Sanderson and Ann Whitwell, both of the par. of Huntington. (*Lic.*)

(1502). 1747-8, Feb. 14. Tho^s Rigg, of Shipton, in the par. of Overton, and Susanna Wilkinson, of the same place. (*Lic.*)

(1503). 1747-8, Feb. 25. Richard Tindall, of Whitwell, in y^e par. of Cramb, & Mary Barker, of y^e same place. (*Lic.*)

(1504). 1747-8, Feb. 29. Charles Bayley, of the par. of North Dalton, & Isabel Oxtaby, of the same par. (*Lic.*)

(1505). 1747-8, Mar. 10. Daniel Jones & Sarah Coten, of y^e city of York. (*Lic.*)

(1506.) 1748, Apr. 14. Thomas Turner,²⁹² of Sherburn, & Elizabeth Emmerson, of Pigburu, in the par. of Brodsworth. (*Lic.*)

(1507). 1748, Apr. 14. Thomas Watson & Elizabeth Kemp, both of Scaton Ross. (*Lic.*)

(1508). 1748, May 3. Will^m Johnson, batchelor, & Ann Birch, spinster, both of the par. of S^t Saviour, in the city of York. (*Lic.*)

(1509). 1748, May 11. Tho: Williamson & Eliz: Dale, both of Settrington. (*Lic.*)

(1510). 1748, May 14. John Wait, of Wistow, & Ann Iveson, of y^e par. of Brayton. (*Lic.*)

(1511). 1748, May 17. John Oliver, of the par. of S^t Lawrence, & Mary Nicholson, of the par. of All Saints, in North-street. (*Lic.*)

(1512). 1748, May 24. Francis Campey, of Appleton Roebuck, in the par. of Bolton Percy, and Elizabeth Hobson, of Copmanthorpe. (*Lic.*)

(1513). 1748, May 31. Michael Johnson, of y^e par. of S^t Sampson, York, & Mary Ward, of Rufforth Grange. (*Lic.*)

(1514). 1748, June 4. Phi: March,²⁹³ Cl., of the city of York, & Mary Benson, of the same. (*Lic.*)

(1515). 1748, June 11. Thomas Reed, of the par. of S^t Michael-le-Belfrey, and Eliz: Duel, of the same par. (*Lic.*)

²⁹² Thomas Turner, B.A., of St. John's College, Cambridge, was ordained deacon by the archbishop of York, 14 June, 1747, the curacy of Sherburn (W.R.) giving him a title. He was ordained priest 25 September, 1748, and licensed to the curacy of Bradford, 30 August, 1765.

²⁹³ Philemon, son of Philemon Marsh, vintner and victualler, York (who died in 1717), by Priscilla, daughter of the Rev. John Dade, of Stillington. Ordained deacon, by the bishop of Lincoln, 27 Feb., 1742-3, priest, by the archbishop of York, 5 May, 1745, and instituted to the rectory of St. Martin's, Micklegate, the same day; on 2^d November, 1751, he was instituted to the rectory of Sigston, co. York, and on 31 July, 1754, he was licensed to the curacy of Holy Trinity, Micklegate; holding these three livings until his death in 1788. He left a widow Mary, an only son Matthew, and two daughters, Mary-Jane and Elizabeth, then minors.—Mary (his 1st wife), daughter of George Benson, lord mayor of York in 1738, by his wife Hannah Coulton. Her will bears date 10 June, 1749, and was proved 2 April, 1760.

(1516). 1748, June 11. William West, of the par. of Haxey, in the co. of Lincoln, & Elizabeth Beaford, in the par. of the Holy Trinity, in King's Court, York. (*Lic.*)

(1517). 1748, June 14. John Leadley, of Beedale, & Ann Harrison, of St Hellen, in York. (*Lic.*)

(1518). 1748, June 14. Thomas Edson & Ann Elston, both of y^e par. of St Micael Belfrey, in York. (*Lic.*)

(1519). 1748, June 17. Richard Ellerbeck, Jun^r, of Newton, & Jane Ellis, of Tadcaster. (*Lic.*)

(1520). 1748, June 25. The Rev^d Mr William Berdmore,²⁹⁴ rector of St Crux, in the city of York, & Mary Herring, of the same city. (*Lic. from Dr Herring.*)

(1521). 1748, July 5. Thomas Lund, of Gilling, & Isabel Milburn, of Raskelf. (*Lic.*)

(1522). 1748, July 20. Joseph Stoakes, of Beverley, and Margaret Furman, of the same place. (*Lic.*)

(1523). 1748, Aug. 3. John Ballans of Wistow, and Mary Ambler, of y^e same place. (*Lic.*)

(1524). 1748, Aug. 18. Fran^s Bothwick, of Kingston-upon-Hull, & Priscilla Horner of y^e same. (*Lic.*)

(1525). 1748, Aug. 18. William Windle, of Ripon, & Elizabeth Yealle, of Bishop Auckland. (*Lic.*)

(1526). 1748, Aug. 18. Elijah Sugden, of Leeds, & Elizabeth Shaw, of Marton wth Grafton. (*Lic.*)

(1527). 1748, Aug. 29. John Pearson, of Ackworth, & Hannah Battison, of Charlston. (*Lic.*)

(1528). 1748, Sept. 1. William Ramsden, of y^e par. of St Martin, in Coney-street, & Elizabeth Smeeton, of St Trinity's, in Goodramgate, York. (*Lic.*)

(1529). 1748, Aug. 25 (*sic*). Bowrchier Walker,²⁹⁵ of Helperby, gentleman, & Ann Boreham, of y^e Beddern, in York. (*Lic.*)

²⁹⁴ For some account of the Rev. William Berdmore, canon residentiary of York, who died in 1784, see The Register of Burials in York Minster, No 226.—Mary, daughter of the Rev. William Herring, LL.D., chancellor of the diocese of York, and a canon residentiary.

²⁹⁵ Bouchier Walker, gent., born about 1708, appears to have died at Ripon in 1768-9.—Ann, only daughter of James Boreham, the elder, chamberlain of York in 1725, who died at Helperby about 1749.

(1530). 1748, Sept. 9. John Morris, of Rawcliffe, in the par. of Snaith, & Mary Blaker, of the same place. (*Lic.*)

(1531). 1748, Sept. 13. David Cheap, of the city of York, Esq^r, and Ann Brown, of the city of Edenburg, widow. (*Lic.*)

(1532). 1748, Sept. 20. Thomas Coopland, of Oulston, in y^e par. of Coxwold, & Isabel Hobson, of y^e par. of Bossall. (*Lic.*)

(1533). 1748, Sept. 22. William Brooks, of Barton-in-the-street, & Ann Wharnton, of the par. of Whitby. (*Lic.*)

(1534). 1748, Sept. 28. William Forster, of the par. of St Mary, in Hull, and Elisabeth Frank, of Coxwold. (*Lic.*)

(1535). 1748, Sept. 25 (*sic*). Leonard Cecil, of Cawood, & Mary Hornby, of the same place. (*Lic.*)

(1536). 1748, Sept. 29. James Nares,²⁹⁶ of the city of York, & Jane Pease, of the same. (*Lic.*)

(1537). 1748, Oct. 1. William Kirkby, of Selby, & Ann Brown, of Cawood. (*Lic.*)

(1538). 1748, Oct. 3. John Murray, of the city of York, Esq^r, & Dame Bridget Wentworth,²⁹⁷ of the city & diocese of York. (*Lic.*)

(1539). 1748, Oct. 28. William Store,²⁹⁸ of Aughton, clerk, & Ann Holborn, of the same, spinster. (*Lic.*)

(1540). 1748, Nov. 15. John Spetch, of Ulskelf, & Mary Green, of Kirkby Wharfe. (*Lic.*)

²⁹⁶ James Nares, Mus. Doct., the eminent musician and composer, eldest son of Mr. Nares, steward to the earl of Abingdon. Born at Hanwell, co. Middlesex, in 1715; organist of York Minster from 1734 to 1756; afterwards organist of the Chapel Royal, St. James's; died in Great St. James's-street, Westminster, 10 Feb., 1783. His son, Robert Nares, F.S.A., prebendary of Lichfield, archdeacon of Stafford and librarian of the MS. department of the British Museum, was born at York, 9 June, 1753, and died, in London, 23 March, 1829. Sir George Nares, Knt., younger brother of the above Dr. James Nares, was appointed one of the judges of the Common Pleas in 1771, and died in 1786.

²⁹⁷ Bridget, only daughter of Sir Ralph Milbanke, Bart., of Hainaby, by his first wife Elizabeth Darcy, eldest sister of Robert, earl of Holderness. She married, first, in March, 1731, Sir Butler-Cavendish Wentworth, Bart., of Howsham, who died without issue in 1741; and, secondly (*ut supra*), John Murray, Esq. Lady Murray died in 1772.

²⁹⁸ Eldest son of the Rev. William Store, of Aughton, who died in 1746-7. Ordained deacon, by the bishop of Chester, 1 June, 1735, priest, by the same, 19 Dec., 1736, and admitted to the curacies of Aughton and East Cottingham, co. York, 17 Oct., 1744. He was licensed to the curacy of Ellerton, 11 August, 1748, and died, intestate, in 1753, leaving a widow Ann.

(1541). 1748, Nov. 15. W^m Fletcher, of Grimston, & Ann Gatenby, of Ripon. (*Lic.*)

(1542). 1748, Oct. 6 (*sic*). Joseph Halfpenny,²⁹⁹ of the par. of Loundsbrough, and Mary Gibson, of the city of York. (*Lic.*)

(1543). 1748, Nov. 21. Rev^d M^r Thomas Stanley,³⁰⁰ rector of Winwicke, in Lancashire, and Betty Shaw, of the city of York. (*Lic.*)

(1544). 1748, Nov. 24. Thomas Husthwaite & Mary Morrell, both of Thirkleby. (*Lic.*)

(1545). 1748, Dec. 1. William Tate, of y^e par. of Berwick-in-Elmet, & Elizabeth Danby, of y^e city of York. (*Lic.*)

(1546). 1748, Dec. 9. Jonathan Lawton, of Newbuilding, in the par. of Sutton, and Ann Clarkson, of the same place. (*Lic.*)

(1547). 1748, Dec. 20. Tho^s Boston, of Bentley, in the par. of Arksey, and Elizabeth Hattersley, of the same place. (*Lic.*)

(1548). 1748, Dec. 15 (*sic*). Garratt Finglah, of Rawcliffe, in y^e par. of Snaith, & Isabel Dobson, of Woodlesford, in y^e par. of Rothwell. (*Lic.*)

²⁹⁹ Joseph Halfpenny, of Easthorpe, in the parish of Loundsbrough, yeoman, born about 1722 (the son, it is probable, of Joseph Halfpenny, of the same place, yeoman), whose will bears date 27 May, 1763, and was proved 6 June, 1765. In the marriage licence, daed 6 Oct., 1748, his wif^e is described as Mary Gibson, of the parish of Aughton, spinster, aged 22; and bond is entered by Joseph Halfpenny, of Easthorpe, yeoman, who may have been the bridegroom's father.

That Joseph Halfpenny, of York, the well known artist, author of "Gothic Ornaments" and "Fragmenta Vetusta," was of this family, can scarcely be doubted, but I have failed to discover any proof of his parentage. Hargrove, in his History of York (vol. II., p. 599), says that "his father was gardener to the archbishop of York," and that he was born at Bishopthorpe on the 9th of October, 1748. The Registers of that parish do not, however, contain any entry of his baptism either in that year or the following one. To Hargrove's account of Mr. Halfpenny, I may add that he was apprenticed to Thomas Chapman, painter, York, and admitted to the freedom of the city in 1770; that his first wife Jane, was buried at St. Mary's, Castlegate, 3 Nov., 1784, æt. 34; that his second wife, Frances-Maria Barrett (whom he married in July, 1786), died about 1801; and that he left at his decease in 1811 two daughters, Margaret and Charlotte Halfpenny.

³⁰⁰ Thomas Stanley, D.D., second son of Thomas Stanley, Esq., of Cross Hall, co. Lanc., by Catherine, daughter of Anthony Parker, Esq., of Braddick, in the same county. Christened 2 January, 1717; buried at Ormskirk 30 June, 1764.—Betty, daughter and coheirress (with her sister Margaret) of John Shaw, Esq., of York, lord of the manor of Bainton, in the East Riding, who died in 1752. Their daughter, Catherine Stanley, married, in 1803, J. B. S. Morritt, Esq., of Rokeby Park, high sheriff in 1806, but had no issue by him.

(1549). 1748-9, Jan. 1. Geo: Brooke, of Wakefield, grocer, & Martha Bradbury, of the same place. (*Lic.*)

(1550). 1748-9, Jan. 3. Rich^d Monckton, of y^e par. of St Michael-Belfreys, in y^e city of York, and Martha Tinkler, of the par. of St Martin's, Coney-street. (*Lic.*)

(1551). 1748-9, Jan. 4. John Agar, of Pocklington, & Ann Balderson, of y^e same place. (*Lic.*)

(1552). 1748-9, Jan. 5. M^r Randall Willmer,³⁰¹ of Staples Inn, London, & M^{rs} Jane Suger, of the city of York. (*Lic.*)

(1553). 1748-9, Jan. 22. Geo: Emerson, of Kirkby Misperton, and Eliz: Ellerby, of y^e same place. (*Lic.*)

(1554). 1748-9, Jan. 26. William Ellin, of Cridling Park, in y^e par. of Darrington, & Sarah Lake, of Methley. (*Lic.*)

(1555). 1748-9, Jan. 31. Matthew Fowler & Elizabeth Archer, both of Dunnington. (*Lic.*)

(1556). 1748-9, Feb. 20. Thomas Holtby and Jane Holtby, of Fimber, in the par. of Wetwang. (*Lic.*)

(1557). 1748-9, March 7. Lawrence Holden, of Bolton (Lancaster), & Sarah Slack, of South Kirkby. (*Lic.*)

(1558). 1748-9, Mar. 8. Thomas Walker, of Ryther, & Mary Smith, of Potterington (Potterton), in the par. of Barwick-in-Elmet. (*Lic.*)

(1559). 1748-9, Mar. 14. John Wilkinson, of the chapelry of Stockton, & Sarah Cade, of Gate Helmsley. (*Lic.*)

(1560). 1748-9, Mar. 21. William Cobb, of Brink, in the par. of Coxwold, and Mary Maynard, of Wass, in the par. of Kilburne. (*Lic.*)

(1561). 1748-9, Mar. 23. Tho^s Falkingham, of Little Usburn par., & Mary Hebden, of Aldbrough par. (*Lic.*)

(1562). 1748-9, Mar. 23. Rich: Mason, of Seaton Ross, & Eliz: Wade, of the same place. (*Lic.*)

³⁰¹ Randall, second son of Randall Wilmer, Esq., of York (by his first wife Sarah, daughter of John Stainforth, of the same city, gent.), and brother of George Wilmer, Esq., lord of the manor of Upper Helmsley (*see* Nos. 911, 1589). Will dated 22 Aug. 1758 [Proved 17 May, 1762]. He left two daughters and coheirresses, Ann, born about 1750, who married, in 1770, her cousin, Wilmer Goosip, Esq., of Thorp-arch, and died without issue; and Mary, who was living in 1764, and then aged twelve years. — Jane, second daughter of Nicholas Suger, of York, gent., brother of the Rev. Zachary Suger, vicar of Feliskirk, who has been previously mentioned (*see* No. 299, *antea*). Her brother, Zachary Suger, rector of St. Cuthbert's, York, performed the marriage ceremony.

A Register of those persons that have been married in the Cathedrall and Metropolitall Church of St Peter's, in York, since March 25th, 1749. Timothy Mortiner, clarke of the vestry.

(1563). 1749, Mar. 27. William Preston, of Ampleford, and Betty Mann. (*Lic.*)

(1564). 1749, Mar. 27. Daniel Gilson, of Sutton, in the par. of Brotherton, & Mary Turner, of Burton, in the par. of Monk Friston. (*Lic.*)

(1565). 1749, Mar. 27. Francis Chapman, of Strensall, & Mary Harpur, of the same place. (*Lic.*)

(1566). 1749, Apr. 6. The Rev^d Mr. Fisher,³⁰² of Bolton-upon-Dearne, and Jane Thurnam, of Coxwold. (*Lic.*)

(1567). 1749, Apr. 14. Edward Fox, of Roucliff, and Alice Torqooze, of the same place. (*Lic.*)

(1568). 1749, Apr. 30. Christopher Powell, of Rufforth Grange, & Sarah Ward, of y^e same place. (*Lic.*)

(1569). 1749, May 1. Joseph West, of Wellburne, in the par. of Bulmer, & Ann Wise, of the same place. (*Lic.*)

(1570). 1749, May 11. William Bland, of Easingwold, & Priscilla Roecliffe, of Marton. (*Lic.*)

(1571). 1749, May 14. William Smallwood, of the city of York, Gentⁿ, and Ann Taylor, of the par. of St Michael-le-Belfrey. (*Lic.*)

(1572). 1749, May 26. W^m Best & Jane Pelf, both of Cottingham. (*Lic.*)

(1573). 1749, June 5. William George Nicholson,³⁰³ of Cawood, & Sarah Smith, of the same place. (*Lic.*)

³⁰² Robert Fisher was ordained deacon at Bishopthorpe, 20 May, 1744, the curacy of Carlton Huthwaite giving him a title. On 22 Sept., 1745, he was ordained priest at York, and licensed to serve the cure of Barnborough. On 7 Jan., 1745-6, he was admitted to the curacy of Bolton-upon-Dearne, which he resigned in December, 1769. On 13 April, 1747, he was appointed curate of Hickleton, and on 14 June, 1770, he was instituted to the vicarage of Darton, which he held until his death in August, 1790. Will dated 24 December, 1788 [Pro. 20 Nov., 1790, by his daughter Elizabeth Cooper, widow].

³⁰³ William George Nicholson, of Cawood, gent., son of William Nicholson, of the same place (see No. 1086, *antea*). He was one of the city chamberlains in 1770. In his will, dated 13 Aug., 1775 [Prov. 10 Jan., 1780], he mentions his wife Sarah, his sons, Lucas, Smith, Nicholas, and Matthew Nicholson, and his daughters, Sarah, Elizabeth, Anne, and Mary.—Sarah, sister of Nicholas Smith, of Leeds, gent.

(1574). 1749, July 6. John Hodgson, of the par. of S^t Mary, in Castlegate, in y^e city of York, and Mary Todd, of y^e par. of S^t Wilfrid's, in the same city. (*Lic.*)

(1575). 1749, July 12. Thomas Tenant, of Skipton, and Elizabeth Sugden, of the same place. (*Lic.*)

(1576). 1749, July 25. Timothy Walker, of Knottingley, in the par. of Pontefract, and Susannah Marshal, of Haddlessey, in the par. of Birkin. (*Lic.*)

(1577). 1749, July 29. John Hood, of the city of York, & Mary Whitehoak (?), of the par. of S^t Sampson, in the said city. (*Lic.*)

(1578). 1749, Aug. 2. John Carrack, of Appleton Roebuck, & Jane Pick, of the same. (*Lic.*)

(1579). 1749, Aug. 5. William Ellis, of Howden, and Jane Cawton, of the par. of S^t Mary's, Castlegate, in the city of York. (*Lic.*)

(1580). 1749, Aug. 9. George Mason & Susanna Sunley, both of Hemsley. (*Lic.*)

(1581). 1749, Aug. 10. William Nicholson, of Wass, in the par. of Kilburn, and Ellen Huggans, of Upsall. (*Lic.*)

(1582). 1749, Aug. 13. William Harker, of Kilburne, and Esther Burton, of the par. of Feliskirke. (*Lic.*)

(1583). 1749, Aug. 21. Robt. Quarton, of Skipwith, & Mary Sothern, of Morton. (*Lic.*)

(1584). 1749, Aug. 29. Benjamin Driffeld, of the par. of S^t Saviour's, Southwark, in the co. of Middlesex (*sic*), and Mary Preston, of the par. of S^t Maurice, in the city of York. (*Lic.*)

(1585). 1749, Sept. 14. Thomas Tyas, of Bolton-upon-Dern, and Sarah Smith, of Doncaster. (*Lic.*)

(1586). 1749, Sept. 16. Michael Cundall, of the par. of S^t Sampson's, & Mary Godson, of the same par. (*Lic.*)

(1587). 1749, Oct. 3. Marmaduke Martin, of Woodhouse, in y^e par. of Leeds, and Mary Powel, of the same par. (*Lic.*)

(1588). 1749, Oct. 19. William Spaven, of Whitwell, in y^o par. of Cramb, and Elizabeth Tindal, of Huttons [Ambo]. (*Lic.*)

(1589). 1749, Oct. 26. Mr. Nelthrop³⁰⁴ and Mrs. Lucy Wilmer, of [the] city of York. (*Lic.*)

(1590). 1749, Oct. 26. Samuel Wormald³⁰⁵ and Ann Bigland, of the city of York. (*Lic.*)

(1591). 1749, Nov. 9. Richard Carr, of Hunsingore, in the co. of York, & Elizabeth Abbey, of Bilton, in the same co. (*Lic.*)

(1592). 1749, Nov. 12. Thos. Lowther, of Aselby, in the par. of Howden, and Mary Cook, of the same place. (*Lic.*)

(1593). 1749, Nov. 13. John^r Brewerton, of Harwood, & Ann Parker, of the same. (*Lic.*)

(1594). 1749, Nov. 23. W^m Lofthouse & Eliz: Elsworth, both of y^o par. of Campsall. (*Lic.*)

(1595). 1749, Nov. 28. Thomas Barker and Mary Webster, both of the par. of Bubwith. (*Lic.*)

(1596). 1749, Dec. 4. William Langstaff³⁰⁶ clerk, vicar of Marsk, and Mary Weddell, of Bubwith. (*Lic.*)

(1597). 1749, Dec. 6. Tho: Stephenson, of y^o par. of B^r Wilton, & Frances Wilson, of Loundsbourough. (*Lic.*)

³⁰⁴ James Nelthorpe, Esq., lord of the manors of Seacroft, co. York, and Countess-bridge, co. Essex, son of George Nelthorpe, Esq., of the former place. Born about 1719; died without issue in 1768. Will dated 3 March, 1768. "to be decently and privately interred in the church-yard of Whitkirk, in the same grave, or as near as may be unto my late dear wife, and to be attended by all my tenants at Seacroft." He bequeaths his manor of Seacroft to his brother George Nelthorpe, who died, at Bawtry, without issue, in 1783. His only sister Mary, married at Whitkirk, 26 Feb., 1719-50. Farrer Wren, Esq., of Binchester, co. Durham, by whom she had a daughter Mary, who became the wife of John Lyon, Esq., and to whom her uncle, George Nelthorpe, bequeathed "all the family pictures in my house at Seacroft."—Lucy, daughter and coheirress of George Wilmer, Esq., of York and Helmsley, and niece of Randall Wilmer, Esq. (*See* Nos. 911, 1552).

³⁰⁵ Samuel Wormald, tanner and timber-merchant, chamberlain in 1765 and sheriff in 1767-8, died 22 Feb., 1785.—Ann, one of the three daughters of Joseph Bigland, carrier, York. She died 10 Nov., 1801.—Their son Samuel Wormald, lord mayor of York in 1809, married in 1777, Ann, daughter of Edward Smith, Esq., of Cawood Castle, by whom he had a son John Wormald, sheriff in 1820-1, who died at Fulford House, near York, in 1843, aged 65.

³⁰⁶ Son of the Rev. John Langstaffe, vicar of Marske. Ordained deacon, by the archbishop of York, 21 Sept., 1746, and priest, by the same, 25 Sept., 1748. On 14 Oct., 1749, he was instituted to the vicarage of Marske and admitted to the curacy of Wilton, which benefices he held until his death in 1790.—Mary, daughter of Thomas Weddell, of Bubwith, corn-factor. Born about 1730; survived her husband.

(1598). 1749, Dec. 7. George Peacock, of Elmer, in the par. of Topcliffe, and Elizabeth Braithwaite, of the same place. (*Lic.*)

(1599). 1749, Dec. 8. Joshua Taylor, of Manchester, in y^e co. of Lancaster, & Mary Hill, of Kingston upon Hull. (*Lic.*)

(1600). 1749, Dec. 19. Robert Waite & Mary Linwood of the Minster Yard. (*Lic.*)

(1601). 1749, Dec. 19. Benjamin Shaw, of Cayton, & Lucy Mitchell, of y^e par. of Acklam. (*Lic.*)

(1602). 1749, Oct. 12 (*sic*). Rich^d Ayrton,³⁰⁷ of Leeds, Gentⁿ, and Mary Fenton, of the par. of Rothwell. (*Lic.*)

(1603). 1749, Dec. 26. James Barwick, of Husthwait, and Mary Elmer, of Boroughbridge, in the par. of Aldbrough. (*Lic.*)

(1604). 1749, Dec. 31. Joseph Hodge & Anne Kemp, both of Market Weighton. (*Lic.*)

(1605). 1749-50, Jan. 6. Henry Thorp & Elizabeth Gill, both of Marston. (*Lic.*)

(1606). 1749-50, Jan. 13. John Richardson & Ann Harrison, both of Bishop Wilton. (*Lic.*)

(1607). 1749-50, Jan. 13. Henry Brown & Sarah Brownbridge, both of Ellerton. (*Lic.*)

(1608). 1749-50, Jan. 20. William Joy, of Whitby, and Mary Ellis, of Strensall. (*Lic.*)

(1609). 1749-50, Jan. 20. Robert Carr & Christian Taylor, both of y^e Beddern, in York. (*Lic.*)

(1610). 1749-50, Jan. 22. John Baker, of New Malton, & Mary Cole, of Fimber. (*Lic.*)

(1611). 1749-50, Jan. 27. Thomas Davies,³⁰⁸ of the city of York, and Susanna Garrow, of the city aforesaid. (*Lic.*)

³⁰⁷ Richard, son of Richard Ayrton, of Armley, near Leeds, gent. Died s. p. at New Malton in 1791-2.—Mary, daughter of James Fenton, of the Glass House, in the parish of Rothwell, gent. Died at Malton. Will dated 7 May, 1793, proved in May, 1797.

³⁰⁸ Thomas Davies, comedian, born about 1714.

(1612). 1749-50, Feb. 2. Thomas Walker, of the par. of St Michael Belfrey's, and Mary Thompson, of the par. of St Mary, Bishophill, the younger. (*Lic.*)

(1613). 1749-50, Feb. 15. Robert Swann & Margaret Wass, both of Bridlington. (*Lic.*)

(1614). 1749-50, Feb. 24. W^m Simpson & Hannah Crake, both of Ellerton. (*Lic.*)

(1615). 1749-50, Mar. 1. Tho^s Tasker, of Tadcaster, & Eliz : Harrison, of the par. of Saxton. (*Lic.*)

(1616). 1749-50, Mar. 5. Joseph Bell, of Beverley, and Charlotte Barling Grantham, of the city of York. (*Lic.*)

(1617). 1749-50, Mar. 6. John Ellerby, of Terrington, & Rachell Pilmoor, of y^e same place. (*Lic.*)

(1618). 1749-50, Mar. 12. John Burton, of Langtoft, and Ann Balland, of New Malton. (*Lic.*)

(1619). 1749-50, Mar. 13. George Wright, of Linton upon Ouse, in the par. of Newton upon Ouse, and Ann Powell, of Bilton, in the co. and city of York. (*Lic.*)

(1620). 1749-50, Mar. 16. Thomas Cawood, of Hunsingore, & Elizabeth Wilson, of Bilton. (*Lic.*)

(1621). 1749-50, Mar. 21. Christopher Robinson and Jane Swaine, both of St Martin's, Coney-street. (*Lic.*)

(1622). 1750, May 7. William Johnson, of Crake, in the co. of Durham, & Elizabeth Wiley, of Stillington. (*Lic.*)

(1623). 1750, May 9. John Haxup, of Garforth, & Elizabeth Smith, of y^e same place. (*Lic.*)

(1624). 1750, May 9. John Batty, of Shipton, and Elizabeth Dixon, of the same place. (*Lic.*)

(1625). 1750, May 29. John Spence, of Knaresbrough, & Mary Pullen, of Spofforth Haggs, in y^e par. of Spofforth. (*Lic.*)

(1626). 1750, May 31. Tho^s Harrison, of Barnby Marsh, in y^e par. of Howden, and Ann Maynard, of Bubwith. (*Lic.*)

(1627). 1750, June 4. William Crookshanks and Jemimah Nicholson, of the par. of St Sampson's, York. (*Lic.*)

(1628). 1750, June 16. Henry Trippet & Elizabeth Young of Stillingfleet. (*Lic.*)

(1629). 1750, June 19. William Topham,³⁰⁹ of Leeds, merchant, & Elizabeth Preston, of y^e same. (*Lic.*)

(1630). 1750, June 18 (*sic*). Hubbert Woodhouse, of Gainsbro', in y^e co. of Lincoln, and Miss Ann Wyndlow,³¹⁰ of the par. of S^t Michael-le-Belfrey. (*Lic.*)

(1631). 1750, June 21. John Gray, of Sowerby, in y^e par. of Thirsk, and Jane Seaber, of y^e same place. (*Lic.*)

(1632). 1750, June 25. Tho^s Kirk, of Helperby, and Margaret Kettlewell, of the par. of Aldbrough. (*Lic.*)

(1633). 1750, July 3. Will^m Sturdy, of Kilburne, and Mary Scarr, of Carlton Husthwait. (*Lic.*)

(1634). 1750, July 6. John Parkin, of S^t John, Wapping, in y^e co. of Middlesex, & Ann Fisher, of Whitby. (*Lic.*)

(1635). 1750, July 9. Francis Parker, of Newton-upon-Ouze, & Ann Wilson, of Shipton, in y^e par. of Overton. (*Lic.*)

(1636). 1750, July 12. William Wilson & Mary Terry, both of Hessle. (*Lic.*)

(1637). 1750, July 14. Thomas Hawksworth, of Hall Green, in the par. of Sandall, & Sarah Green, of Woodhouse, in the par. of Normanton. (*Lic.*)

(1638). 1750, July 16. John Wheatcroft, of North Cave, & Jane Wilson, of the same place. (*Lic.*)

(1639). 1750, July 23. Richard Townson, of New Malton, and Ann Marshall, of the same place. (*Lic.*)

(1640). 1750, July 29. John Booth, of the city of London, and Ellinor Simpson, of Houghton-le-Side, in the co. of Durham. (*Lic.*)

(1641). 1750, Aug. 6. Richard Russel, of Barmston, & Mary Boynton, of the same place. (*Lic.*)

(1642). 1750, Aug. 16. Robert Dowker, of Salton, and Elizabeth Robinson, of the same place. (*Lic.*)

³⁰⁹ Probably William, son of Christopher Topham, cloth-worker, Leeds, who died in 1748.

³¹⁰ Ann, daughter of James Wyndlow, of York, gent. She had a marriage portion of £2,000. See No. 1717, *postea*.

(1643). 1750, Aug. 21. Richard Bennison, of Wrestle, and Catherine Ellis, of Knottingley. (*Lic.*)

(1644). 1750, Aug. 24. Robert Johnson, of Whitby, and Ann Northouse, of Swillington. (*Lic.*)

(1645). 1750, Aug. 26. Joseph Walker & Elizabeth Cowper, both of y^e city of York. (*Lic.*)

(1646). 1750, Aug. 24 (*sic*). John Leak, of Skelton, and Ann Yates, of the same place. (*Lic.*)

(1647). 1750, Aug. 25. Ar: Cha: Stanhope, ³¹¹ Esq., of Mansfield, in the co. of Nott., and Marg^t Headlam, of York. (*Lic.*)

(1648). 1750, Sept. 9. William Hawkesworth and Jane Brown, in the Minster Yard. (*Lic.*)

(1649). 1750, Oct. 1. Christopher Topham, of Beeston, in the par. of Leeds, and Mary Tireman, of the par. of St Hellen's. (*Lic.*)

(1650). 1750, Oct. 8. John Raper,³¹² of the city of York, and Ann Lamplugh, of the same place. (*Lic.*)

(1651). 1750, Oct. 15. George Stephenson, of Acomb, and Jane Story, of the same place. (*Lic.*)

(1652). 1750, Oct. 18. Joseph Smith, of Wath, & Sarah Bridges, of Swinton. (*Lic.*)

³¹¹ Arthur-Charles, eldest son of Michael Stanhope, D.D., canon of Windsor (great-grandson of Philip, first earl of Chesterfield), by Penelope, daughter of Salathiel Lovell, Knt., one of the barons of the exchequer. Married, first, in 1740, Mary, daughter of St. Andrew Thornhaugh, Esq., of Osberton, co. Notts, by whom he had no issue; secondly (*ut supra*), Margaret, third daughter and coheirress of Charles Headlam, Esq., of Kexby, co. York (by Bridget, daughter of the Rev. Thomas Mosley, rector of St. Olave's, York). She was born in 1731, and died in January, 1764, leaving two children, Philip (baptized at St. Mary's, Castlegate, 28 Aug., 1751 ?), who succeeded as fifth earl of Chesterfield in 1773, and died in 1815, and Margaret, who married, in 1776, William Smelt, Esq., of York (son of William Smelt, Esq., of Richmond, and Ursula, his wife), by whom she had issue, Philip-Stanhope Smelt, born 30 Sept., 1777, and buried at St. Mary's, Castlegate, in the following month, and Maria, who was born in the same parish, 7 Aug., 1779. Mr. Stanhope married, thirdly, Frances Broad, and died in March, 1770. In his will, dated 16 Nov., 1765, he desires "to be buried at Shelford, as near my late wives as may be." His widow remarried, in April, 1782, the Rev. Thomas Bigsby.

³¹² John, eldest son of John Raper, alderman of York, by his wife, Margaret Wate (*see* No. 610 *antea*). Baptized at St. Michael's-le-Belfrey, 30 Dec., 1724; elected town-clerk of York 18 Dec., 1749, *vice* D'Arcy Preston, deceased. This office he resigned in November, 1781, and afterwards became a banker. Mr. Raper died at Aberford 24 Nov., 1786, and was buried there—Ann, fourth daughter of the Rev. Thomas Lamplugh, rector of Bolton Percy, and canon-residentary of York. Baptized in the Minster 5 Nov., 1729; died at Aberford 17 July, 1783. Their only surviving son, John Raper, Esq., was father of the late John Lamplugh-Lamplugh Raper, Esq., of Lamplugh and Lotherton.

(1653). 1750, Oct. 24. Barnard Abbot, of Swillington, & Sarah Clark, of the same. (*Lic.*)

(1654). 1750, Oct. 30. John Haram, of y^e par. of Eastington, & Mary Lawton, of y^e same par. (*Lic.*)

(1655). 1750, Nov. 13. Richard Beacroft, of Helmly (*sic*) Blackmore, and Frances Farnell, of the same place. (*Lic.*)

(1656). 1750, Nov. 20. Matthew Holmes, of Rigton, in the par. of Kirkby Overblows, and Mary Whitaker, of Stutton, in the par. of Tadcaster. (*Lic.*)

(1657). 1750, Nov. 22. George Thompson,³¹³ Esq^r, & Miss Martha Lowther, both of y^e city of York. (*Lic.*)

(1658). 1750, Nov. 27. Lancelot Thorpe, of Welham, in the par. of Norton, and Ketura (?) Simpson, of y^e same place. (*Lic.*)

(1659). 1750, Dec. 11. Ralph Rymer, of West Cottingwith, in the par. of Thornganby, and Sarah Burrell, of the same place. (*Lic.*)

(1660). 1750, Dec. 16. John Clarke, of Cawood, & Eliz: Smith, of y^e same place. (*Lic.*)

(1661). 1750, Dec. 22. John Hobson, of Copmanthorpe, and Anne Sawyer, of Nun Monckton. (*Lic.*)

(1662). 1750-1, Feb. 4. Robert King, of Sledmere, and Frances Harper, of y^e same place. (*Lic.*)

(1663). 1750-1, Feb. 19. Cuthbert Joy, of Sherburn, & Elizabeth Tinsdale, of the same place. (*Lic.*)

(1664). 1750-1, Mar. 2. George Lund, of Tollerton, and Ellen Metcalfe, of Linton-in-y^e-Woods, in y^e par. of Newton-upon-Ouse. (*Lic.*)

(1665). 1750-1, Mar. 7. John Ingham, of Addle, & Ellinor Corlas, of Leeds. (*Lic.*)

³¹³ George Thompson, wine merchant, son of Richard Thompson, of York and Sheriff Hutton, lord mayor in 1708 and 1721, by his second wife Catherine, daughter of Joseph Storr, of Hilston, co. York. Born in 1717; died at Fridlington Quay, about 1775.—Martha, daughter of Christopher and Elizabeth Lowther, of Little Preston, co. York (grand-parents of the first earl of Lonsdale). She was living in 1775. Their grandson, George-Lowther Thompson, who succeeded to Sheriff Hutton in 1815, and died in 1841, was father of Leonard Thompson, Esq., the present owner of that estate. For some account of the fracas between the above "George Thompson, Esq." and Dr. John Burton, see "A memoir of John Burton, M.D., F.S.A., by Robert Davies, F.S.A.," in the 2nd volume of this Journal.

(1666). 1750-1, Mar. 12. John Nowlson, of Cawton, & Mary Barker, of Nawton. (*Lic.*)

(1667). 1750-1, Mar. 14. Rich: Cass, of Helmsley Blackamoor, and Margaret Barker, of the par. of Kirkdale. (*Lic.*)

(1668). 1750-1, Mar. 19. John Adams and Ann Johnson, both of Riccal. (*Lic.*)

(1669). 1750-1, Mar. 21. George Cook, of Seaton Ross, & Mary Halley, of Bubwith. (*Lic.*)

(1670). 1751, Apr. 8. Henry Smith, of Goole, in the par. of Snaith, & Hannah Long, of Nun Monkton. (*Lic.*)

(1671). 1751, Apr. 8. John Campsall, of Sykehouse, in y^e par. of Fishlake, and Ann Roberts, of y^e same place. (*Lic.*)

(1672). 1751, Apr. 10. Robert Robinson, of Manchester, in y^e co. of Lancaster, & Mary Pease, of y^e par. of St^e Mary, in Kingston-upon-Hull. (*Lic.*)

(1673). 1751, Apr. 17. John Billam, of Maltby, & Christiana Robinson, of Tickhill. (*Lic.*)

(1674). 1751, Apr. 19. W^m Dawson, of the par. of Barwick-in-Elmet, and Margaret Cussons, of the par. [of] Wistow. (*Lic.*)

(1675). 1751, Apr. 20. George Plummer, of Thormanby, & Rebecca Driffild, of Easingwold. (*Lic.*)

(1676). 1751, Mar. 30 (*sic*). Samuel Harrison & Ann Quarton, both of y^e par. of Bishop Wilton. (*Lic.*)

(1677). 1751, Apr. 24. Robert Long, of Knottingley, in the par. of Pontefract, & Mary Hindson, of Carlton, in the par. of Snaith. (*Lic.*)

(1678). 1751, May 5. John Wheelhouse, of Linton, & Magdalen Twiselden, of y^e same par. (*Lic.*)

(1679). 1751, May 7. Jeremiah Pickering, of Habton, in y^e par. of Kirkby Misperton, & Ann Harrison, of the par. of Settrington. (*Lic.*)

(1680). 1751, May 9. John Hardwick & Mary Eccles, both of Pickering. (*Lic.*)

(1681). 1751, May 9. Giles Marshall and Grace Armstrong, both of Cawood. (*Lic.*)

(1682). 1751, May 12. John Lee, of the par. of the Holy Trinity, in Micklegate, in the city of York, and Margaret Darnbrough, of the same par. (*Lic.*)

(1683). 1751, May 23. George Walker, of Westow, and Grace Johnson, of the same place. (*Lic.*)

(1684). 1751, May 27. Joseph Doughty,³¹⁴ of the par. of S^t Peter the Little, in the city of York, and Ann Hood, of y^e said city. (*Lic.*)

(1685). 1751, June 8. John Bucktrout, of Horsforth, & Isabel Dunwell, of Lindley. (*Lic.*)

(1686). 1751, June 16. Robert Beckett, of Anlaby, in the par. of Hesle, and Elizabeth Tibb, of the same place. (*Lic.*)

(1687). 1751, June 17. William Ingle, of Kipax, and Mary Weatherill, of Thorner. (*Lic.*)

(1688). 1751, July 1. Thomas Cook, of Garton, in Holderness, and Deborah Thomlinson, of y^e same place. (*Lic.*)

(1689). 1751, July 1. Jonathan Belk, of y^e par. of S^t Crux, in this city, and Dorothy Swan, of the same par. (*Lic.*)

(1690). 1751, July 15. John Summerton, of Skipwith, & Elizabeth Kirk, of the same place. (*Lic.*)

(1691). 1751, July 29. John Campbell, of y^e par. of S^t Crux, and Mary Harrison, of y^e par. of S^t Mary, Bishop-hill. (*Lic.*)

(1692). 1751, July 30. George Ward, of the par. of S^t Martin, in Coney-street, in the city of York, and Margaret Blyth, of Helperby, in the par. of Brafferton. (*Lic.*)

(1693). 1751, Aug. 6. Will^m Ware, of Thornton, & Mary Walker, of the same place. (*Lic.*)

³¹⁴ Joseph Doughty, woollen-draper, Peter-Lane.

(1694). 1751, Aug. 6. Henry Pullein, of Ingmanthorp, in the par. of Kirk Deighton, and Susanna Clarke, of the same place. (*Lic.*)

(1695). 1751, Aug. 11. John Scales, of the Minster Yard, and Elizabeth Clarkson, of the par. of S^t Sampson, in the city of York. (*Lic.*)

(1696). 1751, Aug. 20. Jeremiah Coultas,³¹⁵ of New Malton, gentleman, and Dorothy Lister, of the same place. (*Lic.*)

(1697). 1751, Aug. 21. William Rhodes, of Leeds, and Ann Caygill,³¹⁶ of S^t Crux, in y^e city of York. (*Lic.*)

(1698). 1751, Aug. 22. Ignatius Hide, of Clown, in the co. of Derby, yeoman, and Rosamond Raper, of Marton-on-the-Moor, in the diocese of York. (*Lic.*)

(1699). 1751, Aug. 22. Joseph Hobson, of Copmanthorpe, and Jane Benson, of Great Usburne. (*Lic.*)

(1700). 1751, Sept. 1. Michael Graveley, of Berwick-in-Elmet, & Mary Addindale, of Wighill. (*Lic.*)

(1701). 1751, Aug. 29. John Bacon³¹⁷ & Judeth Harrison, both of Selby, in the co. of York. (*Lic.*)

(1702). 1751, Aug. 22 (*sic*). Roger Voyer, of the city of London, linen-draper, and Mary Woolfe, of the par. of S^t Helen, in the city of York. (*Lic.*)

(1703). 1751, Aug. 22. John Ness, of Blansby Park, in the par. of Pickering, and Isabel Boreman, of West Sutton, in the par. of Weaverthorpe. (*Lic.*)

³¹⁵ Jeremiah Coultas, a lieutenant on board his Majesty's man-of-war, The Humber, died at Scarbrough in 1755-6, leaving a widow Dorothy.

³¹⁶ Ann, daughter of Matthew Caygill, dyer, York, and sister of Jane, wife of John Hodgson. (*See* No. 1832, *postea*.)

³¹⁷ John Bacon, timber-merchant, died at Selby 1 April, 1756, aged 72, leaving a widow Judith, and five children, John, Henry, William, Francis, and Hannah. Of the sons, John, the eldest, died in 1762; William became an alderman of Newcastle-on-Tyne, and died in 1796; the youngest son, Francis Bacon, apothecary, York, was lord mayor of that city in 1764 and 1777, and died 9 Oct., 1798, aged 76, leaving, with other issue, a daughter Judith, the wife of John Croft, F.S.A., of York. She died in 1824, and was buried in The Minster.—Judith Harrison was probably the third wife of Mr. Bacon. His first wife Hannah, died in 1719, and his second wife, the mother of Francis, was living in 1722.—John Bacon, the timber-merchant, had a brother Michael, who was father of the Rev. Michael Bacon, D.D., vicar of Wakefield from 1764 to 1805.

(1704). 1751, Aug. 22. John Linwood & Jane Linton, both of Market Weighton. (*Lic.*)

(1705). 1751, Sept. 9. William Robinson, of Wawne, and Jane Beharrell, of the same place. (*Lic.*)

(1706). 1751, Sept. 16. James English, of Ribstone, in the par. of Spofforth, and Eliz: Tipling, of the same place. (*Lic.*)

(1707). 1751, Sept. 25. Ralph Hawksworth, of y^e par. of St Martin's, in Coney-street, in y^e city of York, and Eliz: Cass, of St Michael Belfrey, in y^e same city. (*Lic.*)

(1708). 1751, Sept. 28. John Heptonstall, of Monk Fryston, and Ann Browne, of Cawood. (*Lic.*)

(1709). 1751, Oct. 1. John Savage, of Gristhorpe (Gribthorpe?), in the par. of Bubwith, & Mary Kirlew, of the same place. (*Lic.*)

(1710). 1751, Oct. 5. Thomas Middleton, of Disforth, in the par. of Topclif, and Mary Deighton, of Coxwold. (*Lic.*)

(1711). 1751, Oct. 11. Thomas Acklom,³¹⁸ of Dringe, in y^e par. of Skipsea, and Hannah Webster, of Aldbrough. (*Lic.*)

(1712). 1751, Oct. 15. Thomas Brabbs, of North Toft, in the par. of Hemmingbrough, and Ann Butler, of Bowthorp, in the said par. (*Lic.*)

(1713). 1751, Oct. 18. Thomas Craven, of Shereburne, in y^e diocese of York, and Barbarah Cockerill, of Ebberston, in the co. of York. (*Lic.*)

(1714). 1751, Oct. 20. John Gilliam, of Stutton, in y^e par. of Tadcaster, & Elizabeth Whitaker, of the same place. (*Lic.*)

(1715). 1751, Oct. 23. John Fisher, of Barlow, in y^e par. of Brayton, and Mary Leach, of Snaith, in y^e co. of York. (*Lic.*)

³¹⁸ Thomas Acklom, of Dringhoe, gent., son of Thomas Acklom, Esq., of Beverley (by Sarah, his wife), and grandson of Thomas and Aletheia Acklom, of the former place. He was a lieutenant in the 64th regiment of foot, and died in the lifetime of his father, before 22 Feb., 1764, leaving five children, Thomas, Peter, Ralph, Sarah, and Jane-Harriet, whose tuition was granted to their mother Hannah Acklom, 2 July, 1764. There is a pedigree of the family in Poulson's Holderness (vol. i., p. 334), but it is very imperfect.

(1716). 1751, Nov. 3. William Walch, of the par. of Saint John Delpike, and Anne Hopkinson, of the Bedern, in the city of York. (*Lic.*)

(1717). 1751, Nov. 4. John Crompton, of Gainsbrough, in y^e co. of Lincoln, merchant, and Dorothy Wyndlow,²¹⁹ of the par. of S^t Wilfred, in y^e city of York. (*Lic.*)

(1718). 1751, Nov. 5. William Blyth, of Carlton, in y^e par. of Husthwaite, and Jane Barugh, of Birdforth, in y^e diocese of York. (*Lic.*)

(1719). 1751, Nov. 5. John Scothrop, of Heck, in the par. of Snaith, and Mary Ealand, of Gowdale, in the said par. (*Lic.*)

(1720). 1751, Nov. 5. Thomas Aked & Dorothy Dyson, both of Hallifax. (*Lic.*)

(1721). 1751, Nov. 8. George Britton, of Newbrough, in y^e par. of Coxwold, and Mary Sissons, of Earsley, in y^e same par. (*Lic.*)

(1722). 1751, Nov. 13. Francis Raper & Frances Tesseman, both of Thirkleby. (*Lic.*)

(1723). 1751, Nov. 14. Joseph Andrew, of Bridlington, and Margaret Thompson, of the same place. (*Lic.*)

(1724). 1751, Nov. 19. Thomas Milner, of Hemingburg, & Mary Allen, of S^t Margaret's par., in York. (*Lic.*)

(1725). 1751, Nov. 21. Robert Burton & Elizabeth Aba, both of y^e par. of Filliskirk. (*Lic.*)

(1726). 1751, Nov. 21. James Dolphin, of Morpeth, in Northumberland, & Ann Clinton, of Hull. (*Lic.*)

(1727). 1751, Nov. 27. Robert Wright, of Riccal, in y^e co. of York, yeoman, and Kesiah Beal, of y^e par. of S^t Crux, in y^e city of York. (*Lic.*)

(1728). 1751, Nov. 28. Thomas Stephenson & Elizabeth Cooke, both of Cottingwith. (*Lic.*)

²¹⁹ Dorothy, second daughter of James Wyndlow, of York, gent., and sister of Ann, wife of Mr. Hubert Woodhouse. See No. 1630, *antea*.

(1729). 1751. Nov. 28. William Stables, of Harwood, & Mary Bentley,³²⁰ of y^e par. of Pannell. (*Lic.*)

(1730). 1751, Dec. 1. Barnabas Hudson, of Everthorpe, in y^e par. of North Cave, and Jane Gell, of Barnby Moor, in y^e co. of York. (*Lic.*)

(1731). 1751, Dec. 2. Richrd Whithorn, of Ripon, and Elizth Wilson, of y^e same place. (*Lic.*)

(1732). 1751, Dec. 3. Benjamin Steel & Hannah Briggs, both of y^e par. of Campsall. (*Lic.*)

(1733). 1751, Dec. 10. M^r John Huggans, gentleman, of the par. of Ampleford, and M^{rs} Mary Coopland, spinster, of the par. of Easingwold. (*Lic.*)

(1734). 1751, Dec. 14. George Duke, of Loversal, in y^e diocese of York, and Ann Renton, of Sledmere. (*Lic.*)

(1735). 1751, Dec. 16. Thomas Calvert, of y^e city of York, & Sarah Ingram, of y^e par. of St Michael le Belfrey's, in y^e said city. (*Lic.*)

(1736). 1751, Dec. 17. Moses Lawson, of Carnaby, & Anna Cross, of Bubwith. (*Lic.*)

(1737). 1751, Dec. 23. John Bowes,³²¹ of the par. of St Marie's, in Castlegate, and Mary Beaumont, of Tadcaster. (*Lic.*)

(1738). 1751-2, Jan. 5. John Nodby, of Low Cuniscliffe, & Jane Bennitt, of Lofthouse, in y^e par. of Rothwell. (*Lic.*)

(1739). 1751-2, Jan. 17. Robert Marshall & Mary Davis, both of St Trinity's, in Goodramgate. (*Lic.*)

(1740). 1751-2, Jan. 19. John Wingfield, of the par. of All Saints, Pavement, and Dorothy Binks, of the same. (*Lic.*)

(1741). 1751-2, Jan. 20. Peter Fleemen, of Rocliffe, in y^e par. of Snaith, & Ann Cade, of Osbaldwick. (*Lic.*)

³²⁰ Perhaps Mary, daughter of George and Mary Bentley, of Pannal, born 6 June, 1727. See No. 1386, *ante*.

³²¹ John Bowes, brewer, son of John Bowes, of Hunslet near Leeds, died without issue in 1754, leaving a widow Mary. His brother, Thomas Bowes, apothecary, was sheriff of York in 1757-8, and lord mayor in 1761 and 1771. He died, during his second mayoralty, Oct. 21st. aged 60, leaving a son Thomas, who administered to his father's effects, 31 March, 1779.

(1742). 1751-2, Jan. 23. Thomas Holford & Eliz: Ship-ton, both of Coney-street parish. (*Lic.*)

(1743). 1751-2, Jan. 27. W^m Clitherow, of Great Drif-field, & Mary Milner, of Kilham. (*Lic.*)

(1744). 1751-2, Jan. 30. Thomas Barstow,³²² Esq^{re}, and M^{rs} Judith Stainforth. (*Lic.*)

(1745). 1751-2, Jan. 30. Robert Hartley, of the city of York, & Mary Horsman, of the par. of S^t John, at Ouse-bridge. (*Lic.*)

(1746). 1751-2, Feb. 6. John Jennings, of Guiseley, and Lucy Hayhurst, of y^e same place. (*Lic.*)

(1747). 1751-2, Feb. 24. Henry Buckle, of Newbrough, in the par. of Coxwold, and Ann Sunley, of the same place. (*Lic.*)

(1748). 1751-2, Feb. 24. George Lockwood, of Westow, & Mary Collins, of y^e par. of S^t Sampson's, in y^e city of York. (*Lic.*)

(1749). 1751-2, Feb. 29. George Cowper, of Carlton, in the par. of Husthwaite, & Mary Saville, of Husthwaite. (*Lic.*)

(1750). 1752, Apr. 16. George Ireland & Mary Hardy, both of Huggate. (*Lic.*)

(1751). 1752, Apr. 29. Thomas Burdett, of Denby, in the diocese of York, and Elizabeth Williamson,³²³ of the city of York. (*Lic.*)

³²² Thomas Barstow, merchant, eldest son of Benjamin Barstow, grocer, sheriff of York in 1729, who was a younger brother of Michael Barstow, whose daughter Mary married John Atkinson of Newcastle (*see* No. 979, *antea*). Baptized at St. Michael's, Spurriergate, 1 June, 1712; chamberlain in 1743; sheriff in 1762-3; governor of the Merchants' Company from 1764 to 1766; lord mayor in 1778; died at Fulford, 5 March, 1786, and was buried there March 9th. By his first wife Everilda (buried at St. Martin's, Coney-street, 13 Nov., 1744), Mr. Barstow had, with other issue, a son and heir, Michael, who was father of the late Thomas Barstow, Esq., of Garrow Hill, near York, whose son, Lewis Barstow, Esq., of Hasle Bush, is a trustee of the hospital which was founded in York, in 1702, by Alice Barstow, widow of Michael Barstow, grocer, grandfather of the above-mentioned Benjamin. Mr. Barstow married, secondly (*ut supra*), Judith, daughter of the Rev. William Stainforth, of Simonburne, co. Northumberland (*see* No. 277, *antea*), by whom (who died 21 July, 1772, aged 64) he had no issue; thirdly, at St. Mary's, Beverley, 10 Nov., 1777, Ann (Dickons), widow of Alderman Blanshard, of that town. She died in 1805-6.

³²³ The sister, it is probable, of the Rev. William Williamson, one of the vicars choral of York Minster, who performed the marriage ceremony.

(1752). 1752, May 12. George Pullein, of Bishopthorpe, & Frances Scaley (?), of York. (*Lic.*)

(1753). 1752, May 12. Thomas Mewburn, of Chester-ton, in the co. of Huntingdon, and Dorothy Dennison, of Hutton Rudby, in the diocese of York. (*Lic.*)

(1754). 1752, May 14. John Bedford, of Leeds, and Ann Brook, of Wakefield. (*Lic.*)

(1755). 1752, May 14. William Lee, of Beeston, in the par. of Leeds, & Faith Higgins, of Hunslet Carr, in the same par. (*Lic.*)

(1756). 1752, May 16. Francis Nicholson, of the par. of All Saints, in the Pavement, in the city of York, and Ann Leach, of Rochdale, in the co. of Lancaster. (*Lic.*)

(1757). 1752, May 19. William Elston, of Clifton, in y par. of St Michael Belfrey, of York, & Rachel Flower, of St Sampson, of York. (*Lic.*)

(1758). 1752, May 21. Michael Dowser, of North Grimston, & Ellen Overfield, of Bugthorpe, both in y^e co. of York. (*Lic.*)

(1759). 1752, May 28. Henry Tenant,³²⁴ of Skewkirk, in y^e par. of Bilton, & Elizth Steel, of y^e same place. (*Lic.*)

(1760). 1752, June 1. Robert Graham,³²⁵ Clerk, Rector of Arthuret, in y^e co. of Cumberland, & Frances Graham, of y^e city of York. (*Lic.*)

(1761). 1752, June 5. John Tuke, of the city of York, & Jane Topham, of the par. of All Saints, in the Pavement. (*Lic.*)

³²⁴ Henry Tennant, gentleman, eldest son of John Tennant, of Poppleton, yeoman, died without issue 9 January, 1768, aged 66, and was buried at Bilton. In his will, dated 17 July, 1763 [Pro. 3 February, 1768], he bequeaths "all that capital mansion or dwelling-house, wherein I now dwell, called Skewkirk,—together with all the buildings, lands, grounds, &c.,—belonging to my ancient freehold estate at Skewkirk, which was given me by my father, John Tennant, deceased,—unto my nephew Robert Tennant, the younger, son of my brother John Tennant." Robert Tennant, the nephew, died unmarried, and intestate, in his father's life-time, and Skewkirk became the property of Henry Tennant, who died, at Kirk Hammerton, in 1828, leaving, with other issue, a son and heir, Henry, who sold the "ancient freehold" to Andrew Montague, Esq. Skewkirk is now the residence of Mr. James Freeman.

³²⁵ Second son of Dr. William Graham, dean of Carlisle.—Frances, daughter of Sir Bellingham Graham, Bart., of Norton Conyers. She died in February, 1801, aged 69. See The Register of Burials in York Minster, No. 253.

(1762). 1752, June 8. George Atley, of Kirby Misperton, and Mary Champney, of the same place. (*Lic.*)

(1763). 1752, June 11. Lancelot Burton, of Feliskirk, & Mary Goodyear, of Kilburn. (*Lic.*)

(1764). 1752, June 15. Francis Clubley & Catherine Dickons,³²⁶ both of Beverley. (*Lic.*)

(1765). 1752, June 16. Andrew Kilvington, of the par. of St Mary, Bishophill, the Younger, in the city of York, and Jane White, of the par. of All Saints, Pavement. (*Lic.*)

(1766). 1752, June 16. Richard Sturtwell, of Harton, in y^o par. of Bossall, & Ann Glee, of the same place. (*Lic.*)

(1767). 1752, June 20. Hammond Harrison, of Barnby Moor, in y^o diocese of York, and Sarah Kendall, of y^e same place. (*Lic.*)

(1768). 1752, June 22. Robert Carter & Eliz: Porter, of Great Driffeld. (*Lic.*)

(1769). 1752, June 24. Thomas Thompson, of y^o par. of St Michael-Belfrey's, and Ann Hall, of y^e Close of this Cathedral Church. (*Lic.*)

(1770). 1752, June 25. Robert Wright, of y^o par. of Aldbrough (W. R.), & Joanna Maskil, of y^e same place. (*Lic.*)

(1771). 1752, July 2. John Wind, of Little Bentham, in y^o co. of Northumberland, and Mary Hutchinson, of y^e city of York. (*Lic.*)

(1772). 1752, July 7. Robert Ellis, of Heminbrough, & Mary Kirlew,³²⁷ of Woodhall, both in y^e co. of York. (*Lic.*)

(1773). 1752, July 7. Anderson Saunders,³²⁸ Esq^{re}, of the par. of St Michael-Belfrey's, and Elizabeth Wallbanke, of the par. of St Hellen's, in the city of York. (*Lic.*)

³²⁶ Catherine, daughter of Peter and Catherine Dickons, of Beverley.

³²⁷ The daughter, apparently, of William Kirlew, of Woodhall, husbandman, who died in the spring of 1752.

³²⁸ Only son of Anderson Saunders, esq., of Newton Saunders, co. Wicklow, by Elizabeth Battersby, his wife. He married, first, Lucy, daughter of William Wynne, esq., of Haslewood, co. Sligo, by whom he had (with other issue) a son and heir, Richard Saunders, whose representative in 1862 was his grandson, Richard Saunders, esq., of Largay, co. Cavan, and Hawley House, co. Kent. - Elizabeth (his 2nd wife), only

(1774). 1752, July 14. Abraham Bayley, of Otley, & Grace Morris, of Ilkley. (*Lic.*)

(1775). 1752, July 20. George Langstaffe, of the par. of S^t Martin's, Vintry, London, and Jane Walker, of the par. of S^t Mary's, Castlegate, in the city of York. (*Lic.*)

(1776). 1752, Aug. 1. Matthew Dodsworth, of Kelfield, in y^e par. of Stillingfleet, and Elizth Bramham, of Cliff, in y^e par. of Hemingbrough. (*Lic.*)

(1777). 1752, Aug. 6. Marmaduke Foster, of Kingston-upon-Hull, and Sarah Himor (?), of Leeds. (*Lic.*)

(1778). 1752, Aug. 11. Robert Turner, of y^e par. of S^t Saviour's, in y^e city of York, & Frances Stead, of Hawksworth, in y^e par. of Otley. (*Lic.*)

(1779). 1752, Aug. 11. William Clapham & Mary Flawith, both of Bossal, in y^e diocese of York. (*Lic.*)

(1780). 1752, Aug. 13. Thomas Haw, of Wetherby, & Sarah Potter, of the same place. (*Lic.*)

(1781). 1752, Aug. 18. Samuel Marsh, of Bridlington Key, in y^e co. of York, & Mary Wilson, of y^e par. of S^t Martin's, in Coney-street, in y^e city of York. (*Lic.*)

(1782). 1752, Aug. 20. George Riby, of Galampton, in the diocese of York, and Esther Ringrose, of the same place. (*Lic.*)

(1783). 1752, Aug. 31. John Transfield, of Hemingbrough, and Margaret Nixon, of y^e same place. (*Lic.*)

(1784). 1752, Aug. 31. Thomas Wooller,³²⁹ of Ossett, in the par. of Dewsbury, and Ursula Carr, of Horbury, in the par. of Wakefield. (*Lic.*)

daughter of William Walbanke, esq., of Kirkbridge, in the parish of Stanwick, co. York, by Mildred, daughter and heiress of Leonard Childers, esq., of Carr-House, in the same county. She had issue three children, Anderson, William, and Elizabeth Saunders. Her elder brother, Childers Walbanke, assumed the additional surname of Childers, and was grandfather of the present John Walbanke Childers, esq., of Cantley, high sheriff of Yorkshire in 1858.

³²⁹ Thomas Wooller, of Ossett, yeoman, died about 1753, leaving, by his first wife Elizabeth, daughter of Mr. Joseph Foster (*see* No. 1375, *ante*), two daughters, Molly and Martha.—Ursula, daughter of John Carr, of Horbury, mason, and sister of John Carr, the eminent architect, lord mayor of York in 1770 and 1785. She married, secondly, Richard Heaton, esq., of Barlow Hall, and afterwards of Selby (whom she survived), and died 18 May, 1799, aged 70.

(1785). 1752, Sept. 1. John Harper, of Tadcaster, and Ann March, of Bilbrough. (*Lic.*)

(1786). 1752, Sept. 14. Richard Dalton, of Wheldrake, & Ellenor Barker, of the same place. (*Lic.*)

(1787). 1752, Sept. 28. William Lazenby, of the par. of Moor Moncton, and Mary Wardale, of Kirk Hammerton, in the co. of York. (*Lic.*)

(1788). 1752, Sept. 29. John Donkin & Elizabeth Robinson, both of Garton, in the diocese of York. (*Lic.*)

(1789). 1752, Sept. 23 (*sic*). James Ward & Elizabeth Spencer, both of Wistow. (*Lic.*)

(1790). 1752, Sept. 25 (*sic*). Tho: Lovell, of Barton-in-y^e-Street, and Bridget Forrest, of Scotton, in y^e co. of Lincoln. (*Lic.*)

(1791). 1752, Oct. 7. John Nicholson, of the town and co. of Kingston-upon-Hull, & Susannah Ask, of S^t Martin's, Coney-street, York. (*Lic.*)

(1792). 1752, Oct. 9. Jacob Peaker, of Barnby Dunn, & Sarah Brookes, of the same place. (*Lic.*)

(1793). 1752, Oct. 10. Anthony Demery and Ann Barker, both of Helmsley. (*Lic.*)

(1794). 1752, Oct. 11. William Creaser, of Fearby, in the par. of Westow, and Elizabeth Snowball, of the same par. (*Lic.*)

(1795). 1752, Oct. 12. Rich^d Snow, of Thornthwaite, in y^e par. of Hampsthwaite, and Magdalen Wakefeild, of Marston. (*Lic.*)

(1796). 1752, Oct. 15. William Baker, of Biggin, in the par. of Fenton, & Elizabeth Middleton, of Lenerton, in the par. of Sherburn. (*Lic.*)

(1797). 1752, Oct. 16. John Pattison, of Westow, and Mary Snowball, of y^e same place. (*Lic.*)

(1798). 1752, Oct. 16. Thomas Turner & Catherine Morris, both of New Malton. (*Lic.*)

(1799). 1752, Oct. 22. John Fretwell, of Tadcaster, & Isabella Farrel, of the same place. (*Lic.*)

(1800). 1752, Oct. 23. William Nixon, of Menithorpe, in the par. of Westow, and Ann Longman, of the same place. (*Lic.*)

(1801). 1752, Oct. 26. John Morley, of Cawood, and Hannah Hick, of the same place. (*Lic.*)

(1802). 1752, Nov. 3. Thomas Layton, of Acklam, & Grace Jackson, of Lepington, in the co. of York. (*Lic.*)

(1803). 1752, Nov. 5. Francis Parker, of Ox-close House, in y^e par. of Ripon, & Mary Goodyear, of Chevit, in y^e par. of Royston. (*Lic.*)

(1804). 1752, Nov. 7. Robert Simpson, of Stockton, & Dorothy Bolton, of the same place. (*Lic.*)

(1805). 1752, Nov. 7. Michael Mays, of the par. of Saint Andrew, Holborn, in the co. of Middlesex, and Frances Plaxton,³³⁰ of the city of York. (*Lic.*)

(1806). 1752, Nov. 11. John Clarke & Elizabeth Franck, both of Sculcoates. (*Lic.*)

(1807). 1752, Nov. 16. George Atkinson & Ann Shepherd, both of Seaton Rose. (*Lic.*)

(1808). 1752, Nov. 20. John Robinson, of Langtoft, and Ann Pape, of the same place. (*Lic.*)

(1809). 1752, Nov. 22. W^m Rhodes & Mary Calvert, both of Dunnington. (*Lic.*)

(1810). 1752, Nov. 25. George Welborne, of Westow, in the diocese of York, and Sarah Sampson, of the same place. (*Lic.*)

(1811). 1752, Nov. 25. William Wardale, of Settrington, & Anne King, of Norton. (*Lic.*)

(1812). 1752, Dec. 2. Simon Marrarella (?) & Mary Selby, both of Helmsley. (*Lic.*)

³³⁰ Frances, only daughter of the Rev. John Plaxton, rector of Sutton-on-Derwent (who died at Snape in 1750), by Bartholina, daughter of James and Frances Greenwood, of York.

(1813). 1752, Dec. 7. Michael Simpson, of Aldbrough, & Dorothy Heddon, of y^e par. of Topcliff. (*Lic.*)

(1814). 1752, Dec. 10. Hugh Robinson,³³¹ of the par. of the Holy Trinity, in the King's Court, in the city of York, and Mercy Morton, of the par. of St^e Michael-at-Ousebridge-End. (*Lic.*)

(1815). 1752, Dec. 18. John Clarkson, of Kirkby Underdale, & Isabella Tweedy, of y^e par. of Thornton, both in y^e diocese of York. (*Lic.*)

(1816). 1752, Dec. 26. Richard Fryar, of Osbaldwick, and Mary Robinson, of Heslington. (*Lic.*)

(1817). 1753, Jan. 1. Hugh Marsden & Jane Shute, both of Hemsley. (*Lic.*)

(1818). 1753, Jan. 7. Tho^s Wilson³³² & Dorothy Mawman; he of y^e par. of All Saints', Pavement, York, & she of y^e par. of St^e Mary, B^phill, y^e Elder, York. (*Lic.*)

(1819). 1753, Jan. 12. Robert Sarjantson & Mary Reynard, both of Hanlith, in y^e par. of Kirkby Malhamdale. (*Lic.*)

(1820). 1753, Jan. 16. Thomas Wilson & Jane Smart, both of Methley. (*Lic.*)

(1821). 1753, Jan. 18. William Hotham & Elizabeth Wilson, both of Water, in y^e diocese of York. (*Lic.*)

(1822). 1753, Jan. 24. Philip Parker, of (*sic*), in the par. of Ripon, & Jane Gill, of Ripley Moor, in the par. of Ripley. (*Lic.*)

³³¹ Hugh Robinson, haberdasher; born about 1722; apprenticed to Edward Smith, of York, in 1736; admitted into the Merchants' Company in 1748; one of the city chamberlains in 1758; sheriff in 1768-9; lord mayor in 1774; governor of the Merchants' Company 1777-1780; died 30 Dec., 1786. Will dated 7 July, 1783 [Pro. 27 October, 1787], "I give all I have in the world to my wife Mercy, both real and personal, and desire she will put my bones in a strong oak coffin, and bury me anywhere but in the parish I now live in." His widow, Mercy Robinson, died 27 April, 1806, aged 84.

³³² Thomas Wilson, bookseller (son of Joseph Wilson, York), sheriff in 1766-7, died 29 October, 1780, aged 59, and was buried at St Margaret's, Walmgate.—Dorothy, daughter of John Mawman, of Little Town, in the parish of Birstal, co. York. She died 20 January, 1786, aged 52, and was interred near her husband. Their only son, Thomas Wilson, bookseller, lord mayor in 1791 and 1800, married, in 1786, Dorothy, daughter of Joseph Bilton, esq., of Heald's Hall, co. York (by Tamar, daughter of William Wood, merchant, of Rump, in the parish of Halifax), and died in 1832, leaving, with other issue, a son Thomas-Wood Wilson, banker, who was elected lord mayor (the last under the old *regime*), 15 January, 1835, and held office until 1 January, 1836. He died at Fulford 15 April, 1858, aged 65.

(1823). 1753, Feb. 6. Matthew Pepper, of Goole Field Houses, in y^e par. of Snaith, and Ann Wilson, of Newland, in y^e par. of Drax. (*Lic.*)

(1824). 1753, Feb. 19. William Hornby & Elizabeth Shillette, both of Newton Kyne. (*Lic.*)

(1825). 1753, Feb. 22. John Agar, of the par. of Seamer, & Mary Stains (?), of the par. of Ellerburn. (*Lic.*)

(1826). 1753, Mar. 3. John Little, of Stillingfleet, and Mary Cook, of the same place. (*Lic.*)

(1827). 1753, Mar. 3. Joshua Siddall, of Moor Monkton, and Jane Calvert, of the same place. (*Lic.*)

(1828). 1753, Mar. 5. James Richard, of Carlton, in the par. of Snaith, bachelor, and Mary Kirby, of the same place, spinster. (*Lic.*)

(1829). 1753, Mar. 15. John Grundon, of Sinnington, and Mary Hardwick, of Pickering. (*Lic.*)

(1830). 1753, Mar. 19. Henry Fisher, of New Malton, and Susanna Sayers, of the same place. (*Lic.*)

(1831). 1753, Mar. 21. Christopher Barker, of Asenby, in the par. of Topcliffe, and Mary Kay, of Topcliffe aforesaid. (*Lic.*)

(1832). 1753, Mar. 27. John Hodgson, of the par. of St^t Crux, in the city of York, and Jane Caygill,³³³ of the par. of St^t Mary, in Castlegate. (*Lic.*)

(1833). 1753, Mar. 29. Richard Howlby, of Morton, in the diocese of York, & Elizabeth Wilson, of the same place. (*Lic.*)

(1834). 1753, Apr. 3. Henry Simpson, of y^e par. of All Saints, in y^e Pavement, in the city of York, & Elizth Hustler, of y^e par. of Holy Trinity, in Micklegate. (*Lic.*)

(1835). 1753, Apr. 11. William Rodwell, of the par. of St^t John's, in the city of York, and Mary Corney, of the par. of St^t Michael's, in the said city. (*Lic.*)

³³³ Jane, daughter of Matthew Caygill, dyer, York. and sister of Ann, wife of William Rhodes (see No. 1697, *antea*). She married, secondly, before 9 Sept., 1768, — — Brown.

(1836). 1753, Apr. 12. Thomas Pollard, of Tadcaster, & Elizabeth Cawton, of y^e city of York. (*Lic.*)

(1837). 1753, Apr. 22. William Hopkins,³³⁴ of y^e par. of the Holy Trinity, in Goodramgate, in the city of York, & Elizabeth Barton, of y^e par. aforesaid. (*Lic.*)

(1838). 1753, Apr. 24. William Mason, of y^e par. of the Holy Trinity, in King's Court, in y^e city of York, & Elizabeth Wilberforce, of y^e same par. (*Lic.*)

(1839). 1753, Apr. 25. Joseph Littlewood & Mary Smith, both of the par. of Kipax. (*Lic.*)

(1840). 1753, Apr. 25. Thomas Smith, of Yoakfleet, & Mary Story, of Bagby. (*Lic.*)

(1841). 1753, Apr. 26. Christopher Benton & Melior Stainton, both of Howden. (*Lic.*)

(1842). 1753, May 2. John Angus & Elizabeth White, both of Sutton, in the par. of Felliskirk. (*Lic.*)

(1843). 1753, May 3. John Ramsay, of the Beddern, in the city of York, & Sarah Thompson, of the par. of St John's, in the said city. (*Lic.*)

³³⁴ William Hopkins, gent., born about 1721, a comedian on the York circuit, and afterwards prompter at the Theatre Royal, Drury-Lane, London, died 22 Dec., 1780. — Elizabeth, daughter of Joseph Barton, joiner, York (by Elizabeth, his wife), and sister of Jane, wife of Thomas Wilkinson, sheriff of that city in 1793-4, whose son, George Wilkinson, filled the same office in 1815-6. After her marriage, Mrs. Hopkins entered the theatrical profession; but at what period, or upon what stage, she made her first appearance, I have not been able to ascertain. She died 8 October, 1801, aged 67. The following notice of her occurs in "The Wandering Patentee" (vol. ii., p. 144), by Tate Wilkinson, York, 1795:—"Mrs. Hopkins, of Drury-Lane, was at York that week, and wondered she was not solicited to play!—looking down, I dare say, on Mrs. Jordan, never imagining she would so soon take the lead, and in such a rapid and wonderful manner, as she has done in London and here, there, and everywhere. However, Mrs. Hopkins, who was on a visit to her brother and sister (a Mr. and Mrs. Wilkinson, of York), was engaged to perform two or three nights (I need not add, she is mother to Mrs. John Kemble). Her first part was Mrs. Malaprop [in Sheridan's comedy of 'The Rivals'], on Saturday, August 24, 1782."

The "Mrs. John Kemble" here alluded to, was Priscilla, daughter of the above William and Elizabeth Hopkins, who, at a very early age, adopted the profession of her parents. She married, first, William Brereton, "an actor of fine person, and some merit," who died in February, 1787; secondly, on the 8th of December, in the same year, the eminent tragedian, John Philip Kemble, whom she survived for nearly a quarter of a century. Mrs. Kemble died at Leamington, 13 May, 1845, at the advanced age of 99 years.

(1844). 1753, May 7. John Baddison, of New Malton, and Ann Wilson, of the same place. (*Lic.*)

(1845). 1753, May 10. John Spavin, of Ryton, in the par. of Kirby Misperton, & Elizabeth Studley, of Broughton, in y^e par. of Apylton. (*Lic.*)

(1846). 1753, May 12. William Kirlew,³³⁵ of Woodall, in the par. of Hemingbrough, and Tabitha Fletcher, of South Duffield, in the said par. (*Lic.*)

(1847). 1753, May 13. Cornelius Doughty, of the par. of St Olave, in the suburbs of York, & Susannah Fenn, of the par. aforesaid. (*Lic.*)

(1848). 1753, May 13. William Hornby, of the par. of St Olave's, in the suburbs of York, & Elizabeth Preston, of the par. aforesaid. (*Lic.*)

(1849). 1753, May 12 (*sic*). John Stapleton & Elizabeth Brown, both of Newton Kine. (*Lic.*)

(1850). 1753, May 22. Thomas Spooner³³⁶ and Ann Buckle, both of the city of York. (*Lic.*)

(1851). 1753, May 24. Thomas Norfolk & Hannah Fowler, both of Tockwith, in y^e par. of Bilton. (*Lic.*)

(1852). 1753, May 26. Thomas Walker & Frances Richardson, both of Helperby. (*Lic.*)

(1853). 1753, June 1. Charles Hodges, of the par. of Saint Michael, Belfrey's, and Elizabeth Calbern, of the Holy Trinity, King's Court, both of the city of York. (*Lic.*)

(1854). 1753, Oct. 20. Thomas James,³³⁷ of y^e par. of Saint Olave's, in y^e suburbs of y^e city of York, and Margaret Hardman, of y^e city of York. (*Lic.*)

³³⁵ Perhaps William, 2nd son of William Kirlew, of Woodhall, husbandman (who died in 1752), and Mary, his wife.

³³⁶ Thomas Spooner, junior, woollen-draper, son of Thomas Spooner, woollen-draper sheriff of York in 1745-6, and grandson of Thomas Spooner, cutler, Sheffield. Baptized at St. Cruz, 29 May, 1723; chamberlain in 1772; sheriff in 1773-4; governor of the Merchants' Company, 1780-1782; died 9 May, 1794.—Ann, daughter of Joseph Buckle, goldsmith, sheriff of York in 1730-1. She died 2 July, 1809.

³³⁷ Thomas James, shoe-maker, Bootham, living in 1758.

(The next entry, on the same page, is the following:—)

(1855). May the 9th, 1762. Sir Griffith Boynton,³³⁸ of Burton Agnes, Bar^t, and Charlotte Topham, of the Minster Yard, were married, by Virtue of a Special License from Doctor Topham, by me, Francis Best.

[The last Marriage in York Minster.]

³³⁸ Sir Griffith Boynton, of Parmston, Bart., F.S.A., high sheriff of Yorkshire in 1771. He was the only child of Sir Griffith Boynton, by Anne, daughter of Thomas White, esq., of Walling-Wells. Born 22 Feb., 1742-3; died in London, of a violent fever, 6 January, 1778.—Charlotte, eldest daughter of Francis Topham, LL.D., of York (by Charlotte, his wife). She died without issue. Sir Griffith married, secondly, at Burton Agnes, 1 Aug., 1768, Mary, daughter of James Heblethwaite, esq., of Norton, near Malton, who survived him, and became the wife of John Parkhurst, esq., of Huttons Ambo, co. York, and Catesby Abbey, co. Northants.

THE MEDLÆVAL JEWS OF YORK.

By ROBERT DAVIES, F.S.A., YORK.

PART I.

THAT some families of the race of Israel, after they "were scattered among the nations," should have found their way to the far isles of the West at an early period of their civilization, is highly probable. M. Basnage, in his copious and excellent "*Histoire des Juifs*,"¹ tells us that, within a few years after the final destruction of the Holy City, Jews had migrated into Western Europe; that as early as the reign of the Emperor Hadrian, they were to be found in the cities of Cologne and Treves; that towards the middle of the fifth century they had established themselves in some of the principal towns of France, where they appeared in small numbers, and were almost unknown; that they passed yet more slowly into England than into France; and that in both countries they afterwards became numerous and powerful, and had their synagogues, their academies, and their illustrious men.

It is asserted, almost universally, by historical writers, that "there were Jews in England under the Saxons," yet the evidence is but slight of their existence in this country prior to the Norman Conquest. The authorities which are uniformly cited to establish this fact are only these three:—

1. A canon of Archbishop Ecghbert, who was raised to the See of York in the year 735. It is in these words:—"Ut nullus Christianus judaizare præsumat, sed nec convivii eorum participare."²

2. A Charter of Witlaff, King of Mercia, quoted by Ingulphus in his "*History of Croyland Abbey*," in which the word "*Judæi*" once occurs, with allusion to gifts that might possibly be made by Jews to the Abbey.

3. A law or ordinance of King Edward the Confessor,

¹ Basnage, *Histoire des Juifs*. Ed. 1716. Vol. vi., pp. 241, 298.

² Spelman's *Concilia*. Fol. Lond., 1639, p. 75.

entitled "De Judæis:" "Sciendum quoque quod omnes Judæi, ubicumque in regno, sunt sub tutela et defensione regis, Judæi enim et omnia sua regis sunt."³

The authenticity of the two latter authorities is not altogether free from doubt, and the question therefore rests chiefly upon the testimony afforded by the canon of Archbishop Ecghbert. If we may assume that the ordinances of the Archbishop were framed for the government of the people of his own diocese, and that the objectionable practices which this canon was designed to prohibit and repress, occurred under his own observation and among the inhabitants of his own metropolitan city, we may accept it as conclusive evidence not only that Jews had come over to England, but that some of them had settled at York as early as the former half of the eighth century.

Soon after the Norman Conquest there was an influx into this country of wealthy persons of the Hebrew race, who gradually planted themselves in many of the large towns in every part of the kingdom. "Among other grievances," says Holinshed,⁴ "which Englishmen sustained by the hard dealing of the Conqueror, this is also to be remembered, that he brought the Jews into this land from Rouen, and appointed them place here to inhabit."

By those earlier chroniclers who have given us an account of the events that happened in the reigns of the Conqueror and his sons, Jews are seldom spoken of. But when the documentary sources of English history become available, we obtain clear indications that wealthy Jews were established both in London and at York, within half a century after the commencement of the Norman dynasty.

The great Roll of the Exchequer of the 31st year of the reign of King Henry the First [the most ancient of our national records now extant except Domesday Book], contains the account of the royal revenue for the year ending September 29th, 1130. In one or two of the entries upon this Roll, Jews are named: Richard Fitz-Gilbert, son-in-law of Ranulph, Earl of Chester, a wealthy and powerful Norman Baron, had become indebted in a large sum of money to Gotsce, a rabbi of London, and two other Jews whose names were Jacob and Manasseh. According to the system of legal

³ *Concilia*, p. 619.

⁴ Vol. ii., p. 316. Ed. 1577.

extortion which then prevailed, one subject was not permitted to commence a suit at law against another, or have his cause promoted or expedited in the *curia regis*, or obtain redress for an injury, without paying into the Treasury a sum of money, under the denomination of a fine to the King. The Roll tells us that the Rabbi and his associates paid six marks of gold that they might have the King's assistance in obtaining the payment of the debt owing to them by Fitz-Gilbert. Unfortunately for them, their debtor offered to the King a larger bribe. It is recorded that Richard Fitz-Gilbert owed 200 marks of silver for the aid the King had afforded him in resisting the demands of the Jews. The Earl Ranulph himself had borrowed money of the same persons, and we learn from the Roll that the Jews accounted to the Exchequer for 10 marks of gold, as a fine for permission to enforce their claim upon him.

It is from this venerable record that we obtain our first glimpse of the York Jews. In the accounts of Bertram de Bulmer, who was Vice-Comes or Sheriff of Yorkshire that year,⁵ we find this entry: "Benedict the son of Aldret of York, rendered account of 15 marks of silver for the lands and debts of his father."⁶ Did not the personal names of Benedict and Aldret somewhat savour of their Israelitish origin, all doubt as to these persons being Jews is removed by the character of the entry in which their names are found.

The mediæval Jews in this country were, in the eye of the law, in a state of villeinage, and their persons and substance were the property of the sovereign. In the lifetime of a Jew, the King had the power to mulct him arbitrarily to any amount. Upon the death of a Jew, his property escheated to the Crown, and could only be redeemed by his surviving family upon the payment of a fine bearing a due proportion to its value. Thus, when Aldret of York died, Benedict, his son, had to pay to the King a fine of 15 marks of silver, that he might be entitled to enjoy the lands which had belonged to his father, and receive the debts which were owing to him at the time of his death.

From the public records of the reign of King Henry II.

⁵ The city of York was then an integral part of the county, not having been separated from it until long afterwards.

⁶ *Magnum Rotulum Scaccarii*, 31 Hen. i. Ed. Jos. Hunter. 8vo. 1833. p. 26.

we gather many particulars concerning the Jews of England.⁷ We ascertain that besides those who were resident in the metropolis, there were in that reign Jewish families settled at Canterbury, Oxford, and Cambridge; at Norwich and Thetford, then the two chief towns of East Anglia; at Bungay and Bury St. Edmunds in Suffolk; and at Colchester, Worcester, Northampton, and Lincoln. Doncaster and York are the only places in Yorkshire where Jews appear to have dwelt, and north of the Humber no traces of them are found. It is obvious that in the twelfth century there were few of the principal towns of England in which families or communities of the race of Israel had not established themselves. That they had amassed great wealth, and that they were plundered of it by the government in the most cruel and tyrannical manner, is shown by a few examples derived from the same source.

Previously to the year 1130, the same Rabbi Gotsce, of whom I have already spoken, his son William and three other Jews, named Manasseh, Jacob, and Abram, had been charged with a criminal offence, which in the record is designated "*pro infirmo quem interfecerunt*," and which probably means that the act they had committed was that which we should now denominate "manslaughter." The punishment imposed upon them was a fine of the enormous amount of £2000, a considerable part of which they had paid; but at the close of the reign of Henry I. they were still debtors to the crown in the sum of £1166 13s. 4d.

In the year 1177, a Jew of Norwich was fined 2000 marks for some misdemeanour imputed to him. So large a sum he could not pay otherwise than by instalments, and four or five years afterwards he was returned to the King's Exchequer as still owing £400 on account of that fine.

In the year 1169, a Jew of Cambridge had married a Jewess of Lincoln without the King's permission. This was made a pretext for imposing upon the relatives of the parties a fine of 7 marks of gold.

In 1180, a Jew of Northampton wished for a bill of divorce, but he could only obtain it by paying into the royal exchequer a fine of 7 marks of gold.

In 1185, a Jew of Norwich had to pay a fine of £40 13s. 4d. because he had presumed to transfer his goods and chattels

⁷ *Pipe Roll*, 2, 3, and 4. Hen. ii.

to four other Jews named Aaron, and Abraham, and Isaac, of Colchester, and Joscoëus, of York. Two of the persons last named, Aaron of Lincoln and Joscoëus or Joses of York, were, during great part of the reign of King Henry II., at the head of a community of Jews who were carrying on the business of bankers and money lenders in the northern parts of England to an enormous extent.

One of the transactions to which they were parties happens to be upon record,⁸ and it gives us an insight into the character and magnitude of their dealings in Yorkshire.⁹

William Fossard, a great Yorkshire baron (the successor of Nigel Fossard, to whom the Conqueror had given the lordships of Doncaster and Mulgrave, with other large possessions in that county), having been reduced to the necessity of borrowing money, Aaron of Lincoln, Joscoëus of York, four other Jews named Elias, Samson, Isaac, and Dieu-le-cress of Denmark, and a Jewess called Pulchella, had accommodated him from time to time with the loan of several sums which in the year 1176 had accumulated to the formidable amount of 1260 marks (equal to £840 sterling). The Jews refused to make further advances, and in his difficulties Fossard, the Lord of Mulgrave, applied to the monks of the wealthy abbey of Melsa or Meaux in Holderness, who were prevailed upon to afford him their assistance. The monks advanced the money, paid off the Jews, and took from them a charter or deed of release and acquittance, which was signed by Aaron of Lincoln, on behalf of himself and the other Jews associated with him. Aaron of Lincoln died about the year 1186, and his vast wealth became the booty of the Crown.

Benedictus Abbas, in his Life of King Henry II., tells us that in the early part of the following year, the English Court crossed over to Normandy, and as some of the King's retinue were passing from Shoreham to Dieppe they were lost at sea, "*cum magnâ parte thesauri Aaron Iudæi Lincolnensis defuncti.*"¹⁰

But the most valuable part of Aaron's property consisted of the enormous debts which were owing him by the King's

⁸ *Mag. Rot.*, 9th Ric. i.

⁹ *Madox's Exchequer.* p. 162, note u.
Tovey's *Anglia Judaica.* n. 36.

¹⁰ "*Sed interim in n de ia
Regia volens tr*

inter Schorham et Depe, submersa est in mari, cum magna parte thesauri Aaron Iudæi Lincolnensis defuncti." — *Bene-*

Vol. ii.,

subjects. In the list of them returned to the Exchequer, there is scarcely a name of any note among the baronage and landed proprietors of the kingdom that may not be found. The monetary transactions of this opulent Israelite were not limited to the counties of Lincoln and York, but had extended to every part of the kingdom, from the Tamar to the Tweed. Immediately after his death the king proceeded to call his debtors to account.

In the year 1187, Hélias, the ostiarius or porter, was allowed, in the accounts of the exchequer, the sum of one mark for serving summonses upon all persons who were debtors to Aaron the Jew throughout England, and 12*d.* for wax for sealing such summonses.

In the city of Lincoln considerable remains are yet in existence of a stone mansion which is said to derive its traditional name of "the Jew's House" from having been the habitation of one Beleset de Wallingford a Jewess who was hanged for clipping the king's coin in the reign of Edward I. But the building is of earlier date, for the resemblance of the sculptured decorations of the doorway to those employed in the west front of the cathedral at Lincoln clearly show that the Jew's house was built in the middle of the twelfth century [A.D. 1140—1150]. This is about the time when Aaron the Jew of Lincoln was at the height of his prosperity, and it is not an unreasonable conjecture that the relic of sumptuous domestic architecture, now remaining at Lincoln, is a portion of the mansion which was once the residence of this eminent Hebrew. After the death of Aaron, Josés and Benedict, two of the principal Jews who lived in York in the reign of King Henry II., became leading members of the community of Jewish bankers and money lenders then established in the North. Benedict was most probably the same person whose name appears in the exchequer roll of 1130, as Benedict the son of Aldret.

A few other Jews of York are mentioned in the records of this period. One, named Samuel, is described as the "socius" or co-partner of Benedict, and he had a son called Samson.

Another, named Isaac, is distinguished as Isaac the son of Mosse or Moses.

But the most opulent and important personages among the Jews then residing at York, were unquestionably the two who are called Joscœus or Josés, and Benedict.

William of Newburgh, a contemporary annalist (of whom I shall presently speak more fully), informs us that these two York Jews, Benedict and Joses, were very wealthy, and largely engaged in the business of lending money on usury, they had built for themselves (he says) at a prodigious expense spacious and princely mansions in the centre of the city, and here they dwelt in more than regal splendour.

The chronicler adds, in the spirit of his age, that they were the haughty tyrants of the unfortunate Christians, whom they oppressed with their usurious practices.

The statement of the annalist may be verified by one or two facts derived from authentic sources. The central part of the city of York in which some of the wealthy Jews had houses, was the street we now call Coney street.

The mansion of Josceus or Joses was not far from the church of St. Martin in that street. A charter in which it is mentioned shows that it stood near to, and most probably occupied the site of, the spacious hostelry known as the George Inn.¹¹

We may suppose that the abode of Joses of York was quite as sumptuous as that of his contemporary and co-partner, Aaron of Lincoln.

To this day, foundations of stone and fragments of massive stone walls are visible upon that site which denote the former existence of a building of magnitude and strength.

From another charter we learn that Benedict the Jew had a mansion in a more remote part of the city. His house stood in a street or place then called Isping-giel, a name since corrupted into Spen-lane.

It was doubtless the state and splendour displayed by these wealthy orientals in their mode of living, that excited the envy and cupidity of their Christian neighbours, and brought upon them many of the calamities which so frequently befel them.

In the well known historical account of the disturbance occasioned by the presence of the Jews at the coronation of King Richard I., the only persons whose names are recorded by any of the chroniclers are the two Jews of York, Benedict and Joses. Both these venerable persons attended the ceremony

¹¹ Unhappily the whole of this interesting structure was ¹² had a few years ago, to make

drapery store, which now occupies the site of the well-known George Inn.

of the coronation and were cruelly injured by the brutal violence of the Christian populace. Benedict sank under the injuries he had sustained, and died at Northampton on his way home. Joses survived to return to York, there to meet with a more cruel fate. After this outrage the king issued a royal edict for the protection of his Jewish subjects, but they did not long enjoy the peace it was intended to obtain for them.¹²

The English monarch's eagerness to join Philip of France, in making preparations for carrying on the third crusade, impelled him to pass over to the continent within a few months after his coronation. The king had scarcely taken his departure, when the Jews in every part of England were made sensible of the disadvantage of his absence. A contemporary¹³ writer tells us that many of the Crusaders, who were hastening to join the wars in Palestine, thought they should be doing God service, if before they set out for the Holy Land they were to flesh their swords in the blood of the peaceable and unoffending Jews dwelling at home. In the month of February, many of the Jews of Norwich were slain in their own houses. In March and April, similar outrages were committed at Stamford and Bury St. Edmunds. But the crowning atrocity was reserved for the Jewish inhabitants of the city of York. It is usually represented that the whole community of the Jews of York were on this occasion barbarously and wilfully exterminated at one fell swoop—most of them falling victims to the merciless ferocity of their Christian neighbours, by whom their property was either pillaged or destroyed—the rest slain by their own hands—driven to self-slaughter by the dread of a worse fate. The story of this cruel outrage is told, with more or less amplitude of detail and copiousness of embellishment, by contemporary and nearly all subsequent chroniclers, as well as by almost every modern writer of general and local history. There are few passages of our mediæval annals more currently known and believed, or more frequently repeated, than the thrilling story of the Massacre of the Jews of York in the first year of the reign of King Richard I.

¹² The King sent letters to all the counties of England, forbidding all persons to molest the Jews, and commanding that they should have peace.—Bene-

dictus Abbas de Vita Ric. i. Vol. ii., p. 561.

¹³ Ralph de Diceto.

Yet I am not aware that the story has been investigated on critical grounds, or that any attempt has been made to ascertain how far the facts are supported by satisfactory evidence.

There are three contemporary chroniclers, by whom the leading incidents are succinctly narrated :—1st. The well-known annalist, Roger of Hoveden, an ecclesiastic who, it is said, was a native of York, a man of learning and eminence, professor of theology at Oxford, and in the latter part of the reign of Henry II. one of the king's clerks or secretaries. He must have taken a personal interest in what happened at York, and must have been familiar with the localities, for he had a house in the city, and was at one time the farmer under the Crown of the adjacent forest of Galtres. His annals extend to the year 1201.

2. John of Brompton, a Cistercian monk, who was Abbat of Jorvaulx in the reign of King Henry II. His annals close with the death of King Richard I. (A.D. 1198).

3. A chronicler usually called "Benedictus Abbas," probably because he was Abbat of the Benedictine Monastery of Peterborough, to which he was appointed in the year 1177. His history "*De vitâ et gestis Henrici secundi et Ricardi primi*" is spoken of by critics as highly important, recording, they allege, only such events as happened in his own days, and came within the scope of his own observation.

The narratives of these three writers, who may be regarded as independent authorities, are characterised by a conciseness and simplicity which inspire confidence in their truthfulness.

But the version of this frightful story which has been adopted and repeated by nearly all our general and local historians, is contained in the "*Historia rerum Anglicarum*" of William of Newburgh, a chronicler of whom it is observed by an able critic that "his narrative is highly interesting, and the events selected with great judgment; his observations are acute and sensible, and his style clear and sober, altho' he occasionally falls into the marvellous."¹⁴

This writer is sometimes called William of Rievaulx; he had moreover the cognomen of "Parvus," probably from his low stature. He was a native of Bridlington, in Yorkshire, and in the latter part of his life was admitted a canon-

¹⁴ *Monumenta Historia Britannica*. Introd., p. 31.

regular of the order of St. Augustine, in the priory of Newburgh, near Coxwold. He died at the commencement of the thirteenth century, and his annals terminate in the year 1197. His picture of the massacre of the Jews of York is drawn with a much freer and bolder hand, fuller in detail and more elaborate in grouping, more exciting and dramatic in its incidents, and is much more highly coloured than those transmitted to us by any of his contemporaries.

There are few persons to whom this chapter of the chronicle of William of Newburgh is not familiar. It is printed at length by Mr. Drake, in the historical annals of "Eboracum;"¹⁵ and the substance, or perhaps I ought to say the most striking incidents of it, are to be found in the pages of most of our local writers.

Yet, without the following reproduction of the chronicler's story, the comments I propose to offer upon it would scarcely be intelligible. William of Newburgh commences his narrative by telling us that many of the poor and lawless inhabitants of York, moved by the desire of plunder, and eager to shed the blood of the unbelieving Jews, were instigated to deeds of violence by persons of a higher class who had been reduced to poverty by the large debts they had incurred in their dealings with the Jewish usurers, to whom they had pledged their domains as a security. Some of these persons were crusaders, and were preparing to join the expedition to the Holy Land, and they thought it no crime to provide the expenses of the journey they were about to undertake in the service of their divine master, by plundering those whom he regarded as his enemies.

It happened (the chronicler continues) that one tempestuous night a considerable part of the city was set on fire accidentally, or rather (as it is believed) by the act of incendiaries; and whilst the citizens were occupied in saving their property from being destroyed by the fire, and there was nothing to interfere with the plunderers, the enemies of the Jews violently broke into the mansion occupied by the family of the deceased Benedict, murdered the inmates, set fire to the house, and having plundered it of its valuable

¹⁵ Mr. Drake quotes as his authority the chronicle of Walter Hemingford, who was an Augustine Canon of the Priory of Guisborough in Yorkshire, and flourished

in the earlier half of the fourteenth century (ob. 1347), but his narrative is nothing more than a literal transcript from William of Newburgh.

contents, under cover of the darkness of night, escaped with their booty. By this event the Jews of York were thrown into great consternation, and upon the entreaty of Joses, the most distinguished of them, the Governor of the Castle of York gave them permission to take refuge in the king's fortress, and they removed there, as into the royal treasury, a great quantity of their valuables, and made provision for their own personal defence and protection. When a few days had passed, the robbers who had plundered the house of Benedict, attacked the mansion of Joses, which they pillaged and burnt, and the unhappy persons who had been left in it were either slaughtered or perished in the flames. Joses and others of his brethren had taken the precaution to place their wives and children in the castle, so that but few remained in the city to become the victims of these outrages.

An uncontrollable desire for plunder now spread among the rabble, and the next morning they crowded to the spot, and mercilessly despoiled the Jews of all the property which the robbers and the fire had spared. Those who professed to hold the Jewish people in abhorrence rose up against them, joined the conspirators, and, setting public authority at defiance, pursued them with the most violent rage and fury; and not content with plundering the few who were found without the walls of the castle, they put them to the choice of being either baptized or slaughtered. Some in short permitted themselves to be baptized, to escape death, and cunningly joined the Christians; but they who on some feigned pretext refused that rite were mercilessly slaughtered. In the meantime those who had taken refuge in the castle were apparently out of danger, until it happened that the governor had occasion to quit his post for a short time, and when he returned to the castle and wished to re-enter, he was refused admittance by those Jews who kept guard within, and were afraid that he had been bribed to betray them to their enemies. The Governor went immediately to the Sheriff of the County, whom official duty had brought to York at that time, attended by a numerous train of soldiers, and complained to him that he had been deprived of the custody of the castle by the dishonourable conduct of the Jews. The Sheriff was highly indignant and enraged against the Jews; and it being represented to him by those who were the

leaders of the attack upon them, that it would be injurious to the King's service if these wretched men were permitted to remain in the occupation of the royal fortress, and being strongly urged to assail the castle and force the Jews to yield up possession, the Sheriff issued an order that the people should be called together to take the castle by storm. The order once given could not be recalled; the zeal of the Christian mob was inflamed, and the castle was attacked on all sides by troops of armed men both from the county and the city. The Sheriff repented when it was too late, and his efforts to stop the attack were unavailing; the violence of the multitude was such that they were not to be restrained by either reason or authority. The higher and more wealthy class of the citizens, fearing lest they should incur the King's displeasure, cautiously stood aloof, but the artizans and the younger part of the population joined the county people, and they, with a considerable body of soldiers, carried on the attack with the utmost eagerness and determination. Moreover, many ecclesiastics were present, and among them was a certain Eremit, who seemed to be more zealous than the rest. All were alike impelled by the conviction that they should do God service, if they were to extirpate the enemies of Christ.

The Jews, being thus besieged in the King's castle, at length began to suffer from the want of food, nor had they arms sufficient either for their own defence or for repulsing their enemies. They could only drive them away by throwing off the projecting stones from the inner wall. The assault of the castle was carried on vigorously for several days, machines prepared for the purpose being brought to act against it. The Eremit already spoken of, who was of the order of Præmonstratensian Canons, and was arrayed in a white vestment, was one of the most active and forward among the besiegers, encouraging them by his example, and calling upon them with loud and often repeated cries to trample upon the enemies of Christ. It is said that on each day of the siege before he entered upon his bloody task, he celebrated the unbloody sacrifice of the mass (for he was a priest) persuading himself and striving to persuade others that he was employed in the service of religion. But incautiously approaching too near to the castle, a large stone thrown from the wall struck him down, and upon being

raised from the ground he immediately expired, and it was proved that he who was the only person slain there on the side of the Christians was, by reason of his profession or order, the chief promoter of this violent assault.

When the storming of the castle by means of the machines had become certain, and it was no longer doubtful that the fate of the besieged was imminent, the besiegers passed the night rejoicing in the certainty that victory was at hand. But the Jews, brave and determined from desperation alone, had little rest, debating what was to be done in this extremity. Among them was a learned elder, a celebrated doctor of the law,¹⁶ who it is said came from parts beyond the sea to be a teacher of the Jews of England. All looked up to him, and obeyed him as they would one of the prophets. When therefore they sought counsel of him, he thus answered :—"God, to whom we must not say, Why hast thou done thus? commands us now to lay down our lives for his law, and behold death is at our doors, unless for the sake of prolonging our short term of existence we choose to forsake our holy law, which to a virtuous mind would be worse than death, for then we should only possess our lives by the forbearance of our wicked persecutors, and under the infamous imputation of being apostates. When, therefore, we prefer a glorious death to a dishonourable life, we may clearly choose for ourselves the most easy and becoming kind of death. For if we fall into the power of our enemies we shall die by their will and incur their contempt. But when our Creator calls upon us to yield up the lives which he gave us, we may freely and devoutly restore them to him by our own act, and in obeying his command we need not desire to be assisted by our enemies' cruelty. It is known that in divers tribulations many of our brethren have commendably done this and shewn us by their example which is the most worthy choice." The elder having thus spoken, many of the Jews embraced his deadly counsel, but to others his words seemed too hard to be borne. He then said :—"Let those persons to whom this good and pious advice is not acceptable, sit apart and be separated from the holy assembly;" "for (he continued) we value not this transitory life when compared to our love of the law of our

¹⁶ "Les Rabbins font chez les Juifs le neuvième ordre de Docteurs."—*Barnage*, vol. iii, p. 760.

fathers." So many of them then withdrew, choosing rather to throw themselves upon the mercy of the enemy than to perish with their brethren. Presently, by the advice of the demented elder, they cast into the fire their costly robes, and cunningly defaced their choice vessels and other things which fire would not consume, rather than they should become the spoil of their enemies. Then they set fire to the houses within the castle and thereby endangered the lives of those persons whose love of life had separated them from the others, and whilst the fires were slowly burning they prepared for self immolation, and when the elder was exhorting all those who were stout of heart to take away the lives of their wives and children, then the distinguished Joses having with a sharp knife cut the throat of his much loved wife, Anna, spared not his own children ;—others then followed his example, he himself being reserved for the most honourable fate, being slain by the hands of the venerable elder, the author and adviser of these horrid proceedings, who was himself the last to perish. Those who were not slain by the knife, narrowly escaped being destroyed by the flames which had communicated to the interior of the tower. Those, however, who preferred life, did their best to arrest the progress of the flames which their own people had kindled, and were the unwilling saviors of their own lives ; they kept manning the battlements of the towers on which they were all but burned. So astounding was this irrational frenzy of reasoning beings against themselves. But he who is acquainted with Josephus's account of the Jewish war, can easily understand, from the mad conduct of the Jews in old times, under more trying circumstances, how they evinced on this occasion a frenzy so peculiarly strange.

At daybreak, when the besiegers of the castle advanced again to the attack, the wretched remnant of the Jews appeared on the ramparts and with cries and tears declared the dreadful acts which had been committed during the night. That the besiegers might have ocular proof of the slaughter, they threw from the walls the dead bodies of those who had been slain, and called out—"See, these are the bodies of those unhappy men who slew themselves in their wicked fury, and fired when they were dying the inner parts of this tower to burn us alive who chose, instead of following

their example, to throw ourselves upon the mercy of the Christians. But God hath saved us from the madness of our brethren and from the peril of fire, that we should no longer alienate ourselves from the religion that you profess. Anxiety has produced conviction, we recognize the truth of the Christian faith and beg for that mercy which it inculcates ; we are ready to be baptized, submitting to the condition that is generally required and giving up the rites of our fathers, to be united to the church of Christ. Receive us, as brothers instead of enemies, and let us live with you in the faith and peace of Christ." Their words, accompanied by many tears, filled many of the Christian people with horror and compassion for the miserable persons who had escaped the general slaughter. But the chiefs of the conspirators, of whom was one Richard surnamed Mala Bestia, a most audacious man, were influenced by no pity for these wretches. Yet they craftily spoke to them with mildness and favourable promises to induce them to leave the castle, and as they presently came forth earnestly desiring their baptism of Christ, the cruel butchers surrounded and slew them. And of them indeed, whom a cruelty greater than that of a wild beast thus killed I would speak without any hesitation, for even if there was any deceit in their request for baptism, they were by no means deprived of the benefits of that rite, because their own blood baptized them. For whether they begged to be taken to the sacred fount with sincerity or not, nothing can excuse the execrable barbarity of those who butchered them. In the first place the sin lies at their door, who, sanctioned by no proper authority, dared to shed human blood like water ; secondly, because they were carried impetuously away not by the zeal for justice but by the brutality of malice ; thirdly, because they would shew no Christian mercy to those who sought for it ; and, fourthly, because they made a lying promise to these wretched creatures and persuaded them to come out only that they might kill them. Awful indeed and loathsome was the appearance of everything ; so many of the corpses of these miserable victims lying unburied in the city and around the tower.

The slaughter being concluded, the conspirators, immediately going to the cathedral, forcibly compelled the terrified keepers to deliver up the muniments of the debts

by which the Christians were oppressed, and which were deposited there by the king's Jewish usurers, and as well for their own liberation, as for that of many others, the same instruments of wicked avarice they solemnly committed to the flames in the middle of the church. These things being done, such of the conspirators as were crusaders, to avoid inquiry, hastened on their intended journey; the rest remained in the province, not without fear of discovery.

Verily in the time of our Lord's passion on the day before Palm Sunday, these things happened at York.

The Chronicler then proceeds to state that intelligence of the things done at York was quickly carried to the king beyond sea, who, after the outbreak at London, had intended by law to establish peace and safety for the Jews. The king complained bitterly as well on account of the insult offered to the royal authority, as of the great injury done to his exchequer. For he accounted as revenue whatsoever property the Jews, who were the royal usurers, had in their possession. He quickly issued a mandate to the Bishop of Ely, the Chancellor and Governor of the kingdom, requiring that the daring deed should be visited with condign punishment. The bishop, a man greedy of glory and of a cruel disposition, about the time of the solemnity of our Lord's Ascension, came with an army to the city of York, and instituted a most rigid investigation. But the principal and most distinguished authors of these proceedings, leaving all they had in the province, fled from his presence into Scotland. But it was constantly declared by those citizens to whom blame was imputed, that neither by their authority or advice could they stop the proceedings, nor by their interference were they able to check the headstrong violence of the disorderly rabble. At length the chancellor took satisfaction by imposing heavy pecuniary fines upon each of them, nor were they punished with any greater severity. But the promiscuous and numerous mob whose inconsiderate zeal had chiefly effected this dreadful business, he was less able to bring into judgment or disperse. Therefore the chancellor, displacing the sheriff because he was not able more effectually to maintain the king's authority, departed without shedding blood, nor to this day was any other punishment inflicted for this slaughter of the Jews.

And thus ends the narrative of the Canon of Newburgh.

Now, whatever may be the amount of exaggeration or embellishment with which the monkish historian has overlaid his account of these frightful atrocities, the truth of many of the facts which he and his contemporary annalists have transmitted to us, is corroborated by the unimpeachable evidence of official records.

The accounts returned into the Court of Exchequer by Osbert de Longchamp who was sheriff of Yorkshire in the 2nd and 3rd years of King Richard I. contain numerous entries relating to the *assault* committed upon the Jews of York, for it is remarkable that 'Assultus,' 'Interfectio,' and 'Occisio' are the only terms used in these records when the outrage against the Jews of York is spoken of. It appears that the offence of killing a Jew was not then branded with the opprobrious name of 'murdrum,'¹⁷ which in the barbarous Latin terminology of that age was used when one Christian wilfully took away the life of another.

From these accounts we obtain the names of between fifty and sixty persons, upon whom fines had been imposed as a punishment for their offences against the Jews. The amount of the fines varied according to the circumstances of the offenders; the highest penalty was 85 marks, or £56 13s. 4d., the lowest, half a mark, or 6s. 8d.

Amongst the names of the persons fined were

Henry of Fiscergate
Warin of Cuningstrete
Gerard of Bretegate
Arnulf of the Marsh.

We cannot doubt that these were inhabitants of York, and that their cognomina indicate the streets and places where they lived. Other offenders were

Everard the Brader,
Yoo the Hoser,
Daniel the Cowkeeper, [Bovarius—Bouvier]
Geoffrey the Butcher,
Malger the Tax-collector, [Talliator]
Walter the Goldsmith,

¹⁷ "Murdrum," from the Anglo-Saxon "Cƿoð," whence also the French "Meurtre," and the English "Murder."

who, we may be pretty certain, were citizens following the trades or occupations appended to their names. The greater number are distinguished by local and derivative surnames, as

David of Popelton
Robert the son of Luilf
William the son of Wakelin
William of Otlei
Hubert the brother of Walter
Adam of Bickerton.

These fifty or sixty persons were doubtless selected by the Chief Justiciary from the mass of citizens and others who had been concerned in this outrage, as men of some substance, who would be sufficiently punished by the imposition of penalties apportioned to their means of payment.

The chroniclers tell us that the authors and chief instigators of the attack upon the Jews were men of superior rank, and that some of them were crusaders. The Records furnish us with the names of three persons who (it is represented) had fled from justice, and whose lands and goods were confiscated "*pro assaultum Judæorum in civitate Eboraci.*"

They were

Robert de Gant
Robert de Turnham and
Richard Malbyse.

The following is a brief history of each of them :—

1st. Robert de Gant.

The noble family of which he was a member flourished for many generations, in the possession of large territories in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire. The first who settled in England was Gilbert de Gant, the son of Baldwin, Earl of Flanders, whose sister, Matilda, was the consort of King William the Conqueror. Robert de Gant, the persecutor of the Jews of York in the year 1190, was grandson of the first Gilbert, and the younger brother of a second Gilbert, who was Earl of Lincoln.

Upon the death without issue of his elder brother's only child, Alice, Countess of Lincoln, which happened in the reign of King Henry II., the honours and estates of the

family of Gant devolved upon her uncle Robert de Gant, but before he could obtain possession, he had large fines to account for to the crown.

In the Exchequer roll of the 31st Henry I., he is returned by the sheriff of Yorkshire as owing £633 6s. 8*d.* as a fine for his land in that county, and a few years later he was owing 600 marks as a fine for his lands in Lincolnshire. We are not surprised to find that after the death of his niece, he had been in the hands of the money-lending Jews.

Brunus, a Jew of Stamford, accounted to the king for a fine of £4 which he was to pay for having his pledges and debts of Robert de Gant. His name also appears in the list of the debtors to Aaron the Jew of Lincoln. Hence perhaps we may trace the feeling of hostility which he displayed against the race of Israel.

Robert de Gant did not long survive the confiscation of his estates. He died about the year 1192, and was succeeded in the barony of Gant by his eldest son, a third Gilbert de Gant, who in the reign of King John for a short time enjoyed the dignity of Earl of Lincoln.

2nd. Robert de Turnham.

He was not a Yorkshireman by birth, but he settled in the county upon his marriage to Joanna Fossard, the heiress of the last of the Fossards, lords of Doncaster and Mulgrave.

Upon the death of his father he succeeded to the title and dignity of a Baron of England by tenure. At the commencement of the reign of Richard I. he held property in York in right of his wife, and at a later period he paid to the king a fine of six marks for the re-possession of his fee in the city of York, "*quod captum fuit occisione Judæorum in manum domini Regis.*" The small amount of the sum paid for its redemption shows that the property was not of great value.

The Fossards were patrons of the parish church of St. Crux in York, and were owners of houses situate in a street called Isping-Geil, now called Spen-lane, adjacent to certain houses which belonged to Benedict the Jew in that street.

They also possessed some interest in the Water Mills upon the river Foss, near the Castle of York, which belonged to the Knights Templars. Robert de Turnham was a distin-

guished warrior and crusader. Whilst his hands were imbrued with the blood of the Jews of York, he hastened to join King Richard in the Holy Land, and his participation in that cruel massacre was no hindrance to his advancement in the favour of his sovereign.

At the siege of Cyprus in July, 1191, he was one of the commanders of the fleet; and after Cyprus was taken, the king constituted him joint governor of the Island with Richard de Camville. The valiant actions performed by Robert de Turnham in the East were thought worthy of being commemorated in the uncouth rhymes of Peter de Langtoft, a Yorkshire monk, who in the 13th century wrote a chronicle in French Alexandrines, which was translated into English verse by Robert de Brunne—

“Robert de Turnham se mene noblement
La terre souz maryne ad conquis nettement.”

This is a specimen of the Norman verses. The English translation, of a century later, runs thus :—

“Roberd of Thornham bare him nobilly,
By the sea-syde he nam, and wan it per maistrise;
Then turned he to the king after his conquest
Thei mad than a samenyng to go toward the West,
The city of Nichoci thei wan, and were therein,
And another therbi, a town men called Cherin.”¹⁸

In the year 1193, when King Richard was a prisoner in Germany, and a treaty had been concluded with the Emperor for his release, he sent to England for ships to carry him home. Robert de Turnham, on that occasion, brought the king's harness to London, and for his good service in this journey he was discharged of his share of the levy for the king's ransom.

Upon the death of that monarch, Robert de Turnham propitiated his successor by delivering up to him Chinon, Saumur, and other castles on the continent of which he had the charge, and soon afterward King John conferred upon him the office of Seneschal or Steward of the provinces of Poitou and Gascony.

It was not until after the accession of John that the whole of his Yorkshire lands were restored to him. In the year

¹⁸ *Chron. of Peter de Langtoft*, vol. i., p. 164.

1208 he gave two Spanish horses of value for the possession of his lordship of Bramham which had been in the hands of the king.¹⁹

About the year 1210 Robert de Turnham died,²⁰ leaving issue of his marriage to Joanna Fossard, an only child, a daughter named Isabella, whom, in the year 1214, King John gave in marriage to a Poictevin called Peter de Mauley, the founder of a family of whom many memorials still remain in different parts of Yorkshire. A contemporary chronicler imputes to this foreigner the infamy of being the murderer of Prince Arthur at the instigation of his profligate uncle, and of accepting the heiress of the lords of Mulgrave and her large possessions, as the price of the young prince's blood. But some doubt may be entertained of the truth of this charge, when it appears that a short time before the king's death Peter de Mauley had to pay the incredible sum of 7000 marks, as a fine for having possession of the whole of his wife's inheritance.²¹

Perhaps, after all, we have the right story in the exquisite scenes of our great dramatist.

3rd. Richard Malbysse.

He is alluded to by William of Newburgh, the only chronicler who has given us the slightest clue to the discovery of the name of any one of the leaders of the outrage against the Jews of York. Among the chiefs of the conspirators (he tells us) was a certain "Ricardus vero agnomine Mala Bestia, homo audacissimus." One cannot help suspecting that the jocose little canon has introduced this name into his narrative, merely for the sake of the pun which it enables him to perpetrate.

Ricardus Mala Bestia, alias Richard Malbysse, was the head of a Yorkshire family, the founder of which was a sub-infeudatory of the great barons of the North Riding, Roger de Molbrai, and Robert de Brus.

The family of Malbys held large estates in several parts of Yorkshire, and were allied to some of its most distinguished

¹⁹ *Rot. Fin. Temp. Joh.*, p. 419.

²⁰ He founded a small religious house of Præmonstratensian Canons at Begham, in Sussex [*Tanner's Not.*, p. 561] which was probably the country of his ancestors.

²¹ *Vide Hunter's South Yorkshire*, vol. i., p. 12; and *Testamenta Eborac.* vol. i., p. 116, note.

houses. The name has been transmitted to modern times in that of the village of Acaster Malbis, near the city of York, where it is believed they had a mansion. Richard Malbys had also a house at Clementhorpe on the banks of the Ouse, close to York.

For the part he took in the slaughter of the Jews of York, the estates of Richard Malbys were seized into the hands of the king, and his two esquires, Walter de Carton and Richard de Kukeney, were committed to prison until they could find sureties for their good behaviour.

It is probable that Richard Malbys thought himself treated with undue severity by the king's justiciary, William de Longchamp, when he was at York, for we find him joining in that treasonable movement against Richard I. which was fostered, during the king's absence from England, by his brother John, then Earl of Montaigne.

In the year 1191, Richard Malbys and his brother Hugh Malbys, with several bishops and other great men, were excommunicated by the Pope, and denounced by his legate, the Bishop of Ely, as adherents of John, and abettors of his designs to usurp the government of the kingdom.²² A year or two afterwards Richard Malbys appears to have conciliated the government, and upon paying into the Exchequer a fine of 20 marks, possession was restored to him of his lands which had been seized "*propter occisionem Judæorum Eboraci*," and his two esquires regained their liberty upon finding sureties of the peace until the king's return.²³

After King John had succeeded to the throne of his brother, Richard Malbys was rewarded for his adherence to the cause of that unprincipled monarch, by being restored to the possession of all his lands. In the year 1199 he compounded with the king by presenting to him, in the way of fine, in addition to the sum of £100 in money, two Norway hawks, two leash of greyhounds, and four palfreys, that he might have restored to him such possession of Scaltun, Dale, and Albi, and of the lands of Moreton, Tollesbi, Newenham, and Baggele (all in the North Riding of Yorkshire), as he had when he was deprived of them [*disseised*] "*occisione Judæorum Eboraci*."²⁴

²² *Reg. Hoveden* II., 244.

²³ *Eborac.* 228; *Mag. Rot.*, 4 R. 1; *Torey*, 28.

²⁴ *Rot. Fin. Temp. Joh.*, p. 12.

Among the pledges or sureties he was required to find for the due performance of his engagement, I find the names of Robert de Tornham, Peter de Brus, Robert de Ros, Marmaduke de Tweng, and others of the most wealthy and distinguished of the English barons of the twelfth century.

In the following year the king granted to Richard de Malbyse a licence to fortify a castle which he was building at Wheldrake, a town a few miles distant from York. After the castle was nearly completed, the citizens of York having had experience of the turbulent disposition of Richard the *mala-bestia*, and fearing that his having a castle so near to them might be to their detriment and disgrace, prevailed upon the sheriff of the county, William de Stuteville, on the king's behalf, to forbid its completion, and accordingly the castle remained unfortified.²⁵

Nevertheless, Richard Malebyse retained the favour of King John, and was employed by him in several important missions.

The time of the death of Richard Malbys is not ascertained, but he was living between 1211 and 1218 when he gave his house and land at Clementhorpe, in York, to his nephew, Richard de Hoton. He had previously given to the Abbey of Fountains all his lands at Wheldrake, and this may account for the absence of any vestige of a mansion or castle at that place. The family ended in females in the 14th century, and the two Yorkshire families of Fairfax and Beckwith claim to represent the co-heiresses of the ancient house of Malbys.

I have thus tested the accuracy of our ancient historians in some of the most important features of their narratives of these occurrences. The great fact itself—the “*Assultus Judæorum*”—is placed beyond the possibility of doubt.

The statement which we find in all the chronicles—that the cruel Christian persecutors of the Jews were chiefly inhabitants of York and the neighbourhood, who were instigated and led on by persons of high rank and distinction in the county,—and that upon some of these, who were crusaders and fled from justice, the more severe punishment was inflicted of forfeiture of their lands and goods, whilst the slighter penalty of pecuniary fines was imposed upon the rest of the offenders,—is fully borne out by the official records

²⁵ *Roger de Hoveden Annal.*, p. 456.

of the crown, which contain the most unimpeachable evidence that can be advanced in all questions of historical research. In the version of the story transmitted to us by the Canon of Newburgh, that love of the marvellous, which he is accused of indulging in, has led him to add a few embellishments, that may properly be made the subjects of criticism.

Several modern writers accept with implicit credence the *epsissima verba* which William of Newburgh puts into the mouth of the learned Rabbi, as having been really spoken by him on the fatal night when he persuaded Josès and his fellow prisoners to commit the crime of self-slaughter, rather than fall into the hands of their assailants.

But it is difficult to avoid suspecting that when the chronicler was compiling his annals in the seclusion of the cloisters of Rievaulx or Newburgh, he was apt to give the reins to his imagination, and sometimes to draw from the stores of his historical knowledge, in order to heighten the interest of his own pages. It is obvious from a reference he makes to the history of the Jewish Wars by Josephus, that he was acquainted with the works of that popular writer.²⁶ There is a very remarkable coincidence between some passages of his account of the siege of the Jews in the castle of York, and the description given by Josephus of the siege of the Jewish fortress of Masada by the Romans under Vespasian.²⁷

The speech which, according to Josephus, was made under similar circumstances by Eleazar, the commander of the besieged Jews at Masada, is an echo of that which William of Newburgh ascribes to the Rabbi at York. Indeed, the general resemblance of the two stories is so striking as to occasion a recent author to observe that "little more than a change of names is necessary to make the history of one event a faithful account of the other."

Yet passages of this character are those which are most readily transcribed by many modern writers, without suggesting the slightest doubt or suspicion of their authenticity. Some indeed, are not even content with the inflated version of the ancient historian. Those parts of his narrative which savour

²⁶ Copies of *Josephus* were to be found in the monastic libraries of Yorkshire at that period. One of the books belonging to the Abbey of Whitby was the Latin translation of *Josephus*, which was made

by Rufinus of Aquileia, who flourished at the end of the fourth or beginning of the fifth century.

²⁷ Whiston's *Josephus*, p. 624.

most of the romantic and the fictitious, they have thought susceptible of higher colouring and bolder exaggeration.

"The Jews of York" is the title of one of the chapters of D'Israeli's "Curiosities of Literature."²⁸

That lively writer quotes as a kindred example the self-destruction of Razias, the father of the Jews, who chose rather "to die manfully, than to come into the hands of the wicked, to be abused otherwise than be seemed his noble birth." He adopts, without hesitation, the speeches of the Rabbi in the castle of York, as reported by William of Newburgh, not scrupling to introduce into his narrative a few picturesque touches of his own to heighten the interest of the scene and to adorn the eloquence of the Rabbi, whom he denominates "the Haham," and represents to be a foreigner renowned amongst the Jews for the depth of his learning and the sanctity of his manners. "I admire not (he says) the stoicism of Cato more than the fortitude of the Rabbin, or rather, we should applaud that of the Rabbin much more; for Cato was familiar with the animating visions of Plato, and was the associate of Cicero and of Cæsar. The Rabbin had probably read only the Pentateuch, and mingled with companions of mean occupations and meaner minds. Cato was accustomed to the grandeur of the mistress of the universe, and the Rabbin to the littleness of a provincial town. My Rabbin is a companion for Cato. His history is a tale,—

"Which Cato's self had not disdained to hear."

The number of the Jewish inhabitants of York who were the victims of this barbarous outrage, is a question of considerable difficulty, upon which the early historians themselves are not in accordance. Roger of Hoveden alleges that 500 Jews took refuge in the castle, besides women and children. The words of Benedictus Abbas are, "500 men and women, besides children." Whilst a third contemporary writer states the gross number of persons at 500, without qualification.

The more modern chronicler, Holinshed, hesitating to adopt the highest enumeration, states in his text that the number slain in the castle was 400, noticing in the margin that 500 was the number given by other authorities.

²⁸ Vol. iv., p. 99.

Our local historian, Mr. Drake,²⁹ says, "it cannot be computed that less than 1000 or 1500 persons were destroyed."

Dr. Milman is more cautious: "By this atrocious massacre (he says), 500 or 1500 (the numbers vary) were put to death."³⁰

But the Reverend Moses Margolionth, an Anglo-Hebrew, in his "History of the Jews of Great Britain," published a few years ago, boldly asserts that 1500 with their wives and children took refuge in the castle, and "thus (he exclaims,) perished nearly 2000 Jews at York on this occasion."

We have here an instructive example of the "crescit eundo." In the words of an eminent modern historian, it shows "the facility with which men adopt the most startling results, especially when conveyed in the form of numerical estimates. There is something that strikes the imagination in a numerical estimate which settles a question so summarily, in a form so precise and portable. Yet whoever has had occasion to make any researches into the past—that land of uncertainty—will agree that there is nothing less entitled to confidence."³¹

It appears to me that the lowest estimate of the early writers is that which is the nearest approximation to the truth; that upon every consideration of probability, of the estimates which have been made of the aggregate population of our principal towns in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and of the very few names of Jews which are found in authentic contemporary records, the most moderate computation made by the chroniclers of the number of the Jewish men, women, and children who took refuge in the king's castle at York, must necessarily be a gross exaggeration. Mr. Drake suggests that by the slaughter of the Jews in 1190 the Hebrew population of York was totally exterminated, and its place supplied by an entirely new colony. "Notwithstanding the fatal destruction of the Jews (he remarks) a new colony came and settled here, where, under the protection of our kings, they lived in great splendour and magnificence,—so Joceus, I find the name of an eminent Jew at York the 3rd of John."³² But

²⁹ *Eboracum*, p. 96.

³⁰ *Milman's History of the Jews*, vol. iii., p. 341.

³¹ *Prescott's Philip II.*, vol. i., p. 308.

³² *Eboracum*, p. 223.

our historian has not accurately interpreted the record which is his authority for this statement, and which testifies that one Thomas de Sutton paid a fine of 30 marks to the king, that he might have restored to him the possession of his charters or title-deeds, which had been in pledge to Benedict and Joses, Jews of York.³³

The Joses here named is obviously the same Joscæus who was the chief sufferer in the frightful tragedy of the first year of King Richard—the *pater familias* who was the first to sacrifice the lives of his wife and children rather than they should be exposed to the brutality of their Christian persecutors.

The evidence we obtain from the public records shows us distinctly that, although the Jewish inhabitants of York were barbarously butchered and despoiled, they were not, on this occasion, utterly exterminated. Some, perhaps, but a small number, were spared from the general carnage, and it is quite certain that several of the charters they held in pledge were saved from destruction. Members of the family of Benedict were alive in the second year of King Richard I. We learn from the Exchequer accounts of that year, that his sons were to have restored to them the lands of their father, and the debts which were owing to him, according to his charters, upon their paying to the king a fine of 700 marks.

Early in the reign of King John, Isaac, surnamed Blundus, a Jew of York, paid to the king a fine of one mark to obtain a mandate to the Sheriff of Yorkshire to keep in safe custody, until he should be liberated by special order, the servant of another Jew, called Hoppetol, who had been arrested and committed to prison upon a charge of falsifying the king's coin.³⁴

Isaac, the Jew of York, who died previously to the year 1219,³⁵ came to an untimely end. By the fall of one of the walls of his house at York he was crushed to death, and the commissioners, whom King Edward I. appointed soon after his accession to inquire into the state of the royal demesnes, alleged that the house in which this fatality occurred was

³³ *Rot. Cun.* 3 *Joh.*, p. 301.

³⁴ *Rot. de Fin. Temp. Joh.*, p. 264.

³⁵ In the year 1219 King Henry III. gave to Walter Luttrell a house at North-

ampton, which had belonged to Isaac, the deceased Jew of York.—*Rot. Hund.*, pp. 366-368.

forfeited to the crown. They reported its value to be four marks per annum, which denotes a dwelling of no mean rank. These commissioners carried their notions of forfeiture still further. A windmill with two acres of land, worth two marks per annum, situated near to the chapel of St. James in that part of the suburbs of York which is now called the Mount, belonged to Walter le Espec who had put it into Judaism—that is to say—he had mortgaged the property to Isaac of York, and the king's commissioners adjudged that this was also an escheat or forfeiture to the crown on account of the casualty by which the Jew lost his life.³⁶

The assault upon the Jews of York which forms the main subject of the preceding pages, is but a type of the cruel fate that pursued the wandering tribes of Israel at every place where they attempted to plant themselves in mediæval times, whether in this country, or upon the continent of Europe.

Everywhere their history presents a continued series of similar barbarities perpetrated against this helpless and unoffending people. An eloquent writer observes, "that all other histories of persecution are but records of cruel whims and caprices, compared with the chronicles of Jewish suffering:—the tale of Jewish persecution is an unvarying narrative of a hatred that defied the power of wear and tear;—century following century, and the tortures, and the massacres, and the false accusations, undergo no diminution."—"The history of their persecution is also a history of the most marvellous fortitude on the part of the oppressed:—the Jews of the middle ages would undergo any amount of torture, and vie with each other in the work of mutual slaughter rather than offer 'sacrifice to Baal,' as they termed the rite of baptism." "When Elasar-ben-Jehuda, one of their own poets of the 12th century sings—

'Thy faithful ones with stones they slay,
Tormented, strangled, bruised are they,
Broken on the wheel, or hung,
Into the grave, while living, flung.
One with eyeless sockets stands,
Another bleeds with lopp'd off hands!'

³⁶ *Rot. Hund.*, vol. i., p. 119.

the horrors seem to find difficulty in elbowing their way into the limited space of six short lines."³⁷

The American poet of our own day, inspired by the contemplation of the cruelties endured by the ancient race, some of whom had sought refuge on the other side of the Atlantic, thus bursts forth into song :—

How came they here? What burst of Christian hate,
What persecution, merciless and blind,
Drove o'er the sea—that desert desolate—
These Ishmaels and Hagars of mankind?

They lived in narrow streets and lanes obscure,
Ghetto and Judenstrass, in mirk and mire,
Taught in the school of patience to endure
The life of anguish and the death of fire.

All their lives long, with the unleavened bread
And bitter herbs of exile, and its fears,
The wasting famine of the heart they fed,
And slak'd their thirst with Marah of their tears.

Pride and humiliation, hand in hand,
Walked with them, through the world, where'er they went,
Trampled and beaten were they, as the sand,
And yet unshaken as the continent.

“Les Rois (says M. Basnage)³⁸ ont souvent employé la sévérité des édits, et la main des bourreaux pour la faire périr. La multitude séditieuse a fait des massacres et des exécutions infiniment plus tragiques que les princes. Le peuple et les rois, le païen, le chrétien et le mahométan, opposés en tant de choses, se sont réunis dans le dessein d'anéantir cette nation, et n'ont pu réussir. Le buisson de Moïse, environné de flammes, a toujours brûlé sans se consumer.”

³⁷ Review of “*Die Synagogale poesie des Mittelalters*, von Dr. Zunk.”—*Athenæum*, June 16, 1856, p. 702.

³⁸ *Histoire*, vol. vi., p. 3.

THE MEDIEVAL JEWS OF YORK.

PART II.

A considerable portion of the preceding pages is devoted to a description of what is called "The Massacre of the Jews of York," which took place at the commencement of the reign of King Richard the first.

At the time of that occurrence, Richard was absent from his kingdom. He did not return until the spring of the year 1194, and during the few months which he passed in England, before he again embarked for the continent, his attention was directed to the social and political condition of his Jewish subjects.

For the control and regulation of their property and transactions, a code of laws¹ was established, which justices itinerant, specially appointed, were authorized to enforce in all parts of the country.² I will briefly state the import of them.

The Jews were required to enrol a description of all property belonging to them without any concealment.

Certain places were to be selected at which all the money transactions of the Jews were to be conducted. Every security for loans by the Jews was to be in writing, and to be executed in the presence of witnesses consisting of two public officers, with two Christians and two Jews, and two scribes specially appointed—all such securities to be in counterpart or duplicate, one part, sealed with the seal of

¹ This code was founded upon the principle which, according to some authorities, was established by one of the laws of Edward the Confessor, that the Jews and all belonging to them were the absolute property of the Crown. "Judæi et omnia sua regis sunt."—*Leg. Confess.*, c. 29. Prynne disputes the genuineness of this law. He designates

it "an interpolation and forged law." He will not allow that there were any Jews here, either in the British, Saxon, or Danish kings' reigns—Prynne's *Short Discourse to the Jews long discontinued sembler into England*. 4to, London, 1656. p. 51.

² *Roger de Hoveden*, translation, vol. ii., p. 334.

the borrower, to remain in the hands of the Jewish lender—the other to remain in the common ark or chest, which was to be furnished with three locks—the two Christian witnesses to keep one key—the two Jewish witnesses another—and the two public officers the third—and those who had the keys were also to affix their seals to the ark or chest.

All loans by Jews, and payments of money to them, and alterations of their securities, to be made only in the presence of the prescribed witnesses.

The Christian witnesses to keep a register of the receipts given for payments made to Jews.

At a later period of this reign, a judicial tribunal of a more solemn and permanent character was constituted. A branch of the king's exchequer was formed into a separate court with the name of *Scaccarium Iudæorum*, or *Judaismi*, over which four persons were appointed to preside who were styled the Justices of the Jews. At first the new court was composed partly of Jews and partly of Christians, but subsequently the practice of appointing Jews to the office was discontinued. In the court of Judaism, all contracts between Christians and Jews were ordered to be registered. If a Jew took a security for money and omitted to have it registered, he could not recover his debt, and when a debtor to a Jew paid off his debt, if he neglected to have the release or receipt registered, he was not legally discharged.

The system of registration thus introduced was obviously intended to enable the sovereign to obtain, at any moment, an exact account of all pecuniary transactions that had taken place between his Christian subjects and the Jewish money lenders. As Dr. Tovey observes, the establishment of the '*Scaccarium Judaismi*' "was of very little use to the people, being calculated chiefly for the King's private interest and information."³

We may infer from the stringency and particularity of these regulations, that at the time they were adopted the Jews of England had become an institution—an important section of the body politic.

There is no doubt that at the commencement of the 13th century, communities of Jews were settled in most of the larger towns of the kingdom. But several years passed before the Jews of York recovered from the shock they had

³ *Anglia Judaica*. By Dr. Tovey. 4to, 1738.

sustained by the sanguinary proceedings of the year 1190. In the year 1217, soon after the accession of King Henry III., mandates⁴ were issued by the crown by which the municipal authorities of the City of York, as well as of the several other towns where Jews were resident, were required to secure to them the privilege of continuing to abide in such places, where they were wont to be in the time of King John, and of having intercourse with Christians as they were accustomed to have, and of being protected from all molestation; and all causes in which Jews were parties were to be heard before the Justices *ad custodiam Judæorum*, so that they should not be impleaded *in curia christianitatis*.

The favour and indulgence, which this edict professed to show to the Jews, were but of short duration. Before the young monarch had attained his majority, the popular prejudices and antipathies revived, and the unhappy Israelites were again exposed to as much bitter persecution from their Christian fellow subjects, and as much oppressive extortion by their needy and rapacious sovereign, as they had experienced in any former reign. Yet the Jew flourished and amassed riches. The more he was crushed and trampled upon, the more vigorous was his rebound. His great source of profit was the enormous rate of interest which he exacted from the needy Christian borrower. To require interest at all for the use of money was then unlawful. Shylock hated the merchant of the Rialto, because "he lent out money gratis and brought down the rate of usance." And he complained that the Christians "railed on him, his bargains and his well won thrift which they called interest." When the government permitted the Jew "to gnaw the bowels of our nobles with usury," it was wholly with a view to its own advantage. If the Jew was allowed to fleece the Christian, it was upon the clear understanding, that the Jew himself should afterwards be shorn to the quick. Each successive tax, or talliage as it was termed, which the king levied upon his Judaism, exceeded in amount that which preceded it. Yet the greed of the Jewish money lenders did not abate. They continued to spread themselves over the kingdom, and for a while they increased in numbers, in wealth, and in influence.⁵

⁴ *Tested*, 19 June, 2nd Hen. III. Tovey's *Angl. Ind.*, p. 79, Fæd. 1st Hen. iii.

⁵ In the reign of King John, Jews were settled at London, York, Exeter, Winchester, Bristol, Gloucester, Here-

A few years after the commencement of the long reign of Henry III. we again find a community of Jews residing at York, and carrying on their customary business of money lending. Some of them were the descendants and representatives of those who had fallen victims to the sanguinary proceedings of the year 1190. Their number was not considerable. Indeed the records and documentary evidences of the time do not disclose the names of more than six or seven persons. Yet these were heads of families and undoubtedly men of wealth and importance. The central figure of the group was Aaron the son of Josey or Josœus,⁶ the same Josœus who was the most conspicuous actor in the frightful scenes to which I have adverted. Aaron had two brothers—Benedict and Samuel. The names of other York Jews were Leo, styled episcopus, who had a son called Samuel—Josœus of Canterbury—and Ursellus the son of Sampson. These persons were closely associated together in the various dealings by which they acquired their wealth. Historical and documentary notices are occasionally to be met with, of pecuniary transactions to which they were from time to time parties. I will advert to a few of them.

Peter de Wadworth, lord of the manor of that name, near Doncaster, in the reign of Henry III.⁷ had borrowed 50 marks of Aaron the son of Josey, Leo the bishop and his son Samuel, upon security of a large portion of his estate. Being unable to pay the debt when called upon, the monks of Roche Abbey,⁸ a neighbouring house of religious, to whom the Lord of Wadworth had been bountiful, stepped in to his relief and lent him a sum sufficient to discharge his debt to the Jews and to supply his other requirements, taking from him a transfer of the security he had given to the Jews.⁹

In the year 1238, Alan, the son of Alexander of Hamerton, sold two bovates of land situate in Green Hammerton to

ford, Oxford, Cambridge, Ipswich, Northampton, and Lincoln. In the time of King Henry the Third Jews are found at Southampton, Canterbury, Berkhamstead, Norwich, Stamford, Leicester, Nottingham, Wilton, and Marlborough.

⁶ See the Rev. J. T. Fowler's paper on certain Jewish "Stars," *Yorkshire Arch. and Topog. Journal*, vol. iii., p. 65.

⁷ Hunter's *South Yorkshire*, vol. i., p. 250.

⁸ In the reign of Richard I., the abbot and monks of Roche Abbey had them-

selves been in the hands of the Jews of York. Osmund, the Abbot, who had been cellarer of Fountains, released the house from a debt of 1,300 marks, which was taken up from the Jews for the purpose of purchasing an addition to their territories.—Hunter's *South Yorkshire*, i., 269.

⁹ In the reign of Henry III., Haslewood, the estate of the Vavasours, was in pledge to Aaron the Jew of York for £330.—*Archæologia*, vi., 339.

the monks of Fountains Abbey for 10 marks of silver. The monks paid over the money to Ursellus, the Jew of York,¹⁰ to whom Alan owed that sum, and the Jew signed an acquittance to the monks in the presence of Leo episcopus, Aaron, and Josceus of Canterbury.¹¹ The last named Jew did not disdain small matters. He lent one Thomas Godesire thirty shillings to be repaid in moieties.

In the year 1229 King Henry III. spent his christmas at York. When he was resting at Sherburn on his return to the south, a petition was presented to him by Anketil de Mallory, husband of the daughter and heiress of William de Mulethorpe, a great Yorkshire baron, who died indebted in the sum of thirty marks to Aaron the Jew of York. The object of the petition was to obtain time for the payment of the debt. The King, dealing with the Jew's money as if it were his own, granted Mallory three years respite, upon the pretext that Aaron had not paid his share of the last valliage.

At a later period Bonamicus, the son of Josceus of Canterbury, lent Adam de Newmarch, a great Yorkshire land-owner, forty marks to be paid at Pentecost 2nd Edward I., and if not then paid, to pay twopence per week upon each pound until the debt was discharged. This was after the rate of £43 6s. 8d. per cent. per annum.

The notices of Aaron of York¹² that are scattered through the pages of contemporary chroniclers are preserved in the public records of the period, although "few and far between," are sufficient to show that he was a person of great distinction among the Jews of England. When a levy of 10,000 marks was made upon them, Aaron of York was one of the ten wealthy members of his tribe who were accepted as pledges or sureties on behalf of their brethren for the due payment of the talliage. From this responsibility Aaron was formally released in the month of June, 1237, and in the month of September following, he was appointed for his life to the high office of Presbyter of all the Jews of England.

The advancement of Aaron to this dignity,¹³ whilst it

¹⁰ *Eboracum Appz.*, p. xv. Sampson, the father of Ursellus, was most probably the same Jew who was one of the creditors of William Fossard in 1176.

¹¹ *South Yorkshire*, i., 250.

¹² *Torey*, p. 107.

¹³ The royal mandate by which Aaron was constituted "Presbyteratum omnium Judaeorum Anglie" is dated at Clarendon the 29th September, 1237. *Claus. Rot.*, 21 Hen. III. m. 18. *Torey*, p. 55. It is doubtful whether the office were of a

proved that he stood high in the estimation of those in authority, may perhaps be traced to a circumstance which Matthew Paris tells us occurred about this time. In the year 1237 (the chronicler relates) William, Bishop elect of Valentinia, to whom the king had entirely entrusted the reins of government, seeing that the nobles had, not without reason, conceived great indignation against him, on that account took his departure for his own country; his lands and rich farms which the king had given him, he placed in the hands of Aaron, a Jew of York, in the form of a pledge, receiving from him, by way of loan, 900 marks of new sterling money in hand.¹⁴

Of the enormous talliages imposed upon the Jews during this reign, Aaron of York was made to contribute more than his due proportion. In the year 1241¹⁵ the amount of the whole tax was 20,000 marks. Two years afterwards that sum was trebled.¹⁶ Matthew Paris observes that in the year 1243 "the king extorted from the unfortunate Jews a heavy ransom in gold and silver. To say nothing of the others, he defrauded one Jew, Aaron of York, of four marks of gold, and 4000 marks of silver."¹⁷

In the return made to the Court of Exchequer by the Sheriff of Yorkshire in the year 1246, the name of Aaron of York appears as a debtor to the Crown in the sum of 540 marks for nine years' arrears of an annual composition he had agreed to pay that he might be exonerated from all contributions to the talliages levied upon the Jews.¹⁸ The injustice of this claim was too apparent, and no attempt was made to enforce it. Well might the chronicler denounce that as a fraudulent proceeding by which the Jew, who had paid his full share of the talliages, was further called upon

civil or a religious character. Prynne, the eminent antiquarian lawyer of the seventeenth century, contended that the Presbyter was a mere secular officer in the Exchequer of Judaism. Dr. Tovey thought that the person who held the appointment of Presbyter in this country was the High Priest of the Jews of England, and in this opinion both Lord Coke and Selden coincided. It is clear, from the language of the mandate, that the custody of the rolls of the Jews' Exchequer was committed to the Presbyter, and probably his duties were of a mixed

character. There can be no doubt that it was an office of high importance, and would be conferred only upon a Jew of eminence and distinction.

¹⁴ *Historia Major*, Giles's Translation, i., 49.

¹⁵ This levy was made by the authority of the *Parliamentum Judaicum*.—*Tovey*, p. 110.

¹⁶ *Rot. Fin.*, Hen. III., vol. i., p. 412.

¹⁷ *Historia Major*, p. 450.

¹⁸ *Mag. Rot.*, 30 Hen. III. Ebor. m. 2 a. *Madox*, p. 152.

for the annual sum the Crown had agreed to accept as a commutation of it.

In the year 1248 Aaron was again the victim of royal rapacity.

The Sheriff of Yorkshire¹⁹ was commanded to distrain Aaron, the Jew of York, by his body, his wife, his freedmen [liberos?], his goods, and by all other means that he could use, to render to our lady the Queen the sum of £83 and half a mark, part of the talliage of 60,000 marks due at Trinity term last, and £76 10s. 4d. arrears of the same talliage and all other debts which he owed to the Queen.²⁰

In the year 1252²¹ a singular favour was conferred upon Aaron of York. A charter was granted enabling him to sue for debts and goods in the Court of Judaism [before the justices assigned for the custody of the Jews] to the amount of £400 without the interest [sine receptione usuræ], although his securities were not deposited in the common ark or chest of the Jews [extra archam cirographam.]

A few years later that well known transaction occurred between the king and his brother Richard, Earl of Cornwall, by which the whole body of the Jews of England were put in pledge, like a drove of cattle, or a gang of negro slaves, as a security for 5000 marks which the needy monarch had borrowed from his wealthy brother. This was effected by a formal charter or grant dated the 24th of February, 1255.²² The king had no scruple in conveying over to his brother "omnes Judæos nostros Angliæ."

As a quaint writer observes, those whom the king had himself excoriated, he delivered up to the earl, his brother, to be eviscerated."²³

Aaron of York did not long survive the degradation thus inflicted upon his race. In the year 1256 the venerable Jew "was gathered to his people."²⁴ There is no reason to doubt that he was permitted to close his eyes in peace at his own

¹⁹ *Mag. Rot.*, 32 Hen. III. *Madox*, p. 153. Writ returnable, July 21, 1248.

²⁰ In the year 1249, Aaron of York, with several Jews of Norwich, joined in paying to the king a fine of 100 marks that they might have the debts owing to a wealthy Jew called Isaac of Norwich, to which the king had by law become entitled upon the death of Isaac. The amount of the debts was £1,377 6s. 8d. —*Rot. Fin.*, vol. ii., p. 67.

²¹ *Pat.*, 36 Hen. III. m. 10. *Tovey*, p. 42.

²² 39 Hen. III. *Madox*, 156. *Tovey*, 135.

²³ *Prynne's Short Demurrer to the Jews*, p. 26.

²⁴ Numbers, c. 20, v. 26; Genesis, c. 26, v. 8; c. 49, v. 33.

dwelling in York—the *domus amplissima* that had been the princely residence of Josceus his unfortunate parent. We are told by William of Newburgh that the house of Josceus stood *in medio civitatis*.²⁵ This aptly denotes the situation of Aaron's mansion which was in Coney street (as we learn from a contemporary charter),²⁶ adjacent to the church of St. Martin, and on the same side of the street there. We may reasonably conjecture (as I have previously suggested) that it occupied the spacious area extending to the river Ouse which was recently the site of the George Inn. Perhaps, by a diligent search, we might discover the great stone under the apple-tree, that in the days of Ivanhoe led into the vaulted treasure chamber under the Jew's garden.

Aaron left a widow and two sons. The name of the eldest son was Kokus or Kok. The younger had the more Hebraic name of Manasser. In the year [1256] of Aaron's death, Kok, on behalf of himself and his brother, gave to the king 2000 marks that they might have the goods that belonged to their father.²⁷ In August, 1256, Kok paid a fine of 2 marks of gold, that he might have the custody of all the goods of Manasser, his brother, until he became of legal age, and that Manasser should not marry without his elder brother's consent. Hence it appears that Manasser was a minor at the time of his father's death. He was probably the son of the patriarch's old age by a second wife, as Henna his wife survived him nearly 20 years.

Of Benedict, the brother of Aaron, I find no special notice, except that in the year 1230 he was styled *episcopus*.

Samuel, the other brother of Aaron, was like him a great money-lender. In the year 1230 he released to the monks of Fountain's a parcel of land which they had mortgaged to him. Among the witnesses to the execution of the acquittance are Leo, described as the bishop of the Jews of York; Aaron, the brother of Samuel; Manasser and Isaac, all Jews of York.²⁸ Samuel died in the year 1238, leaving

²⁵ Eboracensium igitur Judæorum primi fuere Benedictus et Joceus, homines locupletissimi et late fœnerantes. Ædificaverant autem in medio civitatis profusissimis sumptibus domos amplissimas, regalibus conferendis palatiis," &c. Will. Newb., cap. ix., p. 372, ed. Hearne.

²⁶ A grant to the monks of Fountain's Abbey of land with buildings erected

thereon, lying between the Church of St. Martin, of York, et domum Aaron Judæi. Temp. Hugo de Selby, Mayor of York. A.D. 1230.—*Eborac. Appx.*, p. xxii.

²⁷ Madox's *Hist. of the Exchequer*, p. 168.

²⁸ Vide schedule of MSS. penes Mr. Gillyat Sumner, of Woodmansey, near Beverley. (Y. P. Soc.)

a widow who, according to the law and custom of the Jews, was entitled to dower out of his property. It is on record that Aaron and Benedict, upon the death of their brother Samuel, paid a fine of £100 to the king, that they might have possession of his land and goods, reserving to his widow her dowry.²⁹

The York Jew, next in importance to Aaron the son of Joscoëus or Joscey, was Leo of York, who was styled Episcopus at the same time that Benedict, the brother of Aaron, was distinguished by that title. Leo died in the year 1244, soon after he had been called upon to contribute to the enormous talliage of 60,000 marks imposed upon the Jews of England. It is obvious that he was a person of great wealth. After his death his property was redeemed by his son Samuel upon payment to the king of a fine of 7000 marks which was also to exempt Samuel from his share of the talliage.³⁰

The York residence of Leo Episcopus was in Coney Street. He was the owner of an estate situate at Colton, near York, which upon his death escheated to the Crown, not being included in the property redeemed by his son Samuel.³¹

Samuel succeeded to the title of Episcopus upon the death of his father, whom he did not long survive. He died in the year 1250, leaving a widow called Pucella, and a son under age, called Elias. Upon Samuel's death the King had another squeeze out of the property of the family. In November, 1250, two Jews of London, who acted as trustees for them, paid a fine of 2000 marks, that they might have all the lands and goods which had belonged to Samuel, for the use and benefit of his infant son Elias and his heirs; stipulating that the same fine should exonerate Elias from all debts and arrears of debts which his father Samuel or any of his ancestors might owe to the King. But the King reserved to himself the talliage which had been imposed upon the same goods at Michaelmas preceding, and moreover required 10 marks of gold to be paid down at the ensuing Christmas.³² Pucella, the widow of Samuel, was to be paid 200*l.* for her dower of his property.

²⁹ *Rot. Fin.*, Hen. III., vol. i., p. 315.

³⁰ *Rot. Fin.*, 28 Hen. III., vol. i., p. 412. The writ is dated Reading, 8th February. Samuel was allowed five years for paying this heavy fine.

³¹ *Hund. Roll.*, Edw. I., p. 124.

³² *Rot. Fin.*, vol. ii., p. 93. The fine of 2,000 marks was to be paid by instalments of 20 marks per annum. This shows that the amount of the fine was only nominal.

The head of another Jewish family that flourished at York at this period was Joscœus,³³ surnamed of Canterbury, an addition probably used to distinguish him from Joscœus, the father of Aaron, and from which it may be inferred that he had migrated from the southern part of the Kingdom, and settled at York subsequently to the events of the year 1190. His name first appears in connection with Yorkshire in the former part of the reign of Henry III. In the year 1235 I find the signature of "Joseus de Cantuar, Judœus Eboraci," to a release of property at Naburn, near York, belonging to Robert Bengam, which he held in pledge. Joscœus of Canterbury dwelt in a house situate in Coney Street, and was succeeded in the possession of it by his son-in-law, Bonamicus, of whom I shall afterwards have occasion to speak.

I have now to advert to a circumstance of especial interest to the citizens of York, inasmuch as it relates to a locality within the precincts of the city, respecting whose identity, as connected with the mediæval Jews of York, there can be no dispute.

Both in ancient and in modern times, it has been the universal custom in the East to have places of burial outside the town. The cemeteries of the Jews³⁴ (M. Basnage says) were usually without their towns, and even at some distance from them. Jerusalem alone was an exception to the general rule, for she inclosed many tombs, as those of David and Solomon, who were buried in the city of Sion. The Jew considered that not only the touch of a dead body, but even contact with a sepulchre, communicated defilement. Yet he yielded to none in his respect for the sepulchres of his ancestors.

Several contemporary chroniclers mention that in the year 1177, King Henry II. granted to the Jews of England permission to have a cemetery in every city, "extra muros civitatis ubi possent rationabiliter et in loco convenienti emere ad sepeliendum ibi mortuos suos."³⁵ For previously

³³ Josey of Kent, and his son Deulecres, and his brother Jorin, Jews of York, are parties to a "Starr," quoted by Mr. Fowler, *Journal*, vol. iii., p. 58.

³⁴ Les Cimetières étoient ordinairement hors des villes, et même assez éloignées. La seule ville de Jérusalem faisoit exception à la règle générale; car, elle renfermoit plusieurs tombeaux come ceux de David et de Salomon, qui furent

enterrez dans la ville de Sion."—Vol. v., p. 611.

³⁵ "Anno 1177 Dominus Rex dedit licentiam Judæis terræ suæ habendi cœmeterium in unaquaque civitate Angliæ extra muros civitatum; . . . prius enim omnes Judæi mortui Londonias ferebantur sepeliendi."—*Roy. Hoveden, and Brompton, Sub anno.*

(the chroniclers add,) they had not any burial-place in England except at London, and wheresoever any of them died in England, his body was carried to be buried there.

Those who have investigated the early topography of the city of London tell us that the antient burial-place of the Jews of London was the spot now called Jewin Street, which is without Cripplegate in the suburbs of the city, and was formerly called Leyre stowe.³⁶

A piece of ground which has been denominated "*Jewbury*," from time immemorial, and yet retains that name, lies on the western bank of the river Foss without the walls of the city of York, extending from Layerthorpe-bridge to Monk-bridge. Mr. Drake, in his topographical account of this part of the suburbs of York,³⁷ observes that Jewbury "seems to have been a burgh or district anciently inhabited by these people. But (he adds) there is another conjecture, which indeed seems more probable, that it was called Jewbury from being a place assigned to the Jews for the burial of their dead." Our historian's latter conjecture is the true one. There is not the slightest doubt that the place obtained its name of Jewbury from its having been used as their burial-ground by the Jews of York and Lincoln, the only towns in the northern part of the kingdom where Jews were permitted to dwell. About half a century later, when the Jewish population of these cities had considerably increased, they appear to have required an enlargement of their cemetery, or some additional convenience to be attached to it, and they purchased from the sub-dean of the Cathedral Church of York a piece of ground which was situate in the street then called Barkergate, now Barker-hill, adjacent to Jewbury. The original evidence of this transaction is still preserved among the muniments of the Subchanter and Vicars Choral of York Minster. The document is in a somewhat unusual form, and is to this effect:—

"I, John Romain, Subdean of the Cathedral Church of York, have sold to the community of the Jews of York, and of other Jews of England, for a certain sum of money, which they have given to me, all that my land, with the appurtenances in Barkergate, in the suburbs of York, which I bought of Geoffrey Brown, as it lies in length and breadth between land which I hold of the community of the Canons of

³⁶ Cunningham's *Handbook*, vol. ii., p. 445; *Strype*, p. 88.

³⁷ *Eboracum*, p. 253.

the Church of York, and the ancient³⁸ cemetery of the Jews, to hold to the same Jews, in fee, paying annually to me, during my life, two shillings sterling, and to the King his Husgable.

The witnesses to the execution of the charter were:—

Roger, Dean of the Church of York.
 William de Rotfeud, Treasurer of the Church.
 Hugh de Selby, Mayor of York.
 John de Warthill,
 Alexander Fitz-ralph,
 Nicholas Wineur,
 Robert de Cardvile, } then Bailiffs of York.
 Thomas Sperri,
 Ranulph Fitz-Yoo.
 Walter the Clerk, then Chirographer of York.
 Thomas Fitz-Ace,
 and many other Christians.

Isaac of Northampton.
 Leo Episcopus.
 Aaron, the son of Josceus.
 Benedictus Episcopus.
 Josceus of Kent.
 Samuel, the son of Josceus,
 and many other Jews.

The instrument is without date, but from the official designation of some of the attesting witnesses we may safely assign it to the year 1230.

We have here brought together six of the York Jews, of whom I have previously spoken, associated with the principal ecclesiastical and municipal authorities of the city, who it appears did not object to sanction by their presence the act whereby one of the dignitaries of the church disposed of part of his property for the benefit and convenience of the despised race of Israel.

In the records of the latter years of the reign of King Henry III. the names of Jews resident at York appear but seldom. Their palmy days had come to a close at the death of Aaron. When he passed away their light was dimmed, and well nigh extinguished. I have met with only one or two notices of transactions posterior to that event, in which the name of a York Jew occurs. Among the MSS. in the British Museum³⁹ is a bond from Sir Hugo de Nevile of

³⁸ When we find that within half a century after the grant of King Henry II. Jewbury was designated "the antient cemetery of the Jews," we may infer that

it had been their place of sepulture from a much earlier period.

³⁹ *Archæologia*, vol. xxviii., p. 226.

Cadency, in the county of Lincoln, to Bonamicus the Jew, of York, for securing the payment of nine score pounds sterling interest. It is dated the Sunday next after the feast of Saint Martin in the year 1271. I have previously mentioned the loan negotiated by Sir Adam de Newmarch with Bonamicus, the Jew of York,⁴⁰ towards the close of this reign, and the enormous rate of interest he was to pay if the debts were not discharged at the time specified.

But if the community of Jews in York were at this period less wealthy or less engaged in commercial affairs than their brethren in other parts of the kingdom, they did not escape being fellow-sufferers with them under the numerous measures of oppression and extortion to which the monarch resorted whenever his need of money prompted him to seek a supply from his Jewish subjects. It was but a few years after the Jews of England were released from their bondage to the Earl of Cornwall that Henry made a similar transfer of the Judaism of his kingdom⁴¹ to enable him and his son Prince Edward to obtain a loan of several large sums of money from a company of Italian merchants and money-lenders called the Caorsini. One of the King's latest acts⁴² was to grant to his son Prince Edward, who was then in the Holy Land, a subsidy of 6000 marks to be raised "de Judaismo," that the prince might be provided with money to defray his expenses in the crusade in which he had then embarked.⁴³ The death of King Henry III. took place in the year 1272, and from the moment that his successor assumed the sceptre,⁴⁴ the knell of English Judaism was rung. All the proceedings of the first Edward, affecting his Jewish subjects, were imbued with excessive severity. He commenced by authorising certain justices to levy all arrears of talliages which had been imposed upon the Jews of England, and those Jews who refused, or were unable to pay, were to be banished. The mandate directs that the defaulters and their wives and children shall be conducted to

⁴⁰ In the security he is called Bonamus the son of Josey the Jew of York.—Hunter's *South Yorkshire*, vol. i., p. 250.

⁴¹ "Totum Judaismum nostrum cum Scaccario ejusdem Judaismi." This took place in June, 1263.—*Torey*, p. 153.

⁴² 55th Hen. III.

⁴³ From 17 December, 50 Henry III. (1265) to Shrovetide 2nd Edw. I. (1274), the Crown had £420,000 'de exitibus

Judaismi.' Silver was then but twenty pence an ounce, and now it is more than treble so much.—Prynne's *Demeriter* (1656), citing *Rot. Pat.*, 3rd Edw. I. m. 11, 17, 20. Wm. Middleton reddit compot.

⁴⁴ Henry died on the 16th November, 1272. The new king was abroad at that time, and did not arrive in England until nearly two years afterwards.

the port of Dover, and if they could not pay within three days after a given time, they were to be exiled from the kingdom, never to return. Should any such Jew be found after the time limited in any other place than at Dover, he was liable to have judgment passed upon him in the same manner as upon a thief. This harsh measure, which was adopted previously to the new monarch's arrival in England, was probably intended as a warning to the Jews of what they might expect from the tender mercies of him whose little finger promised to be heavier than his father's loins.⁴⁵

It had been usual at the commencement of former reigns to make a show of favour to the Jews by allowing them to purchase from the Crown at a high price a renewal of their charter of privileges, but Edward did not resort to this expedient for raising money. On the contrary his first parliament passed an act called the Statute 'de Judaismo,'⁴⁶ the provisions of which were calculated to deprive the sovereign of all prospective advantages to be derived from taxing the Jews; being obviously intended formally and legally to constrain the Jewish bankers and money-lenders to abandon the only business and occupation they were qualified to exercise, and in the profits of which all former sovereigns had largely participated. The preamble of the Statute of Judaism laments that in times past many honest men had lost their inheritances by the usury of the Jews and that many sins had from thence arisen; and the Act then ordains that for the honour of God and the common benefit of the people, no Jew should thereafter practise any manner of usury. The statute contains several clauses designed to enforce the observance of its main object, some of them being curiously illustrative of the feeling in which the whole measure was conceived. To prevent any spread of the Jewish population, Jews are only allowed to dwell in those cities and boroughs where the common chest of their charters were kept. To distinguish them from their Christian fellow subjects all Jews above seven years old were required to wear a badge of yellow taffeta upon their upper garments, and all of both sexes above twelve years of age were to pay at Easter an annual

⁴⁵ Edward I. "was a stern, severe, and vindictive man—inexorable in his enmities, and cruel after the fashion of his

time."—J. M. Kemble on Pauli, *Fras. Mag.* Dec. 1856.

⁴⁶ *Towry*, p. 200.

tax to the king. Jews were not to be permitted to alienate real property without the king's licence,—nor to pay rent to any other person than the king, except for the houses they then held. After thus prohibiting the Jews from engaging in the only employment for which their habits adapted them, the statute concludes with a taunting pretence of conceding to them certain privileges. It allows them to practise merchandise or live by their labour, and for such purpose they might freely converse with Christians so long as they were not *levant* or *couchant* among them. Those who were unskilful in merchandise or unable to labour might take lands to farm for any term not exceeding ten years, but this privilege was not to extend beyond fifteen years after the passing of the Act. There was something ominous in this term of fifteen years. It foreshadowed the limit of their existence as a community in this kingdom. Little more than fifteen years elapsed after the passing of the statute 'de Judaismo,' when the fiat went forth for their total expulsion from England. During this interval the king's severity towards them did not relax.

In the year 1276, by the authority of a royal mandate, the arks or chests in which the Jews kept their charters and securities were opened, and their contents strictly scrutinized, and legal proceedings were commenced against several Jews upon the plea of their extortions for usury. In the following year commissioners were appointed to inquire how far the Jews had conformed to the law by which they were required to wear badges of yellow taffeta. During six or seven subsequent years numerous persons of the Jewish race were brought to trial and convicted of offences relating to the coin, and many of them were executed; and investigations were ordered to be made as to the forfeited property of convicted Jews which was supposed to be concealed,—the king having, in the year 1283, made a present of all such property to his consort, Queen Eleanor. In 1281, the public arks or chests of the Jews were again scrutinized, and much of their property was seized for the king's use.

At length the crisis arrived when this wretched system of persecution and pillage was to be brought to a termination.⁴⁷ King Edward I. on the 18th of July in the year

⁴⁷ *Tovey*, p. 240; *Prynne's Denurrer*, p. 47.

1290, the 18th year of his reign, caused the great seal of England to be affixed to writs addressed to the sheriffs of all those counties in which Jews were known to inhabit, and among them to the Sheriff of Yorkshire, commencing with these words:—"Whereas we have appointed a certain time for all the Jews of our realm to be transported from the kingdom."

The writs then proceed to require the Sheriffs to make proclamation that no person should offer any injury or molestation to the Jews in their departure, and that if any of them with their goods should direct their steps to London previously to their embarkation, they should have safe conduct.

A few days afterwards writs were issued to the Barons of the Cinque Ports, requiring them to provide safe passage for all Jews who desired to cross the seas, with their wives, their children, and their goods.

A special favour was conferred by the King upon Bonamicus, one of the Jews of York, of whom I have previously spoken. On the 26th of July a writ was addressed to the Mayor and Bailiffs of that city, commanding that to the Jew Bonamicus, his wife, children, and domestics, so long as they remained there, no molestation should be offered in person or property, but that they should be protected and defended as far as possible; and, moreover, that inasmuch as Bonamicus desired to defer the embarkation of himself and his family beyond the time appointed for the Christians to redeem their pledges, they were still to have safe conduct and protection.

A grant of safe conduct for the whole body of Jews was signed on the 24th of August, and the time originally fixed for their departure was the 1st of November following. But some of them were not wishful to prolong their stay to so late a period of the year, and it is recorded that all the London Jews moved towards the coast on the 9th of October, preparatory to their embarkation. We may be sure that none would incur the risk of being exposed to the penalty of death, to which those were liable who remained after the appointed time,⁴⁸ and that before the end of October the Exodus would be accomplished.

A few days preceding that on which it is said the greater

⁴⁸ *Torey*, p. 232.

number of the Jews⁴⁹ took their departure, the King's writ⁵⁰ was brought to the Sheriff of Yorkshire, commanding him :—

- 1st. To cause the archam cyrographarum of the Jews of York to be conveyed under safe conduct to Westminster, so that it might be in the Court of Exchequer within fifteen days of Saint Martin.
- 2nd. To make it known to the Christian cyrographers of the same Ark, that they should be then there, carrying with them all obligations and instruments which were in their custody "*extra archam prædictam*," in the names of whatever Christians and Jews they were made.
- 3rd. To inquire diligently in his proper person what houses and tenements the Jews of York, who had lately been commanded to leave the kingdom, possessed in his bailiwick, and the tenure and value of them, and all other particulars relating to such houses and tenements.
- 4th. To cause to be taken into the King's hands all such houses and tenements that they might be the better disposed of for the King's profit, and to make a return thereof to the Exchequer.
- 5th. To make public proclamation that all persons who had any of the goods and chattels of Jews, whether in the name of the depositor or otherwise, should produce the same in the Court of Exchequer at a time specified, that it might be delivered up for the King's use, "*sub pæna vitæ et membrorum*."

The Sheriff of Yorkshire lost no time in obeying the royal mandate. On the 16th of October, inquisition was made by a jury of twelve persons, who found the following parti-

⁴⁹ The number of the Jews who left England under this decree of banishment is stated by one writer to be 15,000 (1 Coke, 2 Inst., p. 508), and by another authority 16,571 (Matt. Westm.).

⁵⁰ Tested the 4th of October, 18th Edw. I.

culars relating to lands and tenements held by the Jews of York :—

- 1st. That Bonamicus the Jew, of York, held in fee one messuage in the street called Conystrette, where he dwelt, of the annual value of 4 marks.
- 2nd. That Cokus or Cok, the son of Aaron, held in fee one messuage in the same street, which was worth 40s. per annum, but all the cellars and the ground of the same towards Conystrette, underneath the house, were held separately of one Lawrence de Bootham, to whom was paid half a mark per annum.
- 3rd. That Jocus the son of Benectus [Benedictus] and his mother Larra, held in fee in the same street a certain messuage worth 5 marks per annum, which they had demised to Agnes le Gra for ten years, of which eight had elapsed at Pentecost last.
- 4th. That the aforesaid Bonamicus held in fee another messuage in Conystrette worth 4 marks and 12s. per annum, which formerly belonged to Jocus of Kent, a Jew, and in which Jocus, the son of the same Bonamicus, lived.
- 5th. That Bonamicus also held in fee a certain messuage in the street called Micklegate, of the annual value of 33s. 4d., in which his son Benectus lived.
- 6th. That Moseus, the son of Bonesay, held in fee a certain messuage in the same street of Micklegate worth 40s. per annum, out of which was payable to the Hospital of St. Leonard 2s. per annum.
- 7th. That Bonamicus had an annual rent of 4s. and 1 lb. of pepper issuing out of a certain house belonging to John Basy, in the street called Feltergayle,⁵¹ in York.

⁵¹ Now called Fetter-lane.

8th. That the community of Jews of York and Lincoln held in common in fee a certain place that was called "Le Jeubyry," where their burial-place was, with a house and 8 sellions of land (which contained 1 acre of land) near the same place. The same place with the house and land adjacent being worth 20s. per annum. The annual payment out of the premises was 11d. to the King for husgable ; and 2s. to the Vicars of the Church of St. Peter of York ; and 1d. to the poor of the Holy Trinity of York.

This Inquisition contains the particulars of the whole of the real property held by the Jews of York within the city, at the time of their expulsion. Its gross annual value was only £16 2s. 8d. As to the amount of the debts which were then owing to them, and the nature of the securities which were deposited in the common ark, we have but scanty information. To that part of the royal mandate by which the Sheriff is required to send the Ark to the Court of Exchequer, he makes this return : "I send to the Treasurer and Barons of the King's Exchequer, by Henry Bartholomew, my clerk, of the county of Nottingham, two Arks of the Jews of York, sealed with the seals of divers Knights of the county of York ; one of which is sealed with the seals of John de Lythegreynes, who was for the time Sheriff of York, and the other is sealed with my seal, at the time when I was Sheriff of the same county ; and I have made it known to Peter de Appleby, and John de Warthehull, John le Espicer, of York, and Thomas de Benyngwith, goldsmith, the Christian chyrographers of the same Arks, that they are to appear before the Treasurer and Barons, at the time appointed by the writ, with the same arks, and all obligations and other instruments which are in their custody *extra archam*, under whatever names of Jews and Christians they be made.

In a schedule appended to the Sheriff's return, the arks are thus described :—

"One ark of old debts, sealed with the seals of the Abbot of York, and John de Lithegreynes, and others.

"Another ark, of new debts, sealed with the seals of John de Regate, and Ivo Derton, knights ; and Gervas de Clifton, sheriff ; and John le Despicer, and Thomas de Benyngborh, cyrographers."

It is impossible to form any just estimate of the value or character of the securities deposited in these coffers. But we gain a little information upon the subject from the details of a curious transaction, recorded in the parliamentary annals of King Edward I.,⁵² in which an archbishop of York acts a somewhat discreditable part. Bonamicus, the York Jew, had lent the prior and convent of Bridlington £300 to be repaid in August, 1292. Before the day of payment arrived, the Jews were banished. In the preceding year, John Romaine, Archbishop of York, was at Paris on his return from a mission to the Court of Rome. There he met with Bonamicus, most probably an old acquaintance, who placed in his hands the security held by the Jew for the prior of Bridlington's debt. Soon after the archbishop's return to his diocese, he made a visitation of the priory of Bridlington, and, among other inquiries, he asked what were the debts owing by the convent. The prior told the prelate, what he well knew already, that they owed £300 to the Jew Bonamicus. The archbishop then said that one of the persons in his train was the attorney or representative of the Jew, and the money must be paid to him on a day specified. With this requirement the prior, from the obedience he owed to his diocesan, promised to comply.

In the meantime the matter came to the knowledge of the king, and the archbishop was summoned before the great council of the realm, to answer the charge of having bought the Jew's security with intent to defraud the king of his property, and maliciously appropriate the same to himself.

In his defence the archbishop stated that when he saw the Jew Bonamicus in Paris, the Jew implored him for God's sake to assist him in recovering the debt owing to him by the prior of Bridlington, but he denied that he made any bargain with the Jew for the purpose of obtaining the money for himself, and that when, upon his visitation of the convent, he found that the debt was owing to Bonamicus, he told the prior and convent that they could not retain the money with a good conscience, and that they ought to pay it that they might save their souls. He averred that he never enjoined them to pay the money to himself, or any other, in the name of the Jew.

The prelate's excuse was not admitted by the council.

⁵² *Rot. Parl.*, vol. i., p. 99^b — 120^b. A.D. 1293. A. R. 21.

He knew (they told him) that all the property of the banished Jews belonged to the king, and instead of making it known to the council, he concealed the debt and withheld it from the king, and contrary to his allegiance he enjoined the prior and convent to save their souls, which was as much as to say that they must pay the Jew.⁵³ For this concealment and transgression the archbishop was adjudged to remain "ad misericordiam Regis." What the tender mercies of the king proved to be is not recorded.

The expulsion of the Jews from England is pronounced by a modern historian to be a "strange, impolitic, and cruel measure;" it was (he observes) "an unstatesmanlike act, unworthy of Edward I." In spite of this sweeping condemnation, I venture to think that reasons may be advanced for regarding it, more correctly, as a wise and judicious stroke of state policy, characteristic of the sagacious and enlightened monarch by whom it was adopted.

Edward had discovered that the Jews, in the special vocation of bankers and money-lenders, had fulfilled their destiny. Their resources were no longer adequate to supply the constantly increasing requirements of the government. The king was not of a temper to stoop to a repetition of the tyrannical and degrading proceedings against them, to which his predecessors had too frequently had recourse. His long sojourn in the more refined and wealthy states of Southern Europe had brought him into acquaintance with a system of financial policy conducted upon more extensive and liberal principles. His own pecuniary necessities had led him into communication with some of those great commercial companies which had been long established and were now flourishing in many of the cities of Italy. An instance has been already adverted to, of his having, in his father's lifetime, had dealings with the Corsinis, Italian bankers and money-lenders; and we have abundant evidence, from documentary sources, of the magnitude and importance of the pecuniary transactions in which he had been engaged with several of the wealthy firms of Florence, Lucca, and Sienna, during many years after his succession to the English throne. It is obvious that the Jews of England were unable to compete with the higher financial skill and more commanding wealth and influence of their foreign rivals. And, perhaps,

⁵³ "Quod tantum valuit quantum si dixisset quod Judæo satisfacerent."

we ought to give credit to the king for being desirous of putting an end to the barbarous and disgraceful scenes that were of too frequent occurrence in the principal towns of his kingdom, whenever the popular fury was excited upon any pretext, however frivolous, against the despised race of Israel. So long as they remained a distinct and separate community, not only without being naturalized, but as branded and oppressed aliens, it would have been a fruitless task to attempt to repress those feelings of intense hatred and abhorrence which the Christian populace cherished against them,—feelings that were engendered and fostered by religious bigotry, which the spirit of the crusades contributed to aggravate, and which were often, by the lawless and unprincipled, made the pretext for gratifying a love of plunder and cruelty.

Boldly, at one stroke, to cut off from the body politic, an excrescence that was the cause of evils which had only served to brutalize his people and encourage them in habits of rapine and spoliation, cannot be justly condemned as an unstatesman-like act, or as a measure unworthy of our English Justinian.⁵⁴

ROBERT DAVIES.

⁵⁴ In the year 1300 Philippe le Bel, following the example of the English monarch, expelled the Jews from France, and confiscated all their property. It is imputed to the French king, that his

avarice prompted him to this step—he wished to enrich himself at the expense of the Jews.—Baunage, *Histoire des Juifs*, vol. vii., p. 582.

ON A WINDOW REPRESENTING THE LIFE AND MIRACLES OF
S. WILLIAM OF YORK, AT THE NORTH END OF THE EASTERN
TRANSEPT, YORK MINSTER.

By JAMES FOWLER, F.S.A.

With Torre's Notes on the same, now for the first time published, and Illustrations from Tracings
of the Original by Mr. R. CANE, formerly Master Mason at the Minster.

It is now nearly thirty years since the late Mr. Charles Winston deplored the absence of a catalogue of the painted glass in the Cathedral and parish Churches of York, and endeavoured to stir up the Archæological Institute to make one.¹ "Time never sleeps," he urged, "and in spite of all our precautions is perpetually destroying the evidences of history committed to so frail a material as glass." Direct and intentional violence may be averted for centuries, and yet come at last. Ignorant repair and "Restoration" may invade even the sacred precinct of a Cathedral. The most careful releading and pious "retention of even every little fragment of original glass,"—a noble and worthy task—cannot ensure everlasting preservation. But "a full and accurate catalogue," besides its present value, making the subjects known to thousands who otherwise would never hear of them, would serve as a handbook for generations, and "remain after the glass itself has perished." "The difficulty," as Mr. Winston remarks, "is in procuring a person competent to the task." He should be a resident at York, with every facility for examining the glass minutely, and with leisure and patience for mastering subjects only capable of being mastered after repeated examination and lengthened study. To adopt the epigram attached by Wilson to the title-page of his transcripts from Hopkinson,² "He should have the industry of a Hercules and the patience of a Socrates, an eye like Argus and a purse like Cræsus." It is therefore perhaps scarcely to be wondered at, that beyond one essay by Mr. Winston himself,³ and another by Mr. Davies,⁴ nothing should have yet been contributed to such a catalogue. The following notes, in so far as they are descriptive, are merely

¹ Proc. Archæolog. Inst. at York, 1846.

² MS. Leeds Library.

³ *Archæolog. Journ.*, vol. xvii., 1860.

⁴ *Herald and Genealogist*, vol. v.

what with such opportunities as I happen to have possessed I have been able to observe, and in so far as they are otherwise, what with such means as I have had at command, and at my leisure, I happen to have been able to add by way of illustration ; and, in one sense, their very imperfection will be a tribute to the greatness of that which has elicited them. For it is the prerogative of a great work of art to appeal to a multitude of different classes of persons, from the highest to the lowest, each of whom may study it fully from his own individual point of view, and yet leave enough for others. It is a perpetually flowing fountain, at which all who can in any degree appreciate it may find refreshment. It is a bond of union by which all those who study it honestly and truly are knit together. And no one will ever welcome more warmly than the present writer, anything from one with more leisure, better opportunities, and greater ability, that shall throw further light on so interesting a subject.

The window we are about to consider, filling almost the entire northern gable of the eastern transept from side to side, and from the groining of the roof above to within a few feet of the floor below, is one of those "walls of glass" so characteristic of the Perpendicular style of building. Five lights rise in four lofty stages, divided from one another by transoms, and terminate in a head of tracery similar to that of the adjacent clerestory windows. The lower part, like the great east window, has a double plane of stonework, the inner or open lights being of the same pattern as the outer, in which the glass is fixed. The window is about seventy-eight feet eight inches in height and sixteen feet in breadth.⁵ The quantity of glass contained in it is, according to measurements and calculations kindly made for me by Mr. Bradley, the present master mason at the Minster, about eight hundred and thirty superficial feet.⁶ The arrangement is a succession of panels, each containing a subject ;—one of the most popular modes of representing a connected history from the time of the Assyrian sculptures, the columns of Trajan and Antonine, and the arches of Titus and Constantine, down to the latest Stations of the Cross or travelling

⁵ The great east window, the largest in England, or probably the world, containing its original glazing, is said to measure seventy-eight feet in height and thirty-three feet in breadth.

⁶ These measurements must be under-

stood as approximative merely, perfect accuracy not being attainable without the erection of scaffolding, which was not practicable. The travelling stage in the nave unfortunately cannot be got into the choir.

"Panorama." The number of panels is one hundred and thirty-five ; one hundred and five of these, of pretty uniform shape and size, being in the body of the window, and thirty, of variable shape and size, in the tracery. The width of the larger compartments appears to be about two feet eight inches and a half throughout, and the height from about two feet six inches to two feet four inches and two feet two inches ; the variation in height, at least to some extent, being explained by panels displaced from their original position having been shortened or lengthened to make them fit the positions they now occupy. The pictures upon the one hundred and thirty-five panels represented, in the perfect state of the window, proceeding from below upwards :—1, the donors, or those in commemoration of whom the window was erected ; 2, scenes from the life of S. William, Patron of York, whose shrine was in the Minster ; 3, miracles wrought after his death, and before the translation of his remains ; 4, events connected with his translation ; 5, miracles ensuing upon his translation ; 6, in the tracery, kings and bishops, guardians and stewards of the church ; 7, at the top, the coronation of the Virgin in heaven, the forerunner of the Church, triumphant and glorified, having overcome the world. Such is the general design ; but eight small openings in the tracery are filled merely with ornaments, while nine compartments in the body of the window are now either entirely lost, or too much shattered to afford any reasonable conjecture as to what originally they may have contained ; and a curious fact remains to be noticed. Amongst the fifty compartments representing miracles of S. William, are several (47, 68, 61, 65, 72, 73, 91 and 92, if not 63, 74, 81, 82, 87 and 90) representing miracles of S. John of Beverley. The detail in one of the compartments of the life (23), also, seems to have been taken from the same source. The most probable explanation seems to be as follows. Until the acquisition of S. William as Patron Saint of York, S. John of Beverley, archbishop of York in the eighth century, held that position. The right of sanctuary enjoyed by Beverley at that early period, and which gave it another ground of precedence, was connected with the repose there of the relics of S. John. On any great emergency, the York clergy were in the habit of going to Beverley, to appeal in person to the clemency of their patron. This is clear, not

to mention other instances, from an account in the *Acta Sanctorum*,⁷ written before the time of S. William, of the clergy of York on one occasion when there was a great drought, having gone to Beverley to implore the assistance of S. John. His feretory was carried in procession; the sky, before cloudless and serene, gradually became wild and overcast; rain fell in torrents to refresh the parched earth; and the monks went back to York full of praises towards and confidence in their glorious confessor. Nothing seems more natural therefore than that, after the death of S. William, and "the beginning of miracles" at his tomb, some at least of those of the earlier saint, with which the people were the more familiar, should have gradually got mixed up with those of the later; and in days when books were few, and instruction chiefly oral, should have become attributed to him. This view is confirmed by the miracle of the healing of the dumb girl (comp. 68) in the acts of S. William of York, being substantially the same as that in the acts of S. John of Beverley, which were written in the early part of the twelfth century, before the death of S. William, and a century and a half before his translation (referred to in the York version) was thought of. Something too must be allowed for the zeal of the monks of York for "the rival merits of their saint," as to the nuns of Whitby contending with the daughters of S. Cuthbert. It was unreasonable that the saint of the metropolitan city should be outdone in miracles by the Saint of Beverley, to say nothing of the natural tendency of later miracles to outshine those that go before. If S. John of Beverley cured a man of blindness (comp. 63)—well, S. William gave back eyes to a man whose eyes had been bodily extracted, and carried off none knew where, by a boy of the name of Hugh (comp. 55). The same kind of thing happened elsewhere continually. Thus, at Bridlington, the miracles related of their S. John were as obviously taken and exaggerated from those of S. William, as some of the latter were from those of S. John of Beverley. Did a stone fall on the head of a man in presence of S. William (comp. 82), with far greater audacity it fell upon the head of S. John of Bridlington himself. Did a man fall from a step-ladder, but recover on the approach of

⁷ 7 Maii, *Vita et Mirac. S. Joan, Bev. auctore Willel. Ketello, Clerico Beverlac. sub fin.*, sec. 11.

S. William (comp. 93—5), he fell from the top of a house, was smashed to pieces, killed, but brought back to life by the intercession of S. John. Did S. William once recover a child that had fallen into the Ouse, and was supposed by the bystanders to be dead (comp. 99), S. John brought back to life several who had been really dead for many hours. Did S. William heal one who had swallowed a harmless frog (comp. 66, 67), S. John restored one who had swallowed a venomous spider, and so on. These examples, which might be greatly multiplied, will serve to shew how earnestly the custodians of the later shrines laboured to acquire a glory for them surpassing, if it might be, that of the earlier. Nevertheless there seems every reason to believe that, with very few exceptions, the later remained, up to the last, poorer and less famous than the earlier. As regards the shrine of S. William, all that I have ever met with has gone to confirm the view of Canon Raine, that it was inferior in importance to the older shrines in the North of England, including that of S. John of Beverley. King Edward I., it is true, contributed more largely to the shrine of S. William than to that of S. John of Beverley, or indeed any other shrine in England, except those of S. Thomas of Canterbury and S. Cuthbert of Durham;⁸ but this is altogether an exceptional case, the King having assisted at the translation of S. William, and thus become specially devoted to him. Contemporary writings certainly give the palm to S. John of Beverley;⁹ and in old Yorkshire wills, which reflect so admirably the life and spirit of the times to which they belong, S. William, if mentioned at all, even in the wills of inhabitants of York, and those specially connected with the Minster, for the most part is made to hold a position subsidiary to that of S. John and other saints. For instance, William Ecop, Rector of Heselton, in the East Riding, and a native of York, leaving money for the support of a pilgrim, or pilgrims, to go in his behalf to eighteen holy places in England, mentions S. William of York only after the Blessed Mary of Doncaster, S. Thomas of Lancaster (at Pontefract), S. Saviour of Newburgh, the blessed Mary of Scarborough, S. Botolph of Hackness, the Crucifix at Thorp-basset, the blessed Mary of Gisborough, S. John of Beverley, and S. John of Bridlington;

⁸ *Wardrobe Book*, *passim*.

Anglia fit celebrior."—Harpfield, *Hist.*

⁹ "Non alius ferè locus hodie in *Angl. Ecclesiast.*, 147.

and this too at a period when the reputation of S. William must have been at about its height.¹⁰ Roger de Wandesford of Tereswell, in the county of Nottingham, left money to support a pilgrim to Beverley and Bridlington—*causâ visitandi gloriosos Confessores ibidem quiescentes, quibus feci solemne votum dum essem graviter in fluctibus maris veratus inter Hiberniam et Norway pene suffocatus*;¹¹ without mentioning S. William at all, though we have a picture of him stilling the winds and waves in this window (comp. 65). Still more singularly, Archbishop Bowet, who made his will about the very time we believe this window to have been executed, begins it : *In nomine Summæ et Individuæ Trinitatis, Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti, beatissimæque Dei genetricis et virginis Mariæ et beatorum Petri et Pauli apostolorum, ac Sanctorum Confessorum Johannis et Wilfridi, necnon tocius celestis curiæ*,¹² without thinking it worth while to mention S. William, whose shrine was in his own Cathedral. Out of Yorkshire S. William would seem to have been still less popular, though there are occasional indications of his being not unknown. At S. Albans, for instance, a wall-painting of an Archbishop was discovered some years ago, with beneath it the inscription—*Scs. Willmus* ; on each of the end flaps of the pall belonging to the Brewers' Company, in London, is the figure of an Archbishop with, beneath, the inscription—*Sanct' wilhelmus* ; and in the Liberate Roll 36 Hen. III., there is a precept of the King dated 12 Dec., from Nottingham, to the Sheriff of Nottingham, to have a "history" of S. William painted before the altar of the king's chapel in the castle. His name, however, never found its way into any except the York calendar, whereas that of S. John of Beverley was in those of York, Sarum, and Hereford ; and that of S. Cuthbert, in those of York, Sarum, Hereford, and Aberdeen.

When perfect, the window which suggests these and so many other interesting points for consideration, must have been a truly grand and magnificent one. They had at Durham, "In the south alley end of the Nine Altars, a good glazed window called Saint Cuthbert's window, the which had in it all the storye, life, and miracles of that holy man Saint Cuthbert, from his birth, of his nativitie and infancie

¹⁰ 6 Sept., 1472. *Test. Ebor.*, iii. 199.

¹² 1421. *Test. Ebor.*, i. 398.

¹¹ 6 Oct., 1400. *Test. Ebor.*, i. 257.

unto the end, and a discourse of his whole life, marvelously fine and curiously sett forth in pictures in fine coloured glass, accordinge as he went in his habitte to his dying day, beinge a most godly and fine storye to behould of that holy man Saint Cuthbert."¹³ So, at Canterbury, they had the life and miracles of S. Thomas ; and, elsewhere, windows of the same kind more or less perfectly preserved, or the records of them, have come down to us. But as the great east window of York always was, and still stands, unrivalled, so it is probable that this was, as it now is, of its kind, undoubtedly, the finest saint's window in this country, if not the world. Its great size, and the period at which it was executed, combined to render it so. The Canterbury windows, and the most famous of those abroad, rich and gorgeous though they may be in manifold effects of colour, are so much smaller (as those at Durham must also have been), and by reason of their comparatively early date so much more intricate and indistinct in composition and rude in figure drawing, that they scarcely can compare with this, which from the first was designed after the idea of one of those immense spaces of painted glass peculiar to England, at a period when, though the art had not arrived at perfection, it was sufficiently advanced to be able to represent the acts of a saint pictorially, with much lightness and delicacy, and with sufficient distinctness to be completely intelligible.

It is the more to be deplored that, from various causes, during the four centuries and a half that it has stood, the window should have been most grievously injured. It is generally said that in the spring of the year 1644, when Sir Thomas Fairfax, commanding the Parliamentary forces, invested York, which had been strongly fortified and held out for the king, though several batteries were erected against the city, the Minster suffered nothing, or next to nothing, the general having made unceasing exertions to prevent damage being done to the Cathedral, and indeed made it death for any soldier to level a gun against it. Mr. Clements R. Markham remarks, in his *Life of Fairfax*, that such an order was beyond his competence, but adds that there is no doubt, notwithstanding, he used all his influence in that direction.¹⁴ Mr. Markham's authority for that view, kindly communicated to me in a

¹³ *Rites of Durham*, Surtees Soc. xv. 3.

¹⁴ Clements R. Markham, C.B., F.S.A.,

&c., &c., *Life of the Great Lord Fairfax*, p. 145.

private letter which he has permitted me to make use of here, is a work entitled *The Antiquities of York City, &c.*, published in 1719; an account of which is given by Mr. Davies in his *Memoir of the York Press*, p. 136. It was not really written by the Antiquary Torre, whose name is on the title-page, but by the booksellers of York—Christopher and Francis Hildyard. In the dedication to Robert Fairfax occurs the following passage:—"That generous and tender regard of the then Lord Fairfax to the preservation of that ancient and most magnificent structure the Cathedral of this city, when he commanded the Parliament army at the siege of it, by making it death to level a gun against it and his saving the city, as well as its cathedral, from being made an heap of rubbish, ought always to be remembered with a due respect." It must be remembered, however, that three separate armies were besieging York, the generals of which had commands independently of each other, and that all that Fairfax could do as regarded his colleagues would be to prefer requests to their lordships to spare public buildings. The general fame of the exertions of Lord Fairfax in this respect, gratefully handed down among the citizens of York, took shape in the book of the Hildyards; and thus to this day we have preserved to us at York the largest collection of ancient painted glass in the kingdom. Nevertheless there is reason to believe that the glass was to some extent injured during the siege in spite of the efforts of Fairfax, and of the worthy citizens themselves, who did all they could to preserve it, and in the twelfth article of the surrender of their city expressly stipulated that neither churches nor other buildings should be defaced. Master Thomas Mace, the author of that most curious and scarce work, *Musick's Monument*, was at York in the year 1644, during "the great and close siege which was then laid to that city and strictly maintained for eleven weeks' space by three very notable and considerable armies," and speaks as an eye-witness. The enemy was very near, he says, and fierce upon them, especially on that side the city where the church (minster) stood, and had planted their great guns mischievously against the church, "with which constantly in *Prayer's time* they would not fail to make their *Hellish disturbance* by shooting against and battering the Church, in so much that sometimes a *Canon Bullet* has come in at the windows and

bounc'd about from *Pillar* to *Pillar* (even like some *Furious Fiend* or *Evil spirit*), backwards and forwards, and all manner of side-ways, as it has happened to meet with *square* or *round Opposition* amongst the *Pillars*, in its *Returns* or *Rebounds*, untill its *Force* has been quite spent." It is, however, notorious that the wilful rage of fanatics is seldom so injurious as ignorant well-meaning repair, to say nothing of deliberate "Restoration." Having escaped better than might have been expected the Scylla of actual violence, the appalling danger of a hasty removal and replacement by persons who in all probability had not the least idea of the nature of the subjects represented, now awaited it. The tradition is that, after the siege, "Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, being a *Yorkshire* man, took down the painted windows, and preserv'd them, least in those fanatick Times they should have been broken by the ungovernable Fury of an enraged Rabble."¹⁵ Certain it is, from Torre's notes, that before his time a vast number of the compartments must have been taken out and replaced in positions quite different from those which they originally occupied; and for two centuries since, until comparatively recently, the window has had to take its chance between the apathetic indifference of the Cathedral authorities on the one hand, and the busy meddlesomeness and ignorant stupidity of the city glaziers on the other. In the memory of persons now living, the boys of the neighbouring Song-school, when on that side the Cathedral, used to amuse themselves at play by throwing stones through the lower compartments; and by the glaziers others, far out of the reach of such delinquents, have been so cruelly mutilated, and still further misplaced, that it has become extremely difficult to conjecture what may have been their original sequence; in some cases, perhaps, impossible.

As regards the original order of the compartments, however, three things seem to be tolerably certain—1. That the subjects must have followed one another in regular order according to the acts of the saint as popularly received. 2. That the coloured backgrounds of the compartments followed one another in each row in the order blue, red, blue, red, blue, as usual in windows of the same style and date. 3. That the order, both as it now is, and as it was in Torre's time, is substantially what it was originally. What the

¹⁵ Gent, *Hist. of York*, 1730, p. 55.

order of the acts of the saint, as popularly received, actually was, however, is not the most easy thing in the world to ascertain; for the mediæval records cannot be relied upon as a rule for giving miracles at all in regular order, these documents being neither consistent in themselves nor with one another, refinements of chronology being eschewed by the mediæval writers, who greatly imitated in their arrangement, as well as mode of relating miracles, the method of Holy Scripture. From ignorance or indifference, or indifferent ignorance on the part of the artist, again, it is not improbable that some miracles which should have been represented prior to the translation were from the first represented after, and *vice versâ*; or from inattention or ignorance on the part of workmen who originally fixed the glass (though this is less likely), some of the subjects may have been placed out of their proper order, as we see not infrequently in the case of sculptures.¹⁶ The absence of any distinction in the representations between the tomb of the saint prior to his translation, and his shrine subsequent to it, is confusing. In the Ralph and Besing miracle, for instance (comp. 55), which is specially mentioned in the brief for the beatification of S. William more than half a century before his translation or the existence of his shrine, the tomb is represented in all essential respects exactly like the shrine in the later miracles; just as, in comp. 36, the wooden bridge over which S. William actually went is not represented, but the later stone bridge, which existed at the time the window was erected. There is another difficulty as regards the coloured backgrounds. It must be admitted that at present the number of red backgrounds is slightly greater than it should be if the theory of succession—blue, red, blue, red, blue be correct. But it is not much to suppose that a few more red than blue backgrounds have accidentally been preserved, amongst others perhaps those of the row 56–60, doubtless once a row of pictures and not blank as now, whilst the blues have been, by like accident, destroyed or tampered with. Several red backgrounds again are obviously made up of fragments, and sug-

¹⁶ Signs of Zodiac on Norman doorways, for instance: "Souvent ces signes, dans nos monuments, ne sont pas à leur place. Étant sculptés sur des morceaux de pierre, avant la pose, clavaux ou assises, les

ouvriers ne suivaient pas toujours l'ordre dans lequel ils devaient être placés, et cet ordre était interverti."—Viollet-le-Duc, *Dict. de l'Archit. Franc. s. v. Zodiaque.*

gest that some at least of them usurp the place of backgrounds originally blue, as in the case of comp. 51 for instance, in which the whole of an originally blue background is replaced by pink insertion ; while comp. 55, on the other hand, the final compartment of that series, has its original blue background ; comp. 80, also, of the series 76-80 ; and comp. 85, of the series 81-85 ; which goes far to prove that the succession of backgrounds must have been as stated above. Difficult as details of this kind may be to determine, however, they are as nothing in comparison with the difficulty of identifying the compartments, throughout, with Torre's meagre, and too often inaccurate descriptions. In the majority of cases it is easy enough, but to accomplish the task satisfactorily for the whole, would scarcely be less difficult than to an astronomer of the sixteenth century to reconcile the errors of the Gregorian calendar. The accompanying diagram, however, in addition to the present order of the subjects, counting from below upwards, represents the order of Torre's time so far as I have been able to determine it, and the original order, so far as I can conjecture it after a laborious, and it is hoped not altogether fruitless, consideration and comparison of the present order with what it seems to have been in Torre's time, and with what would seem to be the requirements of the design, as indicated by the sequence of coloured backgrounds, and of the events of the narrative so far as they can be made out from ancient documents. For the reasons which have been given it is not perfectly satisfactory, but it is, on the whole, the best which under the various difficulties of the case could be arrived at, and it is hoped that it will at least serve to make the window more intelligible than it has hitherto been.

The order of the following description corresponds with the present sequence of the subjects as shown on the diagram. To obtain a connected idea of the design, however, they should be read, not in the order in which they are here given, but in the order of the figures in brackets (O. 1., O. 2., O. 3., &c.). For a companion life of S. William, careful and accurate, and at the same time concise and easily accessible, the reader is referred to Canon Raine's admirable *Fasti Eboracenses*. For further detail, and for the miracles of the saint, the *Acta Sanctorum* of the Bollandists must be consulted. The *Nova Legenda Angliæ* of Capgrave, who

died in 1464, and the life by Harpsfield, in his *Historia Anglicana Ecclesiastica*, are useful in a less degree. The most valuable works, as being in existence at the time the window was executed, and therefore doubtless, directly or indirectly, in the hands of those who designed it, are the early English Chronicles. Those of John of Hexham (1130—1153), of William of Newburgh, Bromton (—1198) and Gervase (1122—1199), are of extreme value as being contemporary, or all but contemporary, with S. William himself; and that of Stubbs is for our purpose almost as valuable, having been written in the fourteenth century, and therefore before this window was designed.¹⁷ But the early York service books are of scarcely less interest and value, supplying as they do the version of the life and miracles of the saint received by the Church, and taught to the people. The Breviary chiefly used for the following notes is the extremely valuable and rare complete *Breviarii scd'm vsum ecclesie Eboracensis* in the Bodleian library, printed at Venice in 1493; but the imperfect MS. York Breviary of the fourteenth century, formerly belonging to the Church of Rudby,¹⁸ in Yorkshire, now in Bishop Cosin's library at Durham, has been found very useful, some of the lections being given in it at greater length than in the former. A set of lections of great interest, particularly in regard to the events of the translation and miracles following thereupon, is printed by the Bollandists from another old York Breviary, in the *Acta Sanctorum*. The Sequences in the York Missal are interesting for the same reasons as the lections of the Breviary, but in a less degree. The substance of both is in great measure taken from the early chronicles already mentioned. In many places, indeed, the lections are copied word for word from the latter. For the loan of a transcript of the Sequences, and of the portion of the *chourche of rudbyys bowke* relating to S. William, I am indebted to Dr. Henderson, of Leeds, under whose learned editorship the York

¹⁷ The edition of the Chronicles principally made use of was Twysden's *Scriptores Decem*, with the edition of William of Newburgh by the Historical Society, 2 vols., 8vo. The Surtees Society's edition of John of Hexham, enriched with valuable notes by Canon Raine, is also important, as containing some additional matter relating to S. William.

¹⁸ Written inside the book in an old hand:—

“ Whoso owne me that dothe loke,
I ame the chourche of rudbyys bowke;
Who so dothe say the contrary
I reporte me to awll the paryshynghy.”

Missal, Manual, and Pontifical have recently been published by the Surtees Society. Lastly, I must mention the exceedingly curious catalogue, containing forty-three miracles of S. William, in the Dodsworth MSS. in the Bodleian Library, copied, as is there stated, *out of a table in the Revestry in the Cathedrall church of York*, where probably it was formerly in constant use for reference. In the following notes I have given the illustrative passages from these various sources, not in the original Latin, but, for convenience, in English; and in an English which has aimed less at purity, elegance, or strict grammatical accuracy than at preserving as far as possible the idiomatic quaintness of the original; which, indeed, in its turn, is not always strictly elegant or grammatical, in some places is not easy either to read or construe, is often manifestly corrupt, and in one or two places unsuitable for production here without paraphrase or abridgment. As references are, however, in all cases given to the original texts, those who are sufficiently interested may readily refer to them; nor will they fail to find in the actual words, and phrases, and sentiments of those early writers an atmosphere, if I may so speak, in which the representations and details of the window will assume a reality, interest, clearness, and beauty not otherwise to be perceived or enjoyed. For the transcript of Torre's notes descriptive of the window, here for the first time printed, I am indebted to Mr. Skaife, of York, to whom we are already under many obligations. I wish I were not compelled to add that there are other sources from which light might possibly have been obtained, such as, for instance, the York Chapter Act books, which I have been obliged, reluctantly, for want of time and opportunity, to leave unexamined. I am not without hope, however, that these sources of information, at present difficult of access, may hereafter, by abler hands, be made available to the public.

P. 1. (O. 6.) Shattered fragments leaded together. Indications of the enriched tester of a bed, of a female figure with long hair sitting up beneath it, and of persons standing. Fragments of blue background.

T. 5. In the 5th light lyes a man habited V^t & a woman habited A., and over them are 2 shin bones in saltire A.¹⁹

Conjectured to have been a scene from the life of William prior to comp. 13.

P. 2. (O. 5.) Much shattered and patched. Fragments of architectural framework of heraldic compartment similar to O. 1, 2, 3, and 4. Portions of a figure in one of the jambs ; and of a dog, below ; with indication of a lady's mantle.

T. 6. In the 5th light is a lady of the Rosses family, kneeling before a crucifix A., upon her gown gu. are 3 water budgetts A.

Daughter (or possibly daughters) of William Lord Roos, 7th Baron of Hamlake. (See note to comp. 9.)

P. 3. (O. 7.) Shattered fragments leaded together. The handle and shaft of a large key held by one hand and received by another hand, in the midst.

T. 4. In the 4th light sits a monk habited A., wth a key in his hand O., before whom stand & kneel certain others, habited A. & B.

Conjectured to have been a scene from the life of William prior to comp. 13.

P. 4. (O. 19.) Very much mutilated and patched. A standing figure in blue, receiving a pallium, extremely clearly represented, from the hand of another, with indication of three other figures standing by.

T. 19. In the 4th light stand 2 monks, one habited B., the other O., supporting a pall A. between them.

Pope Lucius, the successor of Innocent, sending the pallium by his legate Hincmar to William, and thus acknowledging the validity of his consecration.

In the year 1145, Pope Celestine, who had refused William the pallium, died, and was succeeded by Lucius,²⁰ who was favourable to William, and in the year 1146 sent the coveted pallium to England by the Cardinal Bishop Hincmar, his legate.²¹

P. 5. (O. 6.) Shattered fragments leaded together.

¹⁹ The meaning of Torre's contractions is as follows :—

A., *Argent*, or white.

gu., *gules*, or red.

O., *Or*, or yellow.

B., Blue.

Vt., Vert, or green.

Sab., Sable, or black.

Sanguine, or murry pink.

erm., ermine.

For convenience, his order of describing the compartments is here inverted.

²⁰ John of Hexham, col. 273.

²¹ *Ib.*, col. 274.

T. 1. In the bottom row & first light sits a bp. in-throned, robed B. & A. mytered O., his hands closed at his breast. On each side him kneels a man habited gu.; behind the 1st man stand 2 women habited B.; behind the 2^d stands the bp.'s cross-bearer habited sanguine.

Conjectured to have been a scene from the life of S. William prior to comp. 13.

P. 6. (O. 1.) Exceedingly mutilated and patched. Kneeling side by side upon a white cushion on a floor checky black and white, a knight and his lady; the former slightly to the east without moustache or whisker, with arms and legs encased in plate with cup-shaped elbow and knee-pieces, the knee-pieces with trefoil-shaped wings or disks inside to protect the flexure of the joint, hands enclosed in gauntlets of plate with square cuffs and joints for the fingers, feet in long and pointed-toed shoes of jointed plate with spurs, hips girt by a highly enriched horizontal military belt (*balthus*, or *cingulum militare*) with fringe of mail appearing along its lower edge and noble jewel in front, with, attached to the right side, a short dagger or *misericorde*, and upon the chest and shoulders a short sleeveless sur-coat bearing *gules, three water bougets argent*; the latter in a long richly flowing mantle training on the ground behind, bearing *gules, three water bougets argent, impaling Quarterly 1 and 4 quarterly argent, and argent fretty or, over all a bend sable; 2 and 3, barry of six or and azure, a canton ermine*; within an architectural framework of white glass, sparingly enriched with yellow stain. In a jamb on either side is a niche with pedestal below and tabernacle work above, containing a figure, and above are two square-topped, three-fronted canopies, side by side, separated by a smaller little contracted canopy or pinnacle base; fragment or two of lilac and white tapestry background.

T. 7. In the 4th light are kneeling at their devotions a lady wth a coronet on her head O. between 2 knights in armour, wth swords at their sides, on whose sur-coates is the Rosses arms, viz. Gu. 3 water-budgetts A., and on her gown is barry of 6 O. & B. (Constable).

John, eldest son of William, seventh Baron Roos of Ham-lake, as eighth Baron, with Margaret his wife, daughter and heir of Sir Philip le Despencer.

See compartment 9.

The figures in the jambs of this and of the compartments below, which Torre thought an integral part of the subject, are merely enrichments answering to the figures in niches of architectural compositions, and have no reference whatever to the subject of the panel. See *Methley Glass*.²²

P. 7. (O. 3.) Mutilated and patched. Kneeling side by side, two handsome young men, with hair of moderate length, without moustache or whisker, in armour similar to the preceding, the one slightly to the east with a pyriform-handled long sword at his left side, the one slightly to the west with a jewelled chaplet upon his head, and both with sur-coats bearing *gules, three water bougets argent*, within an architectural framework similar to the preceding, but with the figure in the western jamb gone; space between canopy and picture filled by alternate lengths of lilac and white tapestry depending.

T. 9. In the 2^d light is another image of our Lady A., and two other knights in armour, wth swords by their sides, kneeling before it, their surcoates being charged wth their arms thus, viz.

1. 2. Gu. 3 water budgetts A.

William and Thomas, the second and third sons of William, seventh Baron Roos of Hamlake.

See compartment 9.

P. 8. (O. 2.) Kneeling side by side upon a cushion, a knight and his lady, the former slightly to the east, in armour similar to that in comp. 6, with a jewelled chaplet upon his head, a sword at his left side and misericorde at his right, multifoil winged knee-piece, and surcoat bearing *gules, three water bougets argent, with a label of three points of the last for difference*, the latter holding an open book in her hand, and with mantle as in comp. 6, within an architectural framework similar to that of comp. 6; space between canopy and picture filled by alternate lengths of lilac and white tapestry depending.

T. 8. In the 3^d light kneel other 2 knights in armour, wth swords by their sides, the 1st wth a prayer book open in his hand, the 2^d at prayers before an image of our Lady in white rayment, having on their surcoates—Gu. 3 water-budgetts A.

²² *Yorksh. Archaeolog. Journ.*, ii. 242, and Plate.

John, eighth Baron Roos of Hamlake, as eldest son of William, seventh Baron, with Margaret his wife.

See compartment 9.

P. 9. (O. 4.) Kneeling side by side on cushions, two handsome smooth-faced curly-headed youths, in armour similar to that in comp. 6, 7, and 8, with surcoats bearing *gules, three water bougets argent, the one with a mullet, the other with a trefoil for difference*, but without jewels on their belts, long swords, or chaplets, within an architectural framework similar to that of comp. 6; space between canopy and picture filled by lengths of light blue or lilac tapestry depending.

T. 10. In the 4th row and 1st light stands an image of our Lady robed A., crowned O., and two knights in armour, wth swords by their sides, kneel before it, bearing their arms upon their sur-coates thus, viz.

1st Gu. a trefoyle inter 3 water-budgetts A.

2^d Gu. a mullet of 6 poynts inter 3 water-budgetts A.

Robert and Richard, the fourth and fifth sons of William, seventh Baron Roos of Hamlake.

The credit of being the first accurately to make out and attribute to their respective owners the Arms, so much shattered and mutilated, in these compartments (comp. 2, 6, 7, 8, 9), is entirely due to Mr. Armytage, of Kirklees, F.S.A., whose assistance has given a value to my notes which they could not otherwise have possessed. The arms—*Gules, three water bougets argent*—are those of the great Baronial house of Roos, of Hamlake, now Helmsley, in the North Riding of Yorkshire.²³ The arms—*Quarterly argent, and argent fretty or, over all a bend sable*, are for those of the Despensers.²⁴ The arms—*Barry of six or and*

²³ *Sire William de Ros, de goules, a iij bouces de argent.* Roll circ. 1308-14. Sir Harris Nicholas. *Monsire de Ros, Seigneur de Dinlake (Hamlake) port gules, a trois bouges d'argent.* Roll circ. 1337-50, *id.*

²⁴ *Sire Hugh le Despenser quartile de argent e de goules, a une bende de sable, les quarters de goules frette de or.* Roll temp. Edw. II., 1308-14. Nicolas. The substitution of a field argent for gules, in the second and third quarters of the arms as represented in the window, will readily be understood by all who are acquainted with the principles of ancient glass-painting. At the time this window is presumed to have been executed, it was impossible to represent metal charges on coloured fields, or coloured charges on metal fields, except by using separate panes of glass, leaded together, a cumber-

some process for so small a surface of glazing as the quartering of a shield. Accordingly, we frequently find arms represented imperfectly in painted glass. It was not until towards the end of the fifteenth century the difficulty was surmounted by abrading or grinding away the coloured surface of coated glass used for the purpose, so as to leave at pleasure a white pattern (which might afterwards be stained yellow if necessary) on a coloured ground, as in many fine examples at Fairford, for instance. But this process must necessarily have been tedious and expensive, and in quite late heraldry we find it by no means generally adopted. Thus in North Cray Church, Kent, the bearing of the Bowes family—*Argent, three bows in pale gules*, is represented on a piece of white glass of the

azure a canton ermine, or—or, *three bars azure a canton ermine*, are those of Gousell or Goushill.²³ The right of the Despencers to quarter the arms of Goushill, was acquired in the reign of Edward II. by the marriage of Margaret, daughter and heir of Ralph de Goushill with Philip le Despencer; indeed Philip le Despencer, her grandson and heir, bore them as his own solely, without other addition.²⁴ The impalement of the Roos and Despencer arms represents the marriage, between the years 1413 and 1417, of John, eldest son of William, seventh Baron Roos of Hamlake, with Margaret, daughter and heir of Philip le Despencer. The said William, seventh Baron Roos, died 1st September, 1414, at Belvoir, in Lincolnshire, and was buried in the choir of the Priory there,²⁵ having had issue by Margaret, daughter of Sir John Arundel, John, William, Thomas, Robert, Richard, Beatrice, Alice, Margaret, and Elizabeth. The names of the five sons are mentioned in the above order in their father's will,²⁶ and by Banks.²⁷ John, the eldest, was retained in the 4th Henry V. to serve the King in France, after the example of his grandfather, who is believed to have shared the glories of Poitiers, and his great-uncle, who was a leader in the 2nd brigade of the English army at the memorable battle of Cressy, and was afterwards at the siege of Calais with the Black Prince. He was then scarcely eighteen years of age. Two years afterwards he was with the Dukes of Exeter and Clarence at the siege of Roan, where he so gallantly distinguished himself that he had a grant of the Castle of Basqueville, in Normandy, to himself and his heirs male for ever. Continuing in those wars, he was slain at the disastrous battle of Beaugé, with his brother William and many others of the flower of the English nobility.²⁸ His Lordship married, as has been said, Margaret, daughter and heir of Sir Philip Despencer, but died without issue 22d March, 1421, seised in Yorkshire of the Castle and Manor of Helmeslay, and of the Manors of Harome, Hagh, Turnham, Seton, Storthwayt, Melburn, and Linton; and of various properties in the counties of Kent, Bucks, Herts, Essex, Lincoln, Leicester, Northampton, Sussex, Salop, Derby, Notts, Suffolk, and Norfolk; with four shops in Aldgate, London.²⁹ William, the next son, accompanied his brother to France, and died with him there;³⁰ so

sixteenth century, the bows being stained yellow; and at Wilton House, Wilts, the whole of the arms of Philip of Spain, the husband of Queen Mary, are, with the exception of the bearing for Austria, executed in white, yellow, and black (Winston, *Ancient Glass-Painting*, i. 33, where other examples will be found). At present, instead of the tedious and expensive process of abrasion, hydrochloric acid is made use of. This curious substance was not discovered until towards the close of the last century.

²³ *Barry of six or and azure, a canton ermine*, for Gossell or Goushill. *Glover's Ordinary*. Also with three bars instead of barry of six. *Id.* The Gossells were probably of Goxhill (pron. Gous'le) in Lincolnshire, from which Melton Ross is distant 7 miles, where gallows still remain

as memorial of feud between the Tyrwhitts of Kettilby and these Lords Roos of Hamlake. See *Proc. Soc. Ant.* 29 Apr. 1869.

²⁴ *Monsire Philip le Despencer, port barre d'or et d'usur de vj peeces, a une quarter d'ermin.* Roll temp. Edw. III., 1337-1350. Nicolas. *Monsr. Philip Spencer. Barry of s.x, or und azure, a canton ermine.* Roll temp. Rich. II., 1392-97. Willement.

²⁵ *Tim. Ebor.*, i. 358; Dugdale, *Bar.* i. 552.

²⁶ Dated 22 Feb., 1412. *Id.*, 357.

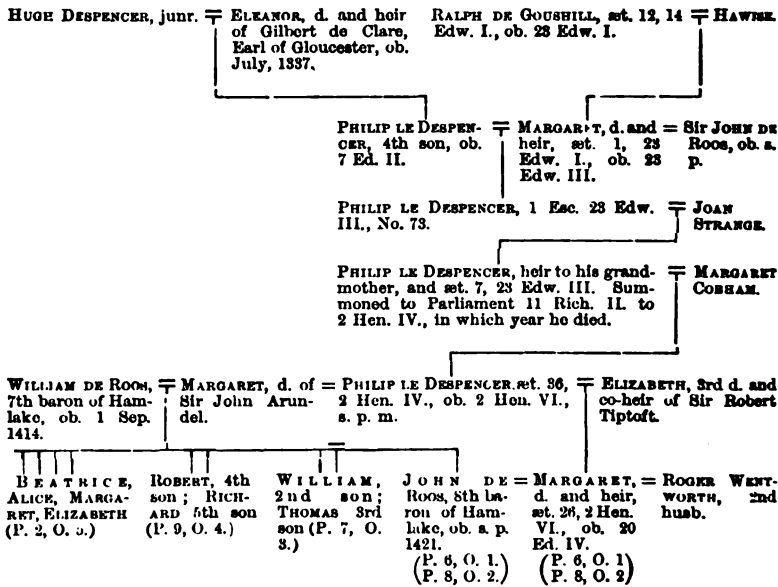
²⁷ *Dormant and Extinct Baronage*, ii. 446.

²⁸ Dugdale, *Bar.* i. 552, where the original documents are cited.

²⁹ *Inq. p. m.* 9 Hen. V.

³⁰ Dugdale, *loc. cit.*

that Thomas, the third son, became heir to his brother's property. John would be twenty-two years of age at the time of his death; William somewhat less; Thomas was "fourteen years and a half and more";³³ and Robert and Richard were proportionately younger still. For these boys Lord Roos, as in duty bound, provided a fitting schoolmaster.³⁴ Of the daughters, Beatrice is said by Burke to have been a nun; Margaret, to have married, 1st, Reginald Lord Grey de Ruthyn, and 2ndly, James, Lord Audley; and Elizabeth, to have married Robert, 6th Lord Morley.³⁵ Dugdale and Banks mention the names of three daughters only, Alice, Margaret, and Elizabeth.³⁶ In their father's will, the names of Elizabeth, and of an illegitimate daughter, Johanna, only are mentioned. To return to Margaret, the wife of John, eighth baron Roos. Her father, Philip le Despencer, died 2 Hen. VI. (1423-4), when she was found his heir, and the wife of Sir Roger Wentworth;³⁷ so that she must have married again within three years of her husband's death. Being also at this time twenty-six years of age, we learn that she would be about a year older than her first husband when they were married.



It will be observed that, in determining the original order in which the heraldic compartments followed one another, and identifying the figures with the sons which they represent, no notice has been taken of marks of

³³ Inq. p. m. cit.

³⁴ Item lego cecoc^l. ad stipendium decem honestorum capellanorum pro anima mea. . . . Item volo quod pueri mei per unum illorum capellanorum, in gramatica magis doctum et scientem, sint eruditi et docti in disciplina et gramatica,

prout inter eos oportet et decet.—*Test. Ebor.*, i. 359.

³⁵ Burke, *Extinct Peerages*, s. v. p. 459.

³⁶ Bar. i. 552, and *Dormant and Extinct Baronage*, ii., 446.

³⁷ Esc. 2 Hen. VI., Col. Top. and Gen. vii. 263.

cadency. The reason is that we have no clue to the meaning of the marks of cadency used by the Roos family at the time this window was erected. In comp. 8, we have a label of three points; in comp. 7 there is no mark at all at present discernible, nor is any mentioned by Torre; though Browne states that, when he examined them, one of the figures had a crescent, and the other an annulet;²⁰ in comp. 9, the figures being much better preserved, one of them has, very distinctly, a mullet, and the other a trefoil, for difference. The label doubtless indicates the eldest son. But the remaining marks of cadency, as described in books, "presumed to have been used since the fourteenth century, are, for the second son, a crescent; the third, a mullet; fourth, a martlet; fifth, an annulet; sixth, fleur-de-lys; seventh, a rose; eighth, a cross moline; ninth, a double quatre-foil."²¹ No mention here, or elsewhere that we know of, or other example, of the trefoil; nor do the rest correspond at all in order with the order as laid down in the books. We can only conclude, therefore, that the present character and order of these minute differences was by no means settled or uniform in all families alike at the date of this window, and in the absence of any definite information on the subject, are justified in arranging the figures in the order of their apparent age, as represented in the window.

P. 10. (O. 10.) A pope in a blue cope and red tippet (crown gone), seated, receiving a letter from one (in mantle much mutilated and patched) kneeling before him; a bishop in mitre with golden crozier, and two ecclesiastics standing by, one of the latter in blue, the other (mutilated) hooded white. Floor chequy yellow and white. Background blue.

T. 16. In the 2^d row and 1st light sits a king, enthroned A., robed B. & gu., crowned O., and another presenting him a book closed A., habited B. behind him stands a bp. habited & mytred A., crosier O., and by him a woman stands in a sanguine & white habit, & behind her a monk habited B., with a crosier O. in his hand.

William, chosen archbishop by the majority of the York Chapter, but objected to by some, appealing to Pope Innocent with letters from Henry, Bishop of Winchester, his uncle, and legate of the Apostolic See.

Now at this time (5 Feb. 1140) the archbishop (Thurstan) of York dying, in order that the widowed church might not long be bereft of its pastor, the canons assembled to choose a successor, and elected the Treasurer (William) for the worth of his character and his singular merits. But though clergy and people together raised hymns of thanksgiving at his election, envy and an ungovernable love of lording it over others induced Osbert, archdeacon of the said church, blinded by the

²⁰ *York Minster*, i. 231.

²¹ *Blanché, Pursuivants of Arms*, 144.

rays of those graces by which he should have been enlightened, to dissent, and sow the seeds of discord amongst the rest, in order that the light of William's virtues might not be put upon a candlestick and set forth to be seen of all men. Wherefore Henry, Bishop of Winchester, his uncle and friend, directed William to appeal to the decision of the Apostolic See.⁴⁰

The above does not give quite all the truth. The enemies of William complained that William, Earl of Albemarle, his kinsman, was present at and influenced the election; and that the Earl intercepted Walter, Archdeacon of London, and the rest who had objected, on their way to the king, and shut them up in his castle of Bytham.⁴¹ The pretty quarrel and trial of strength between the king and his supporters on the one hand, and the offended clergy on the other, was thus well begun. (See comp. 12.)

From the similarity in sound between cross and *croce*, the old English name for the bishop's *crook*, *crocia*, *virga*, *ferula*, *cambutta*, *pedum*, or *baculus*, confusion has arisen; the term *crozier*, or *crosser* (used by Torre, representing the ancient and correct tradition), has been deemed incorrect; and "pastoral staff" has been substituted by Rock, Pugin, and other writers. There is no doubt, however, that *crozier*, representing the old French *crosseron*, old English *croce*, or shepherd's crook, and Latin *crocia*, is the proper term.⁴² Old inventories abound with descriptions of the gorgeous croziers which were in use.⁴³

P. 11. (O. 11.) A pope in a red cope, seated on a golden throne with his feet on a golden footstool, receiving a deputation of four ecclesiastics—two of them in blue, much mutilated and patched, presenting a white letter; three other figures behind, one in blue with a green tippet, one with his head in a red hood, the head and hand of the third alone visible. Floor checky yellow and black. Background blue, richly diapered.

T. 14. In the 4th light sits a pope, enthroned O., robed gu., wth a monk and a nun habited B. lying prostrate & presenting him a charter A.; behind them stand 3 other monks habited gu.

Walter, Archdeacon of London, presenting to Pope Innocent the objections of the Chapter of York against the election of William.

In the year 1142, William, abbat of Rievaulx; Richard, second abbat of Fountains; Cuthbert, prior of Gisburgh; Waltheof, prior of Kirkham; and Robert, the master of the Hospital at York, appeared before Pope Innocent

⁴⁰ In Fest. S. William, lect. ii., iii., *Brer. Eb-r. Radby*; John of Hexham, col. 71; Bromton, col. 1029, 1041; Stubbs, col. 1721.

⁴¹ John of Hexham, col. 271 Bromton, col. 1029, 1041.

⁴² See s. v. *Croce*,—"Croce of a byschope," in the *Prompt. Parv.*, and Mr. Way's learned note.

⁴³ See also Rock, *Church of Our Fathers*, ii. 181, &c.

to support Master Walter, archdeacon of London, who presented the objections of the abbots and priors written against William.⁴⁴

The tippets or short capes of coloured silk or other material, covering the chest and shoulders, with or without hoods attached, lined with fur, either up upon the head, or down loosely about the neck, here and elsewhere in this window, are valuable representations of the mediæval appendage from which the present academical hood is derived. William de Kexby, Precentor of York, bequeathed one of these vestments in his will, 11 Feb. 1409-10. "Magistro Johauni de Kexby unam capam furratam, cum capucio furrato, de blodio."⁴⁵ From the varying cut, colour, and furring of the vestment, the rank of the wearer, in university or church, was readily determined. Thus,

"And in myn herte wondren I bigan
What that he was, til that I understood,
How that his cloke was sowed unto his hood ;
For which whan I long had avysed me,
I demed him som chanoun for to be"⁴⁶

See note to comp. 12.

P. 12. (O. 12.) Seven ecclesiastics—one in red with white hood up, one in blue with blue hood (patched, modern) up, one in pink with white hood down, one in blue with white hood up, one with head alone visible, and one patched, seated in a circle around a vacant space in seats placed at the circumference, in council, deliberating ; one (patched, modern) with his head uncovered and back turned to the observer, reading to the rest from a document. Floor checky black and white. Background red.

T. 13. In the 3^d light sitt sev^{all} monks & nuns about a counting-table telling gold, some habited V^t, some B., others gu.

The cause of William the archbishop elect being heard in the consistory of Pope Innocent.

In those days (1142-3) the cause of William, Elect of York, was heard in the consistory of Pope Innocent, William and his coadjutors appearing together with the Archdeacon of London and the abbats and priors. And the substance of the complaint against William was that he had gone about to obtain election by promises of money ; and that William, Earl of Albemarle, had been present at the election, and had ordered from the mouth of the king that William should be elected.⁴⁷

Besides the academical hoods mentioned in the last note (comp. 11), the ordinary clerical gowns and monastic habits, like those of the common people, were hooded ; and these hoods were, as occasion required,

⁴⁴ John of Hexham, col. 271 ; Stubbs, col. 1721.

⁴⁵ *Text. Ebor.*, iii. 44.

⁴⁶ *Prologue to the Chanounes Yeman*, 16.

⁴⁷ John of Hexham, col. 271, 272.

drawn up over the head, or thrown back upon the shoulders. Rustics, in the winter months, and particularly shepherds, whose occupation required their attendance in the fields by night, are also frequently represented in old MS. Calendars with hooded mantles, doubtless made of some thick and warm material; not unfrequently it would seem of leather, with the shaggy part of the hide turned outwards. A mantle of similar form, but of richer material, was worn by the nobility, and went (like that of the clergy also) under the name of *Capa*, or *Cappa*, in old inventories. Indeed the monastic habits were originally those of the peasantry, by whom hooded cloaks of the ancient form were worn in Lincolnshire during my recollection, and may still be, elsewhere.

P. 13. (O. 9.) A central principal ecclesiastic in red with white hood lined with white fur up, distributing yellow well-filled purses to six other ecclesiastics around,—one in blue with green tippet and white hood down, one in green with blue tippet and white hood down, one with white hood up (body concealed), one with a small portion only of his head visible, one with hood down (body concealed), and one in green with blue tippet and white hood up, who are giving to a peasant in a blue tunic, with yellow hair cut short, kneeling; two purses are already in his hand, and two of the ecclesiastics are reaching over to present him with more; a scribe seated on the floor, writing (portion of angel playing on a stringed instrument, insertion). Background red.

T. 3. In the 3^d light kneel 5 women, one habited gu., the rest A. (Doubtful appropriation, but no other compartment easily found for this, or this easily assigned to any other compartment.)

William, whilst treasurer at York, distributing alms.

Having undertaken to set forth in order the life, virtues, and miracles of the glorious bishop William to the open gaze of posterity by the conveying tongues of letters, I have chosen rather to write with restrained shortness, than to publish abroad the plenitude of my want of skill by an unbridled numerosity of pages. The blessed William then, born of the noble race of Stephen, the illustrious king of England, was renowned for the famous titles of his birth, being son of the most powerful Earl Herbert, a man according to the fleeting honours of this world most noble (having been Chamberlain and Treasurer to Henry I.), and of Emma, the sister of the said king. Now lest, whilst he was a little boy, the baseness of ignobility should stain his tender marrow, he was brought to the feet of a moral pedagogue, and as the laurels of letters flourished, he was imbued with manly discipline. The generous youth delighted in the making of his manners, and for the worthy possession of knowledge his noble hand blushed not to feel the rod, that so by redoubled study his manners might come forward to an example, and his knowledge support doctrine. For these and other the like gifts of divine grace

made Treasurer of York, he preserved the property of the cathedral with a retentive grasp, but caused his own private and proper wealth to be given as assistance into the hands of those who asked, accounting no treasure more precious than the relief of those in need.⁴⁸

On the purses in this compartment, see comp. 48.

P. 14. (O. 14.) An ecclesiastic in surplice and white fur almuze, kneeling before an altar on the dorsal of which are two figures in panels executed on white with yellow stain, with adjacent rings on rods for the attachment of side curtains, and five figures standing round; one in white surplice, one in red with dark blue or black hood up, one in patched drapery, one with head alone visible, and one in blue (patched, modern). Background red.

T. 12. In the 2^d light kneel about an altar seven men & women habited B. & A.

An approved person, as proxy for the Bishop of Durham, taking the oath appointed by Pope Innocent.

William returned from Rome in September, 1143, and following the advice of his uncle, the legate, submitted the Apostolic decision to a Council which was held at Winchester. Every one seemed not to request, but to demand, his consecration; nor appeared there anyone who presumed to murmur against him. William, Bishop of Durham (Dean of York at the time that William was elected), accordingly was summoned, but excused himself from attending, by the urgency of his affairs with the turbulent Comyn. In his place Ralph, Bishop of Orkney; Sanarius, Abbat of St. Mary's, York; and Benedict, Abbat of Whitby, appeared, and took the necessary oath.⁴⁹

The furred almuze (*furred Amyce*, *Amess*, *Almicia*, or *Almutium*, not to be confounded with the Eucharistic Amice, see comp. 16,) represented in this and several other compartments, like the academical vestment already referred to (comp. 11), was a combination of a tippet with a hood which could be raised or lowered at pleasure, the whole lined with fur of a colour and quality indicating the rank of the wearer. In the fifteenth century, however, it was fashioned more as a tippet for the shoulders than as a covering for the head, and there depended in front two long strips of fur, stole-like, below the knees, each about three inches in breadth.⁵⁰ In this window it indicates a canon, and now is represented by the black silk canon's scarf.

The subject of clerical oaths during the middle ages is involved in much obscurity. From a very early period priests claimed immunity from swearing. Charlemagne absolutely laid down *ut nullus sacerdos quicquam cum juramento juret*; and as the separation between clergy and laity increased, greater efforts were made to establish the principle.

⁴⁸ In *Fest. S. William*, lect. i, ii., *Brev. Ebor. Rudby*; Bromton, col. 1028, 1040; Stubbs, col. 1721; William of Newburgh, i. 17.

⁴⁹ John of Hexham, col. 273.

⁵⁰ Rock, *Church of Our Fathers*, ii. 52. Haines, *Sepulchral Brasses*, i. lxxv. In both works much valuable illustration will be found.

The Emperor Henry II., whose devotion to the Church earned for him the honours of canonization, in 1020 released the priesthood from the necessity of taking oaths, but allowed them to take an oath by proxy. The legislation in different parts of Europe was, however, variable and conflicting, and it is not easy to ascertain what the actual practice was in different periods.⁴¹ At certain places and at certain periods even the laity were not obliged to swear. In Athelstan's Charter to Ripon, for instance, printed by Dugdale in the *Monasticon*, it is provided, "Quod homines sint credendi per suum *ya* et per suum *na*." Much more, then, was it considered a degradation to the clergy to be obliged to take an oath, and the greatest efforts were made at least to divest it of the formalities which attended its administration to the laity. Ducange cites many valuable examples from ancient documents of the oath being taken, not touching the book of the Gospels as was the most usual custom, or holy relics, as was common, but either *at* the Altar, *upon* the Altar, or *before* the Altar; and as an illustration of the last quotes from William of Malmesbury,⁴² the account of King Elfred, who, as is stated, was sent to Rome to defend himself by swearing before the Apostolic John—*et hoc fecit coram altare S. Petri*. The oath in this compartment is being taken *coram altare S. Petri Eboracensis*.

P. 15. (O. 17.) Much mutilated. A pope in blue, seated on a throne similar to that in comp. 11., receiving an ecclesiastic in blue (patched), doing obeisance before him. Fragments of five other figures standing around. Background red.

T. 15. In the 5th light sits another pope, enthroned A., robed B., triple-crowned O., and before him kneel 2 monks presenting a charter, the one habited B., the other gu.; behind them stand two other monks & a nun habited V^t and B.

William applying to Pope Celestine for the pallium, and being refused.

Pope Innocent, who had given the decision in accordance with which William was consecrated archbishop, died 24th Sept., 1144, and was succeeded by Celestine, a man of very advanced age,⁴³ who became Pope at Rome on the same day that William was consecrated Archbishop in England. The opponents of William, now headed by S. Bernard, appealed strongly to Celestine against the decision of his predecessor, abusing most severely both William himself and the Bishop of Winchester, who had consecrated him.⁴⁴ The mind of Celestine was thus so prepossessed against William, that when the latter sent suitable letters to the Apostolic See solemnly asking for the pallium, it was denied, and William commanded to appear in his own proper person at the same See, to answer the charges of his adversaries.⁴⁵

⁴¹ Lea, *On the Wager of Law*, 27, note 3.

⁴² *De Gest. Reg. Angl.*, lib. ii. cap. 6.

⁴³ John of Hexham, col. 273.

⁴⁴ *Acta SS. Bol. Junii*, tom. ii. 139,

where an abstract of the letters of S. Bernard will be found.

⁴⁵ William of Newburgh, i. xvii.

P. 16. (O. 15.) An archbishop in alb appalled beneath in front, blue tunic, red chasuble, green collar, and pallium, seated on a square-backed chair between two bishops (much mutilated), who are placing a richly jewelled mitre upon his head; and two ecclesiastics in surplices standing by with books, the one to the left with white furred almuce, the one to the right without, holding a crozier. Background blue.

T. 17. In the 2^d light sits an abp. inthroned, habited gu., pall A., myter O., elevating & expanding both his hands A. A bp. mytred O. stands on each side his throne, and two others in white habits kneel before him, holding a book open A.

William being consecrated by Henry, Bishop of Winchester.

The condition on which Pope Innocent permitted the consecration of William having been complied with, the act was performed by Henry, Bishop of Winchester, 26th Sept., 1144, many rejoicing together at his promotion.⁴⁴

The Pontifical of Archbishop Bainbridge, of York, contains the psalms and prayers sung during the robing of the Archbishop preparatory to consecration, a separate prayer being used for each vestment in order, namely, "stockings, sandals, amice, alb, girdle, stole, tunic, dalmatic, maniple, and chasuble," with a *Benedictio mitræ episcopi*, further on.⁴⁵ The blue colour of the tunic represents the colour of the jacinth and of the serene ether of heaven, indicating heavenly thoughts and conversation, and answering to the robe of the Jewish high priest.⁴⁶ The stiff standing collar, mentioned above, is generally described as the apparel of the amice. It was of varied texture and colour, and resembled in character and design the apparels of the alb and embroidery of the stole, maniple, and chasuble. It was stitched loosely to the amice, so that when the latter was washed it might be removed; and when worn stood up round the back and sides of the neck, forming a beautiful finish to the chasuble. These apparels, often set with jewels, are frequently mentioned in old inventories. Thus, "*Amictus cum parura de rubeo sameto breudato cum imaginibus. Item, Amictus cum parura contexta de nodulis de filo aureo, viridi et rubeo, &c. . . . Item, Parura amictus cum campo de perlis albis parvulis cum floribus et quadrifoliis in medio,*" etc.⁴⁷ The monument of Bishop John de Sheppey (1353-1360) in Rochester Cathedral, probably the most perfect specimen of ancient monumental colouring existing in England, affords a most perfect and exquisitely beautiful model of this part of the episcopal vesture, and engravings of other examples will be found in Haines, *Mon. Brasses*, I. lxix.; Boutell, *Mon. Brasses*; Stothard, *Monumental Effigies*; and Pugin, *Gloss. Ecclesiast. Ornament and Costume*, s. v. *Amice*.

⁴⁴ John of Hexham, col. 273; *Cervase*, col. 1665.

⁴⁵ For further information, see Maskell, *Monumenta Ritualia Eccles. Ang.*, III. cxx. 241.

⁴⁶ Durandus, *Rat. Div. Off.*, lib. iii. *De indumentis*.

⁴⁷ *Inv. S. Paul's Cath. Lond.*

P. 17. (O. 47.) Much mutilated. Behind the white stonework of a gothic hexagonal pedestal, apparently a well, the top being wavy as if to indicate water up to the brim, a figure much mutilated and patched standing and holding a little child, naked, in his arms, with one hand under its neck, and the other under its knees; and a woman on each side looking on in great anxiety, with four other figures, in raiment too patched and mutilated for description. Background red.

T. 2. In the 2^d light stands a bp. robed & mytred A., holding in his arms a child in white; on his right hand stands a woman habited sanguine & O., & 2 men by her, one of them being habited B.; on the other side stand 2 women, one of w^{ch} is habited sanguine, and behind them stands a nobleman, habited B.

A drowned boy restored to life.

A little boy, the son of a certain felt maker, having been drowned in a well, is presented by his parents before the tomb of blessed William. And behold the unspeakable mercy of God; amid deepest sighs he breathes by divine favour, amid lamentations new life is restored to the dead. In the resuscitation of the boy therefore happens a change of divine grace; the weeping and sorrow of the people together ripen into giving of thanks and the praises of God and blessed William.⁶⁰

In the brief for the beatification of S. William it is mentioned, as a thing not to be passed over in silence, that he, in a wonderful manner, raised up three persons who had been dead.⁶¹ Two other instances are represented in compartments 70, and 81, 82.

P. 18. (O. 16.) An archbishop in alb apparelled beneath in front, blue tunicle, red chasuble, embroidered green collar, pallium, and mitre, seated in a square-backed white and gold chair with pinnacles, surrounded by five ecclesiastics, one in a surplice, three more in white with white fur almuces, one mutilated and patched with modern coloured fragments, and a sixth figure, apparently secular, in red with short hair, holding a book.

T. 18. In the 3^d light sits another abp., enthroned O., habited gu., pall A., myter O., and a monk A. kneels before him, holding a book open, and other 2 monks stand on each side his throne, one habited A., the other gu.

Enthronization of William at York.

⁶⁰ *Sixth day within Oct. of Feast*, lect. iii. *Brer. Ebor. Bodl.*

⁶¹ The brief is printed in full (translated) by Browne, *York Minster*, p. 53.

William, now consecrated, went to York, and abode there in peace something less than two years.⁶²

P. 19. (O. 18.) Much mutilated and patched. A pope, naked with the exception of a triple crown upon his head, in bed, with a selour or flat roof, from one corner of which a portion of green curtain hangs down like a bag. Five attendant figures in blue (one of them patched with modern purple), in grief. Background a mass of rectangular fragments of red glass leaded together, manifestly insertion.

T. 21. In the upper row & 1st light a queen crowned O. lyes in a sanguine bed, having a coronet (or myter) gu. held over by 2 white hands. [The queen's crown is the lower portion of the triple crown of the pope; the coronet held over—the upper portion; the white hands are imaginary.]

Pope Celestine, who under the influence of S. Bernard refused the pallium to William, dying.

Before William could obey the summons of Pope Celestine, the latter died, 8th March, 1144.⁶³

It was a matter of pride in the fifteenth century to have the bed furnished as handsomely as possible. It had a *celure*, or *selour*, roof, or canopy, often enlarged so as to extend over the whole bed; a *tester*, back, or head, often adorned with the arms of the possessor, or with some religious or ornamental subject; *costers*, valences, or ornamental cloths for the sides of the bed; and *ridels*, or curtains, attached edge-ways to the tester, or suspended by rings on poles, or fixed to the celure and drawn up by cords. At the two corners of the celure portions of curtain were often left hanging down like bags, as above.⁶⁴

So many allusions to the practice of sleeping in bed entirely naked occur in old writers that it is hardly necessary to refer to special examples. Against the pride of the ladies, it was said that, however gay might be their clothing during the day, they had to lie in bed at night as naked as they were born (*tou schalt to bedde gon so nakid as tou were borin*). In Isumbras, also, a mother and her children escaping from a fire are described "alle als nakede als thay were born."⁶⁵ Some interesting illustrative matter, with engravings from MSS. will be found in Wright, *Domestic Manners and Sentiments during Middle Ages*. On p. 58 there is an engraving of a king and queen in bed, naked, but with crowns to indicate their rank. In another a man is walking across the bedroom floor of a hostelry, entirely naked. On p. 334 is another similar representation; two naked men are getting into bed. On p. 411 is a lady in bed, naked. "Night-shertes" are included in the inventory of apparel belonging to King Henry the Eighth; and

⁶² Gervase, col. 1357.

⁶³ John of Hexham, col. 273.

⁶⁴ See Engravings 256, 267, 269, 260, 261, 262, &c., in Wright, *Domestic Manners, &c.*, where much other valuable in-

formation will be found; and *Dom. Archit. Mid. Ages*, iii. 102.

⁶⁵ Halliwell. *Dict. Arch. and Prov. Words*, s. v. *Naked-Bed*, where other quotations will be found.

at that period their use had probably become general amongst the higher classes.⁶⁶ But the following passage in Molière⁶⁷ seems to show that their use had not become universal, even at a much later period. "Pour moi, mon oncle," says a young lady, "tout ce que j'ai à vous dire, c'est que je trouve le mariage une chose tout à fait choquante. Comment est-ce qu'on peut souffrir la pensée de coucher contre un homme vraiment nu ?" There is also a passage in Le Sage's *Gil Blas* which seems to indicate a prevalence of the same custom. It is where Gil Blas very much surprises Seraphina, the daughter of the Count de Polan, by entering her chamber at midnight whilst she is in bed asleep, and she, from a feeling of delicacy, puts on a thin night-dress which was at the foot of her bed (une robe de chambre legere, qui étoit au pied de son lit), and jumps out (se leve brusquement).⁶⁸ And I am told by those who have been in Spain that the custom still prevails there to a great extent even to the present day. The latest examples cited by Halliwell are, one from a ballad by Tarlton, 1570, and another from Fletcher's Poems.

P. 20. (O. 20.) A man wearing a hood, up, of so dark a colour that it looks almost black, riding on a white horse, and carrying a pallium in his hand loosely upon his knee. Three attendants on horseback, much mutilated and patched. Background blue, richly diapered.

T. 20. In the 5th light rides a cardinall-bp. & 2 monks, &c.

The pallium being carried back to Rome, having been recalled by Pope Eugenius before William could receive it.

Instead of at once bestirring himself to get the pallium from the pope's legate, William negligently delayed meeting him, occupied about other matters of less importance, as his manner was ; for he was nursed in the lap of luxury and wealth, and seldom accustomed to labour, though by the amiability of his innocent mind, and by his liberality, very dear to the people. Now on the 14th of February, in the year 1146, Pope Lucius died, and in his stead Eugenius, a Cistercian abbat, ruled the Apostolic See. At that time also Henry Murdac, formerly a monk of Clairvaux, under S. Bernard, was Abbat of Fountains. The adversaries of William therefore gaining confidence, assembled, and the said Henry with them, presuming much on his favour with the Pope. And being urgent in their appeals against the Archbishop of York, they induced the Pope to recall Hincmar, who accordingly returned to Rome, and took back the pallium with him.⁶⁹

Travelling in the middle ages was almost entirely on horseback, and the breeding of suitable animals for the purpose was a matter of great importance. Even with a good horse, however, such was the condition of the roads, it took Giraldus Cambrensis four days to travel from

⁶⁶ Strutt, *Dress and Habits, &c.*, ii. 335.

⁶⁷ *Les Précieuses ridicules*, 1659, sc. v.

⁶⁸ *Hist. de Gil Blas de Santillane*, ii.

10.

⁶⁹ John of Hexham, col. 274.

Powisland to Haughmond Abbey, near Shrewsbury.⁷⁰ The horses here and elsewhere in this window are represented white, perhaps for purely artistic reasons; but it may be remarked, in passing, that white was the favourite colour, and dapple-gray, bay, and chestnut prized only in a less degree.⁷¹ The cream-colour, like the white, denoted pure Arab breed, and Chaucer's knight, Sir Topaz, talks of "Jennets of Spayne (of Arabian extraction) that be so wyght." The inventory of Archbishop Bowet, 1423, mentions white, grey, and bay horses; the will of Ralph Snaith, 11 March, 1472, "a gray awmbylyng horse"; the inventory of Thos. de Dalby, Archdeacon of Richmond, 21 May, 1400,—"*De xs. rec. pro j equo vocato Bayard de Ripon*;" and that of Thomas Vicars of Strensall, 15 Oct. 1451,—"*De alio equo ambulante, vocato Hoge, xs. De j equo trotante, vocato Varoud, xs. De j alio equo, vocato Bausand, ijs. viijd. De j alio equo, vocato Peard xs.*"⁷²

P. 21. (O. 26.) Much mutilated and patched. An archbishop standing in a white under-robe and blue cope, fastened on the breast by a white morse, with to the right a lady in red, wearing a chaplet of pearls, giving her hand to a gentleman on the left in a red tunic with sleeves narrower at the shoulder than at the wrists, and a yellow belt; the lady attended by two others, one in blue and one in pink, and the gentleman by one other, much patched. Background blue.

T. 11. In the next lower row & 1st light stand 2 monks & a nun habited B., & respecting each other, one of the monks having a rockett down his back gu.; and about them stand 4 more monks & nuns diversly habited.

William acknowledged as a bishop after his deposition.

He was thus acknowledged by the King of Sicily (see comp. 27), and returning to Winchester afterwards was honourably received and splendidly entertained by Henry his consecrator.⁷³

The circlet, fillet, or chaplet of goldsmith's work was commonly worn by both sexes above a certain rank in the fifteenth century, and earlier, as an ornament. Thus, Lady Margery de Aldeburgh, A.D. 1391, bequeaths "*Constanciæ filiæ meæ. . . unum filett de perle Item unum longum filett de perl cum uno treyl rosarum. Item unum alium filett de perle cum quinque foliis.*"⁷⁴ Here is a description of one much more elaborate: "One chaplett of red velvett for the alderman wt one great owche in the fronte of the same of pure gold & in the same be sett iij great p'les wt vj turkaces. Itm vpon the same chaplett viij great owches of pure gold wt viij baleses set in the myddes of eu'y of them & garneshid wt ij chesses of p'le abowte eu'y of them. Itm x owches of silu' & gilte cōteynyng in eu'y of them v stones. Itm xvj other owches but litill ones of p'le & stone. Itm likewise in the hyndermore parte of the seide chaplett one great owche of silu' & gilte garnyshid wt perle in the circute weyng in the whole viij vnces."⁷⁵

⁷⁰ Wright, *op. cit.*, pp. 318, 319, 326.

⁷¹ *Id.*, 318.

⁷² *Test. Ebor.* iii. 80, 203, 15, 120.

⁷³ William of Newburgh, i. 17.

⁷⁴ *Test. Ebor.* i. 150.

⁷⁵ Peacock, *Church Furniture*, 198.

They were not infrequently made of peacocks' feathers, apparently rarer then than now; and the peacocks'-feather-chaplet-makers were a recognized trade in Paris at least as early as the thirteenth century, when one Geneviève la Paonière built a church to her patron saint with the money she made by ministering to the vanity of her sex. (*Doc. inéd. sur l'Hist. de France. Livre des Métiers.*) A far more beautiful, as well as more simple and less costly chaplet was that made of natural flowers, especially roses. The makers of these, again, were a distinct trade in Paris, outside the walls of which flowers and plants were cultivated for the purpose. Numberless allusions to these occur in the writings of the poets, and representations of ladies wearing them occur commonly in MSS., painted glass, sepulchral monuments, &c. When Charles VIII. made his entry into Naples, the ladies of that city placed upon his head such a chaplet, of violets. Fiefs were not infrequently held by a quit-rent of roses, for wreaths. These wreaths of rose-buds continued in use down to a late period, *e.g.* :—

"Let my moyst hair grow rich with perfume sweats,
And tyre my brows with rose-bud coronets."⁷⁶

P. 22. (O. 22.) A pope in a red cope, white fur hood down loosely about his neck, and triple crown, sitting on a golden square-backed throne, receiving a letter from a tonsured ecclesiastic in white, on his knees; and two or three others standing by, one with a white hood down, the rest too mutilated and patched to be identified. Floor, a yellow and white ornamental pattern. Background red.

T. 23. In the 3^d light sits another pope, enthroned O., robed gu., tripple-crowned O., and is adored by a monk, lying prostrate at his feet, habited A.; also two other monks kneel behind the last, one habited B. & gu., the other V & A.

Pope Eugenius having given judgment against William, sending letters to the Chapter of York, instructing them to choose a substitute.

Having given sentence, Eugenius sent letters commanding William, Bishop of Durham, and the Chapter of York, within forty days of the receipt of the letter, to choose a learned, discreet, and religious man in the room of William the archbishop.⁷⁷

P. 23. (O. 28.) An ecclesiastic in a blue cope, patched, and white hood, down, kneeling on greensward in the open air in a vacant space in the midst of a wood, before an altar on the mensa of which a cross is visible at each corner, under

⁷⁶ *Fletcher's Poems*, p. 45. Quoted by Halliwell, *Dict. Arch. and Prov. Words*, s. v. *Tyre*.

⁷⁷ John of Hexham, col. 276.

a canopy—white, through the top of which blue sky appears ; the Holy Ghost in form of a dove, with cruciferous nimbus, descending in yellow rays of glory towards his mouth. Two figures behind, watching ; one with blue shoulders and blue hood, up, the bare head of the other alone visible, the rest of both being concealed by green foliage. Background red ; but consisting of merely a few small panes above the tops of the green leaves.

T. 29. In the 4th light a monk habited B. is kneeling at his devotions before an altar A. in a church O. & A.

William in solitude anointed by the Holy Ghost.

Now Henry, Bishop of Winchester, took to himself the same William, he having returned from Sicily in the year 1148, and earnestly besought that he might minister to him as is only done to an archbishop. During the whole time of his humiliation he uttered neither complaint nor murmur ; but with silent heart his conscious mind preserved its patience. He spake not against his rivals ; yea, rather from those who spake against them turned he away his mind and ear. Not one of his companions applied himself so regularly and diligently to reading ; he was instant at prayer ; for he was altogether changed into another man.⁷⁸ And when Henry, Bishop of Winchester, his uncle, offered him the choice of one of his castles, wishing thus to incline towards him the homage of his dependants, William the man of God rejecting all such things abode in solitude in a certain manor ; desiring rather to work out there repentance for his sins, and to quench the avenging torments of his passions, by the plenteousness of his tears.⁷⁹ For his life was passed in complete silence, his habits were tranquil, lest any vain speech, or intercourse, or idle word, should disturb his eagerness toward things divine. He increased the warmth of his devotion. Now he considered the torments of the damned, now the rewards of the righteous ; and because he constantly brought before his mind how awful it would be in the final winnowing to see God and to lose Him, and to perish in the very sight of his reward, so also he having become so recently a possessor of both the lower and the higher favour walked through heavenly mansions, allowing to nature but few things, and those only what were necessities.⁸⁰ Truly William had patience for his consolation, rising above outward events by uniform constancy, so that of him might be said—*The darkness and light to thee are both alike.*⁸¹

Fraudulenter qui cassatus
At honore presulatus,
Latensque septennio,
Vacat contemplacioni ;
Magnum malum magni boni
Sæpe fit occasio.⁸²

⁷⁸ John of Hexham, col. 276. Bromton, col. 1041. Fest. lect. iv., *Brev. Ebor.*

⁷⁹ Bromton, col. 1041. Fest. lect. iv., *Brev. Ebor.*

⁸⁰ Fest. lect. v., *Brev. Ebor. Rudby. Capgrave, Nor. Leg. Ang.*

⁸¹ Ps. cxxix. 12. Bromton, col. 1041.

⁸² Fest. lect. iv.

⁸³ Quoted by Raine, *Fest. Ebor.*, 231.

<i>Versiculum</i> ...	Juuentutis ianuas claudit cassacio, Sic malum sepius boni fit occasio.
<i>Responsorium.</i>	Vir ad sui gloriam redit inglorius, Ut unguenti vasculum mundetur melius.
<i>Vers.</i>	Lacrimarum lavacro purgatis personis, confertur diuinitus munus unccionis.
<i>Resp.</i>	Laceratum exulem morsibus malignis nec fulx frangit odij, nec fluoris ignis.
<i>Vers.</i>	Probat hanc exilium sicut yemps laurum, in fornace ponitur, purum exit aurum.
<i>Antiphona.</i> ...	Ne Sampsonem dalida faciat perire, hic carnem spiritui cogit obedire.
<i>Ant.</i>	Agrum mentis seminat sementis virtutum, et mundi delicias spernit velud lutum.
<i>Ant.</i>	Ne recentes flosculi virtutum mercescant, hos scripture riuius irrigat ut crescant.
<i>Resp.</i>	Factus iacob vigilat extra supra gregem, nec minus interius regum sapit regem.
<i>Vers.</i>	Marthe ministerio copulat mariam, rachelis amplexibus fruitur post lyam. ⁶⁵

The idea of the divine anointing is taken from Isaiah xi. 1—4, applied in the first instance to our Saviour, and appropriated in a modified sense to the saint. But the figures looking on, in this compartment, seem to imply that the Holy Dove is not used here merely to represent that figurative anointing, but that such an event as is here depicted was believed to have actually occurred. Another explanation is that this subject is borrowed from the Acts of S. John of Beverley, as explained in the Introduction. Of him it is related, that when he chanced to be at York, the Metropolis of his See, he specially loved the Basilica of S. Michael the Archangel, and there celebrated his offices, as it was near his dwelling. And once it happened that whilst secretly engaged in prayer, the Majesty of the Holy Spirit deigned to be visibly seen by him in the likeness of a glowing dove, glittering with flame-like splendour, and to rest the glory of His throne above the head of the praying bishop. The whole church, moreover, was filled with supernatural brightness, at which Sigga, the bishop's deacon, was greatly astonished. He, running to open the door, and peeping in, beheld the glory of the vision. He saw the holy pontiff, with his eyes and hands raised to heaven, his soul poured out like water in the sight of God, and on his head a dove whiter than snow. At the sight of this glowing splendour the deacon was scorched, his face being drawn up in wrinkles; all his skin was made to suffer for his boldness. The Saint of God perceiving that the deacon was a sharer in the vision, although sorry, changed not his kindly disposition, but stretched forth his right hand towards him, when his face was made whole as before. However, he prayed, earnestly besought, and abjured him so long as he remained in this life to tell the vision to no man. Ye have heard how that the Lord Jesus, after the glorious showing forth of his divinity on the Mount to Peter, James and John, as they went down charged them to keep silence until the Son of man should have over-

⁶⁵ *Brev. Ebor. Rudby.* In festo S. Will.

come death by his resurrection, and brought back life again to the dead. See here John, the imitator of his Lord, inducing the witness of his glorification as it were by a reward, and entreating him with prayers, to be silent touching what he had seen, until he should have put off this mortal, and put on the glory of a blessed immortality. Nor can it be doubted that this saint of God was of great purity in the sight of God in heaven, seeing that he was made capable of such glory before men on earth.⁸⁵ But on many others besides S. William and S. John of Beverley the Holy Ghost was believed, in form of a dove, to have actually descended. Upon S. Samson, for instance, bishop of Dol, in Brittany, in honour of whom a church was built at York, which remains to this day; once when ordained sub-deacon in the Cathedral Church at York, and again when ordained priest.⁸⁶ On the day of S. Dunstan's coming to Canterbury, as he was celebrating mass at the altar of the Saviour, suddenly the house was covered with a cloud, and that dove which erst was seen of John in Jordan, again appeared, and hovered over him. And when the sacrifice was completed, it rested upon the tomb of the blessed Odo, which was constructed in the fashion of a pyramid, to the south of the altar.⁸⁷ Still earlier, and of more world-wide fame, at the Baptism of Clovis, at Rheims, a dove, whiter than snow, brought to S. Remi, the consecrating bishop, in her beak, an ampul filled with chrism from heaven; with peculiar significance, like the dove after the deluge, as if to indicate that the inundation of barbarians was staid, and that peace and prosperity should once more reign around.⁸⁸ Whilst S. Gregory of Tours was singing the Psalms in the Cathedral of Trèves on one occasion, with his pupils, a dove descended from the vaulting, and rested on the head of Aredius, the disciple of the bishop Nicet.⁸⁹ S. Gregory the Great on one occasion was seen by his secretary to have a dove hovering about his ear whilst dictating.⁹⁰ A dove used to be frequently seen whispering into the ear of S. Ambrosius Sansedonius, or a ray of light to be sent down from heaven to his mouth, as he preached to the people, and afterwards to be received back again.⁹¹ Of S. Chrysostom it is said that a dove settled upon his head when he received ordination.⁹² S. Cunibert, bishop of Cologne, whilst at mass on one occasion, saw a white dove hovering with its head turned towards him.⁹³ In the year 1084, a snow-white dove with a golden throat hovered around Pope Gregory VII. whilst celebrating mass, and settled upon his shoulder, remaining until the commixtion of the Lord's body and blood in the chalice, when it left his shoulder to hover over the host, and then presently flew back to heaven.⁹⁴ And many other instances from the lives of less illustrious saints might be cited. Enough, however, to illustrate the "divinitus munus unctionis" of S. William. Henceforth he was a new creature. "Virum novum induit cœlitus mutatus." For, as the Golden Legend says, "Quando vas aliquo liquore plenum est, aliud re-

⁸⁵ *Vita S. Joannis Bev. auctore Folcardo Cantuariensi monacho*, Act SS. Boll. Maii ii. 171.

⁸⁶ *Osbernus de Vit. Dunst.* quoted by Prof. Willis, *Archit. Hist. Cant. Cath.*, p. 6.

⁸⁷ *Cahier, Caractéristiques des Saints*, i. 241, author. cited.

⁸⁸ Cited by Didron, *Icon. Chréti.*, trans. 459.

⁸⁹ *Johan. Diacon., Vita S. Greg.*, iv. 69.

⁹⁰ Beyerlinck, *Mag. Theol.*, S. 307.

⁹¹ *Vit. S. Cuniberti*, cap. vii., apud Suriam.

⁹² *Baronii Annal.* ii., A.D. 1084.

cipere non potest . . . sic sancti . . . qui habent plenitudinem gratiae, non possunt recipere aliam liquorem dilectionis terrenae." ²²

P. 24. (O. 24.) An archbishop, in flowing blue vestment and pallium, seated on a chair of state with a book, surrounded by four ecclesiastics in white, each holding a book either closed or open, and part of a fifth figure in blue with a green tippet.

T. 25. In the 5th light sits an abp. enthroned, habited B., pall A., myter A., and a white monk sits before him wth a book open; behind the abp. sitt 2 other monks, one habited B., the other A.

Murdac enthroned at York in the room of William.

In accordance with the Apostolic decree, the higher clergy of the church and province of York met at the church of S. Martin on the outskirts of Richmond, on the Vigil of S. James the Apostle, to elect an archbishop in the room of William. The greater part of the Chapter chose S. Hilary of Chichester; the other part, Henry Murdac, Abbat of Fountains. And Pope Eugenius aforesaid, when the two elections were presented to him the following winter at Auxerre, confirmed the election of the said Henry Murdac, and consecrated him with his own hands." See note to comp. 40.

P. 25. (O. 23.) Much mutilated and patched. To the right a cardinal with a red hat and depending white strings, and an ecclesiastic in blue holding an open book (head and shoulders gone), and to the left two figures apparently in blue, but too patched and mutilated to identify, with an indication of there having been a central figure, seated, with feet on a golden footstool. (Present pallium and ruby glass, insertion). Background blue.

T. 22. In the 2^d light sits a pope introned, robed gu., pall A., tripple-crowned O.; on each side him stand 2 cardinals, habited B., copes gu., touching the pope's crown wth their hands.

The sentence of the deposition of William being read by Alberic the cardinal, bishop of Ostia.

In the end, at the council of Rheims, William was condemned and deposed, Alberic, Bishop of Ostia, pronouncing sentence, and saying—We adjudge by Apostolic authority that William, Archbishop of York, be deposed from the Pontificate, seeing that Stephen, King of England, nominated him before canonical election." ²⁴ Now the chief pastor Eugenius,

²² Leg. Aur., lxxiii, *De Spir. Sanct.*

²³ Gervasius, col. 1363; Bromton, col.

1029, 1041; Stubbs, col. 1721. Fest. S.

Will. lect. iii., *Brev. Ebor.*

²⁴ Gervase, col. 1363.

a guileless professor of the holiness of the venerable Cistercian order, not of any personal fault, but of his own free will, which had the force of law, annulled the election of William, and out of zeal as is presumed for the pious Henry Murdac, a most distinguished professor of the same order, ordained him pastor of the church of York.²⁴

On the cardinal's hat, see note to comp. 18 of the east window of Methley Church.²⁵

Canopies.—A row of low-crowned canopies executed in white stain, filling in the heads of the lowest tier of lights, between the transom and the tops of the five last compartments; each consisting of three gables with little or no projection, crocketed and finialled very plainly and simply, with a trefoiled arch beneath each and pinnacles at the angles of junction, with on each side two sides of a projecting square-topped tower, without gable crocketing or pinnacles, but with a trefoiled arch beneath each; spire backgrounds much mutilated, but apparently as follows:—

Blue Red Blue Red Blue.

Judging from the spire backgrounds in the tracery, and in one of the rows above, which seems not to have been disturbed, they should be as follows:—

Red Blue Red Blue Red,

the colours of the spire backgrounds and of the backgrounds of the compartments beneath being counterchanged.

P. 26. (O. 25.) Much mutilated. The hand of the principal figure, an ecclesiastic in blue, being taken by the hand of another, but the figure to which it belongs much mutilated and very indistinct. There is an indication of an ecclesiastic and three attendants, one of them in red, being received by a secular figure in pink mantle with yellow fur collar and green cap, and two attendants; head of cross-staff held by one of them, behind. Background blue.

T. 26. In the next under row & 1st light are two monks kneeling supporting a golden cross-staff, the one habited B., the other gu.; and 3 other monks stand about them, whereoff one is habited gu., the other 2 gu. & B.

William received and hospitably entertained by Robert, chancellor of the king of Sicily.

William, seeing that he could do nothing at Rome, where all things were against him, departing, betook himself to his kinsman Roger, king of Sicily, and abode many days with Robert, the chancellor of the said king,

²⁴ Feat. S. Will lect. iii., *Brev. Ebor.*

²⁵ *Yorks. Archæol. Journ.*, ii. 240.

who was an Englishman—indeed had come from Salisbury. The same Robert was the most powerful of the king's friends, wealthy, and endowed with great honours.⁹⁷

P. 27. (O. 27.) A king, in blue cope and ermine tippet, with crown and sceptre, standing, and receiving one (much mutilated) doing obeisance on his knees; a bishop (whose head only appears behind) standing by his side, and four other figures,—one in a short green tunic with light green hosen and a chaplet of jewels, one with a peaked blue cap and jewel in front of it, and two others with heads only visible, behind. Background red.

T. 35. In the 5th light stands an ancient king robed B., mantled erm., and by his side a bp. habited V^t, also a monk kneels before the king, habited gu., mantle O., hood B., presenting a book or charter to the king; behind the king stand 2 noblemen, one habited V^t, his cap checky; and behind the bp. stand 2 monks, 1st habited A. & B., the other gu., cap A.

Robert the Chancellor introducing William to the King of Sicily.

"If we would understand these things, we must try to realize that our forefathers were men of turbulent nature, free living, free spoken, strong in their joys and their sorrows, their loves and their hatreds; men who, although they believed the Church to be the kingdom of God upon earth, and the sacraments the channels of his grace, would yet manfully wrestle with any one—priest or bishop, cardinal or pope—who should infringe their recorded or traditional liberties, or violate their sense of right."⁹⁸ Accordingly, though William was deposed and banished, he was not without friends—without those who truly believing him to be still the rightful archbishop, were not afraid to own him as such. In England, certain knights, in order to show their belief in him, set fire to one of the possessions of Fountains Abbey, where Murdac his rival had come. But this only enraged his enemies the more against him (John of Hexham, col. 275); and, in order to be at peace, he left Sicily, and the neighbouring court of Rome, for England.

P. 28. (O. 31.) A bishop, naked with the exception of a mitre upon his head, lying in bed, across the coverlet of which a pallium is laid, with his eyes closed, and head resting stiffly on a long plain white bolster; the head of an ecclesiastic appearing behind with some of the fingers of his left hand to one of his eyes, and his right hand supporting

⁹⁷ John of Hexham, col. 275.

⁹⁸ Peacock, *Church Furniture*, Introd., 16.

his chin, weeping. In a second bed, adjacent, the footboard of the two indeed being continuous, a pope also naked, with eyes closed, and triple crown fallen off the right side of his head on to the pillow; the head of an ecclesiastic appearing at his side, and at the foot of the beds an indication of figures, mutilated. Background blue.

T. 28. In the 3^d light there lyes a king in bed covered V^t & B., and sev^{all} white monks & one nun stand about him, she being habited sanguine.

The death of Pope Eugenius and Archbishop Murdac both on one day.

After these things (1153) death, by the sentence of whom rich and poor are judged alike, in one and the same day violently bereft of life Eugenius the Pope, and Henry his Archbishop.⁹⁹

Eugenius died at Tibur, 8 July, and Murdac at Beverley, 14 Oct. 1153. It is suggested in the *Acta Sanctorum*, in explanation of the error above, that the burial of the Pope at S. Peter's may have been delayed until the latter day, that day then entered in the Necrology of the Basilica being afterwards too hastily taken to be the day of death.¹⁰⁰

P. 29. (O. 29.) Two young ladies (mutilated) with beautiful faces, executed with great delicacy, riding closely together on white palfreys, with their heads under one rich lace veil, approaching a building with a bell on the top of the west gable and a cross on the east, from an arched opening on the south side of which part of the figure of an ecclesiastic in red, with a white hood, down, emerges. The ecclesiastic kneels with hands folded and face marked by much anxiety raised in prayer and fixed intently gazing upwards, whilst one of the young ladies, her eyes fixed intently upon him, approaches, the face of the other being half turned round towards her companion, and appearing to be speaking. A number of small low trees, green, orange, pink, and red, in the foreground, and three larger ones behind, appearing over the top of the building. Background red.

T. 27. In the 2^d light is the representation of a church A., & a monk therein habited gu., and sev^{all} persons riding to it.

William in solitude in a state of spiritual abstraction, visited by strangers.

⁹⁹ Bromton, col. 1041. Fest. S. Will.
lect. v., *Brev. Ebor. Bodl.*; vi., *Rudby*.

¹⁰⁰ Act. SS. Coll. Junii ii. 14.

And if at any time the nobility or distinction of his visitors brought crowds to him, he being himself unwilling to be seen, he was so courteous that he even appeared to the eyes glad and full of all reverence and grace, so that the very sight indicated something angelic, that was not in the nature of another man. Wherefore the Consoler of all good men was not wanting for his consolation. For the more he withdrew himself from human cares, the nearer to him was He who to His own is an ever present and unfailing helper.¹⁰¹

Vers. Probat hunc exilium sicut yemps laurum,
in fornace ponitur, purum exit aurum.

Ant. Ne Samsonem Dalida faciat perire,
hic carnem spiritui cogit obedire.¹⁰²

Immaculate chastity in solitude was the crucial test of sanctity. The monastery or the desert did not necessarily shut out all temptation. S. Jerome felt the sting of concupiscence even alone in the midst of the desert;¹⁰³ and pagan governors tempted with women the early Christians in their prisons, after they had borne triumphantly the most cruel tortures.¹⁰⁴

A white *palfrey* was the horse for a lady in the middle ages (see comp. 20), with a tender mouth, easily held by the rein (*par le frein*).

P. 30. (O. 21.) A pope in a blue cope and white fur hood down loosely about his neck, seated on a throne, with a cardinal in red hat and depending strings (much mutilated and patched) and bishop with mitre and white hood down loosely about the neck on either side, the bishop to the left with, further, a red tippet, and the one to the right with a green tippet, and on lower seats to the front four figures—much mutilated and patched; one in blue with a white girdle, one in green with a white girdle, reading writings, and two others patched. Background blue.

T. 24. In the 4th light sits another pope, enthroned A., robed B., tripple-crowned O., wth a cardinall sitting on one side, habited sanguine, cap gu., and a bp. on the other habited v^t & gu.

Pope Eugenius presiding over the Council of Rheims.

The year following that in which Hincmar took back the pallium to Rome (1146), William went in quest of it himself to Eugenius. But it was now too late. His enemies were already on the spot, headed by S. Bernard.¹⁰⁵ His influence over Eugenius was very great, and for some time the Pope was in a strait whether to yield to the opinion of his car-

¹⁰¹ Fest. S. Will. lect. v., *Brev. Ebor. Rudby*. Capgrave, *Nov. Leg. Anglie*.

¹⁰² *Brev. Ebor. Rudby*. In festo S. Will.

¹⁰³ *Leg. Aur.*, cap. cxlvi.

¹⁰⁴ See, in particular, the lives of S.

Paul the first hermit and preceptor of S. Anthony, S. Christopher, S. Jomphat, &c., *Leg. Aur.*, xv., c., clxxx., &c.

¹⁰⁵ For an abstract of the letters and arguments of S. Bernard on this occasion, see Act. SS. Boll. Junii ii, 140.

dinals, who favoured William, or of Bernard, who was so strongly against him. At length, however, Eugenius decided to deprive William, until William, bishop of Durham, formerly dean of York, should put an end to the controversy by himself taking the oath which had been ordered by Pope Innocent;¹⁰⁶ and accordingly next year (1147) summoned a great Council at Rheims, at which were present, besides foreign prelates and ecclesiastics, the clergy of the church of York, and Henry Murdac, then Abbat of Fountains, who accused William, Archbishop of York, urging that he was neither canonically elected nor legitimately consecrated, but thrust in by royal favour.¹⁰⁷

P. 31. (O. 30.) A bishop, mitred, in blue, with a pink tippet lined with white fur and white fur hood down loosely about the neck, attended by two persons, one in a ruby tunic with white belt and the head of the other alone visible from behind, presenting a pair of rowel spurs to an ecclesiastic in blue with a blue tippet lined with white fur and white fur hood down loosely about the neck, attended by two persons, one in red, the head of the other alone visible from behind. Ground covered with rich green herbage; one plant with large spreading spatulate leaves like a daisy. Background blue.

T. 30. In the 5th light stands an abbat habited B., hooded gu., mytred O., delivering a bunch of keyes O. to a monk standing by habited B., and 4 monks habited gu. stand behind the s^d abbat.

The deaths of Pope Eugenius and Archbishop Murdac revealed to William by a sign.

And it came to pass in those days that some spurs of wonderful workmanship were sent to the venerable bishop of Winchester, and that he took them to the elect of God, and when he saw them he spake these words and said—Now, father, it is revealed to us that in these days the Lord hath called me to ride. And he expounded in order unto the bishop how that the aforesaid fathers on one and the same day had died in different lands, adding, that that cardinal who had been the principal defender of his election, raised with happy auspices, had ascended the height of Apostolic dignity under the name of Anastasius.¹⁰⁸

P. 32. (O. 34.) A sailing ship bearing an archbishop, in blue, with pallium, mitre, and cross-staff, seated; a mariner in a green hood at the rudder, and one in a green jerkin buttoned in front of chest and brown cap, pulling a cord at the other end of the ship. Background red.

¹⁰⁶ John of Hexham, col. 275.

¹⁰⁸ Fest. S. Will., lect. vi., *Brev. Ebor.*

¹⁰⁷ Gervase, col. 1363; Stubbs, col. *Rudby*. Capgrave, *Nor. Leg. Anglie*.
1666.

T. 33. In the 3^d light an abp. habited B., pall A., sits at the helm of a ship wth one mast O. & A. Also 2 sea-men sitt at the stern, habited v^t, caps O.

William, restored in full by Pope Anastasius, returning to England by sea.

William, having received the grace of papal benediction, returned to England; and at every place he passed, gloriously shone in the holiness, purity, and glory of divine conversation.¹⁰⁹

P. 33. (O. 33.) A pope in a red cope, with an indication of a blue under-robe, on a throne—white and gold, presenting a pallium to a tonsured ecclesiastic in blue with white fur hood down loosely about the neck, on his knees, his left hand extended to receive the pallium, and his right raised reverentially, with his eyes fixed on the pontiff. Three other persons, one in green and red (patched), and two others (patched), the latter only partly visible, attending. Background blue.

T. 32. In the 2^d light sits a king enthroned, robed gu., crowned O.; and 2 others kneel before him, one habited gu. & B., the other V^t & gu.

William receiving the pallium from Pope Anastasius.

Three venerable men, most dearly attached in their lives, in their death were scarcely divided; Eugenius the Roman pope, Bernard abbat of Clairvaux, Henry archbishop of York. The first of these deposed William, the second besought that he might be deposed, and the third succeeded him. But when he came to the Apostolic See he accused not the judgment, and humbly besought mercy. And behold, a certain messenger who had come to declare the death of the Archbishop of York, greatly aided his modest prayers. The greater and better part of the Canons of York had chosen him again. Hugh de Puiset, who was then at Rome on the business of his own consecration, honourably received him, and anxiously promoted his cause before the Roman court. The Cardinals, especially Gregory, a cardinal of great genius, a man of eloquence and profound wisdom, and of a mind truly Roman, commiserated his misfortunes. And eventually the Pope, grieving over the sentence of his predecessor, granted him the pallium.¹¹⁰

P. 34. (O. 32.) Three figures—one in blue with a red hood up, one in blue with a hood (green insertion) up, and one, behind, in a blue hood up, riding on white horses; the ground spread with green herbage, and amongst it many

¹⁰⁹ Bromton, col. 1029. Fest. S. Will, lect. vii., *Brer. Ebor.*

¹¹⁰ Bromton, col. 1029; Stubbs, col.

1721; Diceto, col. 528; Gervase, col. 1375; William of Newburgh, i. 26; Fest. S. Will, lect. vii., *Brer. Ebor.*

bright little stalked flowers. Background red, patched with modern orange, blue, and purple.

T. 31. In the next lower row & in the first light rides a cardinall, habited gu., on a white horse, wth his cross-bearer before him mounted on another white horse, he being habited B., his cross O.

William setting forth to Rome to seek the restoration of his see and dignities.

And William, formerly of York, having conceived the hope of restoration, set off quickly for the holy see,¹¹¹ and arrived at the Roman court on the third day following the Vigil of S. Thomas the Apostle (23 Dec. 1153).¹¹²

P. 35. (O. 35.) An archbishop in red, with red tippet lined with white fur and white fur hood down loosely about his neck, with mitre and pallium, being received in state by an ecclesiastic in blue (mutilated), with white hood down; one behind the mitred figure in green (patched), with a book in his hand. Background blue.

T. 34. In the 4th light stands an abp. habited gu., pall and myter A., delivering a book to a monk standing by him habited B. Three other monks stand behind the last, whereof one is habited sanguine; also another monk behind the abp., habited B., mantled V^t, holding a book in his hand A.

William, restored in full, received by his uncle at Winchester.

And William arrived at Winchester on the holy Sabbath (Easter Eve, 3 April, 1154), and there celebrated the Easter solemnities.¹¹³ Thence he went to Canterbury, where Roger, Archdeacon of the Church of Canterbury, greatly moved with the desire of seeing and speaking with him, devoutly visited him in reverence for his sanctity. And when, after the desired interview, Roger returned to his own place, William the Archbishop made this remark to those standing by—That man will be my successor. And this came to pass.¹¹⁴

P. 36. (O. 38.) Two figures in white fur hoods up, the one holding two fingers in benediction and looking back, the other holding a cross-staff, riding on white horses over a bridge of stone of three semicircular arches, the central one

¹¹¹ William of Newburgh, i. 26.

¹¹⁴ Stubbs, col. 1722.

¹¹² Gervase, col. 1375.

¹¹³ Gervase, col. 1376; William of Newburgh, i. 17.

the widest and highest, with a bartizan over each pier between. Behind, two figures, one in green with a red tippet and a staff in his hand, the head of the other in a red cap alone visible. (The bridge not apparently breaking, as in comp. 88.)

T. 38. In the 3^d light is a young lady abbess, habited gu., riding on a white horse, before whom rides her cross-bearer habited V^t (cross O.), and behind her stand 2 men, both capped gu., & one habited V^t.

William passing over the Ouse bridge at York.

And when he entered the city of York, and the unbridled multitude of sons were trying to pass over after the Father, the fastening of the wooden bridge was broken by the weight of people, and horrible to see and dreadful to relate, innumerable multitudes of men, women, and children fell in disorder into the rapid stream of the river where it was deepest, the men mingled with harnessed horses. The prelate, turning towards those who were immersed in the water, made the sign of the cross over the people everywhere overwhelmed by the waves, and dissolved in tears, offered prayers to God asking deliverance, that the tempest of the waters might not drown them, nor the deep swallow them up, nor the gladness of men praising God be turned into deadly hurt. Scarcely was the prayer finished when the devouring wave, stilled by divine command, yielded itself like a bridge to convey all who had fallen in, to solid ground. For desperate ruin had no strength after the virtue of prayer penetrated the heavens.

Resp. Plebs occurrit presuli, cadit pons dissutus
sed a casu populus ruens redit tutus.

Vera. Unda ruens populum recipit ruentem
et se pontem efficit per omnipotentem.¹¹⁶

Stubbs, mentioning the men, women, and children who fell into the water, emphasizes specially the children (*præcipue infantium*). Bromton says: Not one soul was lost; and Dodsworth MS. enters into still more minute detail:—"Not one was hurt," it says, "except that the leg of a certain horse was broken."

Eboracum presul redit,
Pontis casus nullum ledit
De tot turbæ millibus.¹¹⁶

This miracle of the broken bridge is the most celebrated of all the miracles of S. William, and is claimed as having occurred, not at York, but at Pontefract, or rather at Ferrybridge near Pontefract, by Thomas of Castleford a Benedictine monk of Pontefract in the fourteenth century, and after him by Polydore Vergil, Leland, Camden, and other writers.

¹¹⁶ Fest. S. Will. lect. viii., *Brev. Ebor.*
Rudby. Bromton, col. 1029, 1041;
Stubbs, col. 1722; Dodsworth MS., 38.

¹¹⁶ Quoted by Raine, *Fest. Ebor.*, i.
231.

This has seemed to have been strengthened by the fact that the name of the place is known to have been changed from Tateshall, or Kyrkebi, to Pontefract in the course of the twelfth century. All later testimony, however, is worthless compared with that of Bromton, supported as it is by Stubbs, by the Breviary and Hymns of the Cathedral at York, by the fact of a chapel of S. William having been erected on the bridge at York to commemorate the event,¹¹⁷ and by the more unbroken tradition. Besides, had the miracle occurred on the bridge over the Aire, we should rather have expected Ferrybridge to take the name of *Pons fractus*, than Tateshall, or Kyrkebi. And, as a matter of fact, the modern name is found in chronicles and writings anterior in date to the year 1154, in which the miracle is said to have occurred. Thus Richard of Hexham, whose chronicle extends only to the year 1139; John of Hexham, whose chronicle extends only up to, not later than, the year 1154; and Ordericus Vitalis, whose chronicle extends only to the year 1141, each speak of the place as *Pons fractus*. In a charter at Nostell also, of date between 1121 and 1131, the same name is used. The Pontefract locality for the miracle probably arose from the anxiety of the monks there to claim a share in the glory of S. William, by a *post hoc* appropriation suggested by the name of the place derived, before ever the miracle was performed, from some other circumstance.

The old wooden bridges were constantly getting out of repair, and often broke under far less weight and pressure than that of the crowd that followed S. William. Their repair was frequently undertaken as a work of Christian charity. The S. Christopher legend foreshadows the not unusual habit of hermits stationing themselves in the neighbourhood in order to obtain money for such purposes. Richard, Lord Scrope of Bolton, 2 Aug.; 1400, leaves "ad emendacionem pontis de Wenslaw xlii."¹¹⁸ And Nicholas Blakburn, citizen and merchant of York, 1432, wills as follows: "I wyll and I ordeyne yat if any chaunce or defeaute in werkemanshypp fall, als God forebede yat it do, unto Catryk brigg, Kexby brigg, Thornton brigg, or Skete brygg, wyth in iiij^{or} zere next folowyng my decesse myne executours to serve yaim yat be reconysaunce er bon for to uphold yaim; and if yai yat er bon do yair myght and power gudely to amend y^e defawtes in y^e said brigges, als ferr als yair gudes wyll extendd rather or y^e brygges forsayde falle, I wyll y^e myne executours of Goddes gudes and myne by yair beste avyse and counseyll, y^e yai kan gett unto yaim, mende y^e fautes, y^e y^e brigges befor sayde go noght doune on none wyse, wyth Goddes grace."¹¹⁹ Not unfrequently they were washed away altogether in heavy floods, or at least seriously injured; and in the year 1299, 45s. 2d. had to be paid for repairs to the bridge at Darlington, before it was safe for the waggons containing the King's treasure to pass over.¹²⁰ The Ripon wills contain constant mention of the four or five bridges there and thereabout, over the Yore, the Skell, and the Laver.

P. 37. (O. 37.) Two figures riding on horseback, one of

¹¹⁷ Will of Nich. Blakburn, 20 Feb., 1431-2. *Test. Ebor.*, ii. 18. "Capella Sancti Willelmi super Pontem Use in Eboraco." The chapel existed until quite recently, and is included in most of the collections of York views.

¹¹⁸ *Test. Ebor.*, i. 274.

¹¹⁹ *Id.*, ii. 20.

¹²⁰ *Wardrobe Book of Edward I.*, 26.

them in red patched with blue insertion, with attendants, being received at a city gateway the portcullis of which is raised, by officials, the most prominent figure in red. Green herbage on the ground beneath. Background red.

T. 37. In the 2^d light are sev^{all} persons on horseback, crossing the way, habited gu. & B.

William received at the gate of the City of York.

Notwithstanding opposition he went forward, solemnly met and received with vast applause both by clergy and people.¹²¹

P. 38. (O. 36.) One on horseback in blue with a scarlet hood, accompanied by one in blue bearing a cross-staff, met by another on horseback (mutilated), and taking his hand; three or four figures behind, the one to the left in green with red tippet. Background blue.

T. 36. In the 4th row & 1st light is a cardinall riding on a white horse, habited B., hooded gu., wth his cross-bearer before him habited B., cross gold, and 2 other accompanying him habited gu.

William on his way to York, met by Dean Robert and Archdeacon Osbert.

And from Canterbury he set forth to his own church at York.¹²² And there met him outside the city in no peaceful wise, Robert, Dean of the Church of York, and Archdeacon Osbert, who, in order to keep him out of his see, called Chapters, and made strong appeals against him.¹²³

On the day of Inthronization, the Dean and other dignitaries of the Church met the bishop outside the city in order to salute him, and then returned, in order to robe and make the necessary preparations.¹²⁴

P. 39. (O. 39.) An ecclesiastic in flowing blue cope kneeling, without mitre, reverently receiving, and apparently kissing, a large and highly ornamented cross, at the hands of another ecclesiastic in surplice with white fur almuze; an attendant in white with a holy-water bucket of brass in his left hand and a sprinkler in his right, and another also in white with three persons standing by, the heads of two alone visible, and the third to the front in green, patched; with, in front of all, the conventional representation of a cathedral. Background red.

T. 39. In the 4th light a monk, habited B., kneeles before

¹²¹ William of Newburgh, i. 25; and reached the city of York on the Sunday next before the feast of the Ascension, 9 May, 1154. Stubbs, col. 1722.

¹²² Stubbs, col. 1722.

¹²³ William of Newburgh, i. 26.

¹²⁴ Maskell, *Mon. Rit. Eccl. Ang.*, 282.

a rev^d father, habited A., standing over him wth something in his hand. Also other men stand about them, one being an old man in a white cap, habited V^t.

William presented with the cross of the Cathedral, at York.

The form of Enthronization of Lawrence Bothe, Archbishop of York, 8 Sept., 1477, represents this ancient practice as observed more than three centuries later. The most Reverend Father and Lord in Christ Lawrence by the grace of God Archbishop of York, clothed in his own proper vestments, was received by the Dean and Chapter and other ministers of the Church of York, and by the clergy and people of the city of York according to custom . . . and kneeling, was sprinkled with holy water and incensed by the Dean, and Precentor, and Abbats, and Priors assembled . . . and presented with the cross of the Cathedral Church, which he devoutly kissed. (*Deinde Cruce Ecclesiæ Cathedralis per Dominum Archiepiscopum devote osculata.*) At the west door of the Cathedral (*ostium occidentale*), also, an oath was taken to defend the rights and liberties of the church, after which, the archbishop and the rest entered the cathedral, and went *processionaliter* to the choir, for the Installation.¹²⁵

A description of the York processional crosses, some very sumptuous and of great size and weight, and of the Thuribles, Incense boats, &c., used on these occasions, is contained in the *Monasticon*.¹²⁶ The holy-water bucket in the middle ages was called a "holy water ffat," as opposed to the fixed "holy water stock." Many examples occur in Peacock, *Church Furniture*. At Wollestop, in Lincolnshire, they had "one hally water fatt and one hallie water stocke," p. 169. The decrees of Abps. Gray and Winchelsea mention "*vas ad aquam benedictam*" as a part of the necessary furniture of every church, and judging by the frequency with which it is mentioned, it was found in every little village. Thus, we have "one hally water fatt of brass," pp. 41, 50, 86, 89, 149, 167. "Hallie water fatt of latten," p. 96. "One hally water fatt of lead," pp. 41, 122, 135, 165, 96, 171. "One holly water fatt of tynne," p. 246. "Holie water fat of wood," p. 73. The "sprinckl," "spryn-gelle," "strencl," "strenkyl," "haly water styk," "aspersorium," or "isopus," was generally a brush fixed in a handle, though sometimes a bunch of actual hyssop was used, in allusion to Ps. l. 9. *Asperges me hyssopo, et mundabor*. At Barhome, in Lincolnshire, they appear to have been badly off:—"a hallie water stocke of a pitcher and a sprinkle of a sticke" (Peacock, p. 38); and at Greford still worse:—"an hallie water stocke of a penny tanckerd of wood w^t a sprinkle of a stick" (p. 91). At York they had "A holy water pott with a sprinkle of silver, 101 oz. A holy water pott of silver with a sprinkle, 36 oz. A holy water pott with a sprinkle of silver, 40 oz.,"¹²⁷ "Una magna

¹²⁵ Forms of Enthronization of Abp. Kemp, 1427; and of Abp. Bothe, 1477, in York Chapter Acts; a form in Torre; and another in the Chapter Acts of 1534; for the opportunity of examining which the writer has to express his obligation

to the Rev. Dr. Henderson, of Leeds. A translation of the form of Enthronization of Abp. Kemp, in 1427, is printed by Browne, *York Minster*, p. 228.

¹²⁶ *Mon. Ang.*, vi., pt. iii., 1204.

¹²⁷ *Fabric Rolls*, Append., 308.

cuva pro aqua benedicta cum ysopo de argento, ponderans ix lb., iij uncias," &c., &c.¹²⁴

P. 40. (O. 40.) An archbishop in red with a blue collar, blue tunic, pink dalmatic, and pallium, seated on a throne, with a bishop on either side, each mitred, holding a pastoral staff, and vested in green over which a blue cope with golden orphreys is worn; two other figures behind, in white, one, to the right, holding a large golden thurible suspended by chains, and the other, to the left, an incense boat. Background blue.

T. 40. In the 5th light kneels an abp. habited gu. pall A. myter O.; on each side him stands another bp. setting the myter on the abps.' head; the one bp. being habited B., myter & crosyer O., the other habited B. & V^t, myter & crosyer O.; and behind them stands an attendant, habited A., mantled murry.

The Enthronization of William at York.

In the Enthronization of Abp. Kemp, 1427, "the Lord Dean, taking the Lord Archbishop by the hand, led him to his throne, honourably prepared for him beside the High Altar; and there did solemnly chaunt over the Archbishop as he lay prostrate at a certain faldstool before his throne, certain prayers with their versicles; which having been chaunted, the aforesaid Lord Dean, leading the said Archbishop to his throne, spoke in these words: 'In the name of God, Amen. We, Robert, Dean of this church of York, do you, the most Reverend Father and our Lord in Christ, John, by divine permission Archbishop of York, Primate of England, and Legate of the Apostolic See, into this most holy Primatial and Metropolitan See of this holy church of York, enthrone, install, and induct; and do in very deed invest you with all its rights and appurtenances; and you so enthroned, installed, and inducted, we do personally leave in this most holy see; wherein may the same our Lord Jesus Christ keep your going-in from henceforth and for evermore.' And when, in reading, he had come to the words, *intronizamus, installamus*, he placed the said Lord Archbishop in his seat aforesaid. And afterwards, over the said Lord Archbishop, sitting in his Throne, a certain tractus, to wit *Benedictus*, having been solemnly chaunted by the choir, and certain collects and versicles appointed for the like occasion, by the Lord Dean of the Church of York, the Rector of the choir began, in the choir, the office of the Mass for the day; and the aforesaid Lord Archbishop, at the same place in his throne, celebrated the said Mass as far as the offertory, and when this had been sung by the choir, he came down from the Throne to the Altar to wash his hands, and there he continued the Mass until the second washing of his hands. And then going up again unto his throne, he solemnly completed the communion and

¹²⁴ *Fabric Rolls*, Append., 218.

post communion, with the *Ite, missa est*, chaunted by the Deacon, namely, the Suffragan. Which things having been so done, the aforesaid Lord Archbishop, coming down from his throne, as he proceeded to the vestry to put off his vestments, read, as he walked along, from the Gospel of S. John, *In principio erat verbum, &c.*"¹²⁹

P. 41. (O. 46.) A mitred figure surrounded by ecclesiastics, two of whom are laying a mitred corpse in a white winding-sheet with a second pink one outside, enveloping all except the head and feet, as if into a grave; an ecclesiastic in surplice and almuze kneeling and singing from a book, which is held before him by an ecclesiastic standing; three croziers and a sprinkler seen behind, but no cross-staff. Background blue.

T. 46. In the 2^d row & 1st light stands a bp. habited gu., his crosyer & myter O., and sev^{all} monks about him habited gu. & A.

The burial of William in the Cathedral at York.

The events of the last days of S. William, including the burial, are summed up in the following Lection:¹³⁰—The great man brought forth the fruits of a holy life amongst the brethren there certain days, to give knowledge of salvation unto his people. Most diligently observing the sacred institutions he began to shine forth as a correction to the great, as doctrine to the lowly, as humility to the proud, as consolation to the good, as a terror to the evil, as a guardian to the poor, as instruction to the unlearned, and as reformation to the wayward, that he might present unto the Lord an acceptable people zealous of good works. And when it pleased the Maker of heaven and earth that so precious a pearl should adorn heaven rather than earth, purified in heart and flesh, the holy pontiff solemnly girded himself to celebrate the Feast of the Holy Trinity, that by assumption of the eternal bread he might render himself an eternal gift unto the one and trine God. The mysteries being completed, after a short space he returned to the palace, and commanded a table to be spread continuously for guests, and feasts to be largely served to them. And whilst they splendidly feasted, the blessed pontiff entered his chamber, and declared to his familiar friends the day of his death in the spirit of prophecy. For eight days then the violence of fever tried his strength within the courses of his marrow, neither would he permit the healing hand of any other than the heavenly physician. And when on the ninth day he perceived the dissolution of his body at hand, with a joyful countenance as is said he bid good-bye to the brethren, and returned his more joyful spirit unto the Lord. The earth

¹²⁹ York Chapter Acta. Tranal. in Browne, *York Minster*, p. 228. On the Enthronization of Bishops generally, see Maskell, *Monumenta Ritum Eccles. Ang.*, iii., cxxxj., 281.

¹³⁰ Fest. S. Will. lect. ix., *Brev. Ebor. Rudby*. Bromton, col. 1041; Gervasius, 1376; Stubbs, col. 1722; William of Newburgh, i. 26.

of the most sacred body was taken for burial to the holy church of S. Peter, where many miracles are performed, to the praise of our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom be honour for ever and ever. Amen.

William was interred by his old friend Bishop Pudsey.¹³¹

Referring to the manner of his death, Gervase says¹³²—Returning to his own see of York, in the holy solemnity of Pentecost he was stricken by poison administered in the solemnities of Mass, and after a few days departed unto the Lord. And this opinion was very generally held in the middle ages, as will be gathered from the authorities collected by Canon Raine.¹³³ It is embodied in the following lines :¹³⁴—

In octavis Penthecostes
Quidam malignantes hostes
In eum pacifice,
Et ut ipsum priverit vita
Celebrantis achonita
Propinat in calice,
Toxicatur a prophanis
Ille potus ille panis
Per quem perit toxicum.

William of Newburgh, however, repudiated the idea, and discusses the question at some length,¹³⁵ adding some interesting details respecting the last illness of the archbishop. His teeth, he says, which were white, became black, and that change was thought by many to indicate poisoning. But, as he goes on to say, physicians laugh at this, since the teeth of men about to die often turn black. We can now be pretty sure that the archbishop was not poisoned; the black teeth, the sudden invasion of the disease, and its rapid course, recall the symptoms of typhus. But as poisoning was much more common formerly than now, and the symptoms of natural disorders much more imperfectly understood, many were suspected of being poisoned then whom we should now know to have died naturally. The elements of the Eucharist were media frequently suspected. Popes Victor II. and III., Christopher I. of Denmark, Henry VII. of Germany, and many others, were thought to have thus met with their deaths. In Fox's *Acts and Monuments* (Edit. 1570, p. 233) there is a curious woodcut, in six compartments, representing the poisoning of King John at Swinestead Abbey, in Lincolnshire. Each has a line or two of black letter description attached, like the compartments of one of the windows at All Saints, North Street, the west window of S. Martin's Church, Coney Street, York, and others of that date. In the second compartment, *The monke temperethe his poison into a cup to give king John*; in other words, is pricking a toad, upon a dish, to make it spit venom. In the third, *The monke presenteth king John with a cup of poison, beginning himself to drink to prevent the king suspecting it of being poisoned*. In the fourth, *The monke lieth burst of the poison that he dranke*. And in the sixth, *King John lieth dead of poison*. A spider was the poison (see comp. 67) often suspected. Thus—"A certain Capuchin of *Eburo*, called *Bullonius*, his sir-name being *Hampreau*,

¹³¹ Hoveden, 281, cited by Raine, *Fast. Ebor.*, i. 227.

¹³² Col. 1376.

¹³³ *Fast. Ebor.*, 226, note p.

¹³⁴ Quoted by Raine, *Fast. Ebor.*, 231.

¹³⁵ Will. of Newburgh, i. 26.

drank a great spider, which he had seen to have fallen down into the chalice alive, at the time of the daily Sacrifice, with much averseness of mind. Within a few dayes a Phlegmone or enflamed Tumour arose in his right Thigh, and at the time of the first corrupt pus, he restored the spider whole from thence, yet dead.¹³⁶ In other words, after swallowing the spider, he chanced to have a boil on his leg, and in the grey core of it fancied that he recognized the spider. There was a special rubric, however, in the Missal, directing what was to be done in case poison, a spider, or any other noxious thing were discovered in the chalice after consecration. According to the York and Sarum Missals—*"Si aliquod horum post consecrationem acciderit, debet musca vel aranea vel aliquid talium caute capi, et diligenter inter digitos pluries lavari et vermis comburi. Et ablutio cum cineribus combustis in sacrario reponi. Venenum autem nullo modo debet sumi, sed cum reliquiis debet sanguis talis cui venenum est immisum in vasculo mundo conservari."* Many similar directions from the offices of various Churches are cited by Martene;¹³⁷ who gives also a curious extract from an old MS. in which the case of S. William of York is referred to by way of illustration—"qui venenum in calice positum ex magna fiducia sumpsit et obiit."¹³⁸ The difficulty was that if the priest knowingly partook of the poisoned chalice he was guilty of the mortal sin of suicide or tempting God; and if not, of disobedience to the command of the church and profanation of the Sacrament. The question is fully discussed by S. Thomas Aquinas, and his conclusions form the basis of the directions in the present Roman Missal.¹³⁹ The York rubric leaves it doubtful whether spiders were thought poisonous or not, but not so S. Thomas, whose words are—"aranea, vel aliquod animal venenosum."

It is related of many of the Saints, of S. Wilfrid and others before S. William, that they prophesied the day of their death; and S. John of Bridlington, whose miracles as much resemble those of S. William as the latter those of S. John of Beverley and others before him, also prophesied his death. "When the time drew nigh in which our heavenly Father was pleased to call him from this world, and to bestow on him the reward of his labour, he foresaw in the Spirit the day of his death, and knew he must depart."¹⁴⁰

On the ancient order of burial, see Maskell.¹⁴¹ After Mass, the priest (or bishop with the other clergy), choir, and acolytes, surrounded the body, which after certain prayers and ceremonies was carried to the grave. Here psalms and anthems were sung, prayers offered, and the grave blessed, sprinkled with holy water, and censed; a written absolution was next laid upon the breast of the deceased; and finally the corpse was lowered into the ground, amidst prayer, chanting, and benediction. The ancient offices for the "Burial of the Dead," the "Visitation of the Sick," etc., according to the York use, appear in the "York Manual," just published by the Surtees Society, under the able editorship of Dr. Henderson.

¹³⁶ Van Helmont, *Works*, transl. by Chandler, 1662, p. 599.

¹³⁷ *De Ant. Eccles. Ritibus*, lib. i., cap. v., art. v., Ed. Bassani, 1788.

¹³⁸ *Id.*, 259.

¹³⁹ *Summ. Theol.* 3^{ta} Para. quæst. lxxxvii., art. 6.

¹⁴⁰ Act SS. Boll., Oct. v. 143.

¹⁴¹ *Mon. Rit. Eccles. Ang.*, i., cxxli. 114.

P. 42. (O. 42.) A bishop, naked with the exception of a mitre on his head and golden reliquary suspended by a chain about his neck, sitting propped up in bed with his arms outside the coverlet, being kissed by an ecclesiastic in white with white fur almuce; four other persons standing by, one in surplice with white fur almuce buttoned at the throat by a single button, another in surplice (patched), and two only partly visible; one of the four apparently weeping. Background red, but one fragment of it only remaining; the rest modern insertion.

T. 44. In the 4th light a monk habited B., mantled A., sits upon the knee of a lady abbess, habited and mytred A., to salute her; behind him stands a young woman in a green habit; and behind her 2 monks, the one kneeling habited A. & B., the other standing habited A.

William smitten with fever, and prophesying his death to his familiar friends.

See note to comp. 41.

P. 43. (O. 43.) The same lying on his back in bed, covered white and red; a priest in surplice with white fur almuce touching his right eye, which is closed, with the fingers of his left hand, and laying his right hand on the chest; another ecclesiastic in like costume weeping (mutilated), and two women in white with white veil head-dresses and chin-cloths, standing by, weeping. Background blue.

T. 45. In the 5th light lies an abp. sick in bed covered A. & gu., on each side thereof sits a woman weeping habited A.

William dying, and receiving the sacrament of Extreme Unction.

See note to comp. 41.

On the Orders relating to the Visitation and Communion of the Sick, and Extreme Unction, see Maskell.¹⁴² The priest anointed his right thumb with the *oleum infirmorum*, and then with it touched and made the sign of the cross upon the eyes, ears, lips, nostrils, hands, feet, and back; or, in the case of a woman, the navel. On the order for Visiting sick members of a Cathedral Chapter, see "Consuetudinary of S. Paul's," London, published by Dr. Rock.¹⁴³

P. 44. (O. 44.) The corpse of an archbishop vested in blue chasuble with red collar (lower portion of figure mutilated).

¹⁴² *Op. cit.*, i., ccxxiii. 65, 83.

¹⁴³ *Church of Our Fathers*, vol. iii., pt. ii., p. 120.

lated), laid on a rich coffin or bier, for which (from defective perspective) it seems too long, the head resting on the end, and mitre projecting considerably beyond ; with, on one side, the head of a woman and two men, one in blue, the other with a flowing beard in a red tunic and green tippet, kneeling with hands folded and elevated in prayer, and on the other three men, the head of one alone visible behind with long flowing beard, another in pink, and a third in blue, the foreheads and eyebrows of two of them corrugated as if by grief. Floor in triangles, black and white. Background red.

T. 47. In the 2^d light lyes a bp. enshrined, habited gu. & B., myter A. & O., about whom 4 men & 2 women kneel wth hands elevated at prayer ; the 1st and 2^d being old men, habited gu. B. & A. ; the other 2 young men, 1st habited B., cap V^t, 2^d sanguine, cap B. ; the 2 women are both habited B.

The body of William lying in state preparatory to burial.

See note to comp. 41.

P. 45. A person of state in cap lined with ermine with jewel in front, with eight other figures variously habited (mutilated), seated at a table, the cloth on which is richly diapered, spread with gold service, and various viands ; one to the front in a red tunic lined with yellow fur and white belt, giving a bone to a dog. Background blue.

T. 42. In the 2^d light stand 9 monks about a table whereon is a banquet, two of them being habited gu., another gu. & B., the rest B. ; also a sanguine dogg sits waiting for what may fall from it.

The feast commanded by William for the guests present at his Mass on Trinity Sunday.

See note to comp. 41.

The magnificence of the medieval feasts was a subject the ancient chroniclers dearly loved to enlarge upon. Their banquets were not meals alone, but pageants. And the expression *continuo apponi mensam* in the account of S. William's feast, would seem to imply that it, like most great feasts of its time, lasted several days, as in the ballad—

Fulle fyftene daies that feste was holden, &c.¹⁴⁴

Even priests, when they celebrated their first Mass, used to invite their companions and friends to a banquet in honour of the day, which

¹⁴⁴ William and the Werwolf, cited *Domestic Archit. of Eng.*, ii. 71.

was kept like a birthday. But bishops, abbats, and others, raised to a distinguished Ecclesiastical or civil rank, celebrated their inauguration with a banquet the size and cost of which was only limited by their means, and sometimes not by that, their incomes being crippled for many years after by that first extravagance. A catalogue of the various articles at the banquet given by Radulphus when elected Abbat of S. Augustine's, Canterbury, in 1309, is given by Thorn;¹⁴⁵ but more to our purpose is the banquet given on the inthronization of Abp. Neville, of York, in 1466. There were three hundred quarters of wheat, three hundred and thirty tuns of ale, one hundred and four tuns of wine, one pipe of aromatic wine, eighty oxen, six wild bulls, a thousand and four sheep, three hundred pigs, three hundred calves, three thousand geese, three thousand two hundred capons, three hundred little pigs, one hundred peacocks, two hundred cranes, two hundred kids, two thousand fowls, four thousand pigeons, four thousand rabbits, two hundred and four bitterns, four thousand ducks, four hundred herons, two hundred pheasants, five hundred partridges, four thousand woodcocks, four hundred plovers, one hundred curlews, one hundred quails, one thousand egrets, two hundred of the birds called "rees," four hundred stags, bucks, and roebucks, one thousand five hundred and six venison pasties, one thousand "parted" dishes of jelly, four thousand dishes of jelly plain, four hundred tarts, four thousand custards cold, two thousand custards hot, three hundred pike, three hundred breems, eight porpoises, and four seals, besides furmenty pottage, swans, biscuits, wafers, and made dishes without end.¹⁴⁶

P. 46. (O. 49.) A woman in blue, with her head wrapped in a white kerchief, with hands clasped in prayer, kneeling forward or prostrate in a yellow wooden cart drawn by one white horse; a peasant in a blue tunic buttoned down the front of the chest reaching half way down his bare legs, blue boots, and pink hood, walking at the side and driving the horse with a yellow thonged stick or flail-like whip; close by, a conventional cathedral front, near to which are several beautiful trees with elegant leaves. Background red.

T. 49. In the 4th light are 2 white horses drawing a golden spinnelled cart upon w^{ch} sits a man habited B., and the driver, walking by it, habited B., hood mury, wth a whip in his hand O.

A woman having walked wantonly after the flesh, being

¹⁴⁵ Thorn, col. 2010.

¹⁴⁶ Godwin, *De praesulibus Angliae*, 695. A list of the fare is also given by Wright, *Hist. Domestic Manners, &c.*, 357, but different in several respects from the above. The source whence it was derived is not stated. For further infor-

mation, and many valuable engravings illustrative of meals and feasts in the middle ages, see Wright, *passim*. On the Feasts. pp. 159, 357, 387; on the tables, chairs, &c., pp. 139, 364, 371, 374; and on the cookery, 350, 357. See also Maskell, *Op. cit.*, iii. 132.

overtaken by disease and dropsy, going to the shrine of S. William for relief.

See note to comp. 50.

The female dress generally represented in this window is a close-bodied kirtle, with long skirt and tight sleeves, plain or furred, confined at the waist by a girdle (well shown in comp. 103, 104, &c.). Thus Matilda, wife of John de Smeton, 25 Feb., 1402, leaves to Johanna, her servant, "j kyrtill de rubeo."¹⁴⁷ Agnes Kelynghale leaves to Cibilla Tadcastre, 1 Apr. 1414, "Unam togam blodeam furruratam cum pellibus cuniculorum."¹⁴⁸ Isabella de Wyleby, 31 Oct. 1415, "Unam togam furruratam cum menever."¹⁴⁹ Sir John Hedlam leaves, 26 March, 1461, as follows:—"And as for gounes and girdils that was my wifes, I will my doghter hove."¹⁵⁰ The girdle was often the most costly article of the whole dress, being, when it could be afforded, of gold or silver, and enriched with precious stones; or, if this could not be afforded, it was at least richly embroidered. Thus, Matilda, Countess of Cambridge, leaves—"Optimam meam zonam de auro."¹⁵¹ Avicia de Pontefract leaves, 16th May, 1404, "Unam zonam argenti ornatam cum literis ~~22.2.~~;" and "Optimam zonam meam argenti ornatam more nubium." Another leaves "Unum cingulum stipatum et scriptum cum racione ~~32.2.5~~ ~~EST~~ ~~32.2.5~~ ~~32.2.5~~," &c., &c. The common name for these richly ornamented girdles was "barred girdles," from the perforated metal bars attached transversely, through which the tongue of the buckle was passed originally. Afterwards, when the fittings became more ornamental, the term *bar* was still retained; thus we read of round, square, and various fantastically fashioned bars, *e.g.*, "zonam harnizatam cum barris argenti rotundis;"¹⁵² and in the description of the girdle of Richesse, in Chaucer's 'Romaunt of the Rose,' we are told

"The barris were of gold full fine
Upon a tissue of sattin,
Full hevie, grete, and nothing light,
In everiche was a besaunt wight."

The makers of these costly articles of dress were incorporated as a London City Company, 6th Aug., 27 Hen. VI., 1449, and the not uncommon sir-name Girdley, is derived from the girdlers, or girdle-maker's trade, established much earlier. Thus, "Item do et lego. . . . Johanni Holtby, girdelar, &c."¹⁵³ Many a fair city maid peered longingly in, we doubt not, at the girdles of all kinds spread forth for sale in the shop of Master Thomas Gryssop, of York,¹⁵⁴ albeit the medieval preacher evermore admonished them "on the outrageous array of wommen, God wot."¹⁵⁵ Dante deplores the use of these costly girdles even in his day, and compares the

"Zone, that caught the eye
More than the person did,"

¹⁴⁷ *Test. Ebor.*, i. 288.

¹⁴⁸ *Id.*, i. 374.

¹⁴⁹ *Id.*, i. 381.

¹⁵⁰ *Id.*, ii. 247.

¹⁵¹ *Id.*, ii. 121.

¹⁵² Will of Bristol citizen, A.D. 1430.

¹⁵³ Will of W. Askame, 1389, *Test. Ebor.*, i. 129.

¹⁵⁴ See inventory of his goods, *Test. Ebor.*, ii. 101.

¹⁵⁵ Chaucer, *The Persones Tale*.

worn by the Florentine ladies, with the
 "leathern girdle, and a clasp of bone,"
 of earlier and better days (*Parad.* xv.).

The hair is for the most part very little, if at all, shown in this window, being concealed by the ample folds of a veil or kerchief (*couvre chef*). In some of the examples, however, comp. 101, for instance, the hair appears in front in two small bunches about the ears, confined in a netted caul, beneath the kerchief. The latter was an essential from the time of the Anglo-Saxons down to a very late period, from the lowest to the highest rank. Even the crown of queens was worn over a kerchief, as is plain from a MS. illustration engraved by Strutt.¹⁴⁶ Both indoors and out of doors it was indispensable; in the former case often artfully displayed with wires, in the latter, either alone, as in this compartment, or with some addition. Of the Wife of Bath, for instance, we read—

"Hire kevercheffs weren ful fyne of grounde;
 I durste swere they weyghede ten pounde
 That on a Sonday were upon hire head."

and again :—

"On hire heed an hat
 As brood as is a bocler or a targe."¹⁴⁷

In other places, Chaucer calls it a "kercher," or "covercheffe." Elsewhere, we find it called "kerche," or "kyrcheffe." Illuminated MSS. and monumental effigies present an endless variety of the fashion of its arrangement. The "Queuvrechiers" were a special trade in France in the 13th century.¹⁴⁸ The reason why the kerchief was so universally worn, at least by all except the very young and very old, is not explained in works on costume, but is sufficiently curious. It would seem to have arisen from the horror that was entertained of devils falling in love with the uncovered hair. It was argued that in the passage 1 Cor. xi. 10, in which S. Paul says a woman should have her head covered because of the angels, the word angels included, if it did not specially mention, evil spirits; and curious reasons were assigned why the hair should be thus so particularly attractive to them. For instance, "Notatur à Guilhelmo, quod incubi plus vexare videntur mulieres et puellas pulchros crines habentes, ideo quia aut curæ aut ornatui crinium incumbunt hujusmodi, aut quia per crines viros inflammare cupiunt vel consueverunt, aut quia in eis inaniter gloriantur, aut quia divina bonitas hoc permittit, ut terreantur mulieres viros inflammare per ea, quæ etiam Demones inflammarvi viros volunt."¹⁴⁹ Even after the middle of the 16th century, S. Carlo Borromeo was so shocked to see a woman represented without a kerchief in a fresco of the marriage of Cana in the Refettorio del Collegio, at Ravenna, that he ordered it to be added, as is shown to this day. But the rationalizing tendency of that age gradually threw it out of use, at least in England, and amongst the higher

¹⁴⁶ *Dress and Habits of the People of England*, plate xxxvii.

¹⁴⁷ *Cant. Tales. Prologue*, 453, 470.

¹⁴⁸ *Livre des Métiers*, passim.

¹⁴⁹ *Malleus Maleficarum*, Par. ii.,

Quæst. ii., cap. i. See also *Mulieres velantur propter incubos*, id., Par. i., Quæst. iii., where also other authorities are cited, including S. Thomas Aquinas, and our own Beale.

orders. "Thine eyes would emulate the diamond," says Falstaff to Mrs. Ford: "thou hast the right arched beauty of the brow, that becomes the ship tire, the tire valiant, or any tire of Venetian admittance." But "A plain kerchief, Sir John," she replies, "my brows become nothing else; nor that well neither."¹⁶⁰ At present the caps (if such they can be called) worn by domestic female servants, in order to display rather than to conceal their hair, and the handkerchiefs worn on week days by mill-girls in the West Riding of Yorkshire, are the only remaining traces of the once universal kerchief.

As regards the colour of the ladies' hair, as represented in this window and others, and in wall-paintings, MSS., &c., &c., it should be noted that yellow, or light-coloured hair was most admired. Various allusions in Chaucer and the early romances abundantly establish this. Black, or dark-coloured hair was considered ugly. Those who had the misfortune to have such, used very commonly to change the colour of it by alkaline washes.¹⁶¹ The clergy condemned the act as a sinful vanity, and physicians as prejudicial to health; but their attacks served only to show how firmly the custom was established, and the fruitlessness of their efforts to uproot it.

The ordinary male costume of the peasantry about the time the window was executed, is given us in the following clause of the will of William Hogwyk, 8 Oct. 1414:—"Volo quod xxxij pauperes vestiantur cum summâ xj librarum, ita quod quilibet illorum possit habere camisiâ, braccas, caligas, sotulares, togam, et capucium;"¹⁶² shirt, breeches, stockings, shoes, gown and hood that is. But the gown and hood at this time were going out of use, and the tunic and belt (see note to comp. 51), with separate cap or hat (see comp. 52), becoming general. On the breeches, see comp. 72.

The flail-like whip in the peasant's hand in this compartment is well shown in cut No. 319 of Wright's *Domestic Manners and Sentiments*, p. 498, from a MS., but there is no explanation there or elsewhere, that I know of, of its construction. The part answering to the thong of a whip, or the swiugel of a flail, short as compared with the former, and gradually thickening towards the distal end instead of ending in a lash, can scarcely have been of wood; it would be too heavy and rough an implement even for that not too sensitive age. In the absence of any better conjecture, I venture to think it is the conventional representation of a "Taurea, seu Scutica ex nervo taurino, quia scilicet nervi seu priapi taurini pro flagris usurpantur." Ducange says that Taureæ were "flagellæ ex boum seu taurorum coriis, and quotes the passage:—"A Judæis simul et Gentibus multoties scorpionibus et Thaureis plumbatis et flagris attractatus sum." But skins and leather were wanted for many other purposes, and there was a fitness in the "nervus taurinus" which commended it to our forefathers, who could bear to waste nothing (see note on Purses, comp. 48). There is a well-known passage in *Gil Blas* illustrating its use. When trying to escape from the robbers' cave, "Tout-à-coup je me sentis appliquer entre les deaux épaules cinq ou six coups

¹⁶⁰ Merry Wives, iii. 3; and for a reference to the kerchief worn with a hat, see *id.*, iv. 2.

¹⁶¹ See "*Ley*, for weashynge of heddyas,"

and "*Heed-waschyng*," in the *Promptorium Parrulorum*, and Mr. Way's learned note.

¹⁶² *Test. Ebor.*, i. 375.

de nerf de bœuf. Je poussai un cri si perçant, que le souterrain en retentit," &c.¹⁶³ Occasionally in country parts these implements may still be seen in use for driving cattle.

P. 47. (O. 89.) A young woman in a red tippet or cape and head wrapped in a white kerchief, lying in bed, the quilt pink, the valance blue, and celure richly diapered with yellow stain and fringed with blue and white, with more or less of five figures standing round; an old man with hands folded in prayer, a younger man in blue with a red tippet and hands also folded in prayer, the upper part only of two more visible—one of them with his face buried in his hands, weeping, and the fifth figure in red with blue tippet and white hood down. An open book lying on a little stool at the right-hand side of the bed. Background red.

T. 43. In the 3^d light lyes in a sanguine bed a sick lady habited gu., holding her hand out for to receive the hoste (A.) from a monk that stands at the bed's feet habited B. and gu.; also 3 other women stand about the bed habited B.

A dumb woman, having had a vision of S. William in sleep, expressing desire to be taken to the shrine of the saint.

See note to comp. 68.

Though the body was naked in bed, the head was carefully covered at night, not with a nightcap, but with a kerchief, which was wrapped round it.¹⁶⁴ This was called a bedkerchief, or nightkerchief. Thus:—Item lego vxori Willelmi Smyth vnum knyghtkyrcheff.¹⁶⁵ The book lying on the stool is probably intended to represent a Psalter, the ordinary medieval book of family devotion, containing the Psalms and Canticles, Litany of Saints, Office of the Dead, &c., often with family memoranda in the calendar. It is very frequently mentioned in old wills as a bequest. "Unum Psalterium;"¹⁶⁶ "Item lego Thome Pott famulo meo iij*s* iij*d* & vnum psalterium."¹⁶⁷ Besides a Psalterium, Sir Robert Roos of Ingmanthorp¹⁶⁸ was able to bequeath a Bibyll and a Legenda Sanctorum; and Sir Thomas Roos of Ingmanthorp,¹⁶⁹ a Pryk of Conscience,¹⁷⁰ a Primarium, and a Legenda Sanctorum. The Marquis of Ripon has just presented to the Ripon Minster Library a fine York Psalter of 1418, with the name "Jane Kendale" written in it, and several family memoranda in the calendar.

¹⁶³ *Hist. de Gil Blas de Santillane*, i. vi.

¹⁶⁴ Wright, *Domestic Manners and Sentiments*, 259.

¹⁶⁵ Will of Will. Forster, *Ripon Chapter Act Book*, 1459.

¹⁶⁶ *Test. Ebor.*, ii. 65.

¹⁶⁷ Will of William Rodes, 1476. *Ripon Chapter Act Book*.

¹⁶⁸ 1392. *Test. Ebor.*, i. 178.

¹⁶⁹ 1399. *Test. Ebor.*, i. 251.

¹⁷⁰ Of Robert, the Hermit of Ham-pole.

P. 48. (O. 66.) A man with a bare head without hair on crutches, in a red tunic opened in front so as to show his swollen body and navel, approaching the shrine, with both legs bandaged. Three figures standing by, one in blue tunic with pink tippet holding out a purse-like object to one of the others; the others much mutilated. The head of a recumbent figure of the saint appears within the shrine. Background blue.

T. 62. In the 1st (*sic*) light is another pinacled church A. & O., on the outside whereof stands a man bare-legged, on w^{ch} another man lyes his hand (*habited gu. & A.*).

A man with dropsy approaching the shrine of S. William to be healed.

S. William, it is said, cured a dropsical man—"Hydropicum sanavit;"¹⁷¹ "Curantur et hydropici;"¹⁷² "Purgantur ydropici."¹⁷³ See also comp. 96, which this closely resembles.

The first representation of the shrine of S. William occurs in this compartment. Other representations will be found in compartments 50, 51, 55, 62, 64, 67, 68, 69, 74, 75, 77, 86, 87, 91, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 103, and 105, making twenty-three in all. As no two of these are exactly alike, they cannot be taken, I think, as intended representations of the actual shrine of S. William in the Cathedral, but rather as ideal representations of *the shrine of the period*, as conceived by the designer of the window. The idea in its simplest form seems to have been a highly enriched architectural gabled oblong structure, with a buttress at each corner, terminating in a crocketed pinnacle as high as the cresting, set with jewels, which ran along the ridge of the high-pitched roof, covered in either with overlapping tiles or ornamental panelling; the sides and ends richly panelled, and the plinth enriched with surface decoration; with at the western end, *i.e.*, at the head end of the body of the Saint (*ad caput feretri*), an altar, as attached to the shrine of S. Edward at Westminster, S. Thomas at Canterbury, S. Cuthbert at Durham, &c., the long sides of which faced north and south, resting on a plinth continuous with the former; and around the whole a close paved with ornamental tiles, on which cushions and matting could be placed for the accommodation of the sick and others who came to the shrine.¹⁷⁴ In some of the representations (comp. 86, for instance), however, the buttresses at each corner, and one in the middle of each side as well, are detached below, so as to allow those who wished to crawl between them and the shrine, and thus squeeze nearer to the saint; answering the

¹⁷¹ Capgrave, *Nova legēde Anglie*, Lond., 1516.

¹⁷² *Sequence in die S. Will.*, York Missal.

¹⁷³ *Antiph.*, Brev. Ebor. Rudby.

¹⁷⁴ Describing S. Wulstan's tomb in

Worcester Cathedral, William of Malmesbury speaks of the matting around it:—"Natta qua accubitari solebant orantes ante mausoleum." *De Gestis Pontif. Ang.*, lib. iv.

purpose of those window-like holes sometimes seen, which were left for the deaf and dumb to thrust their heads through.¹⁷⁵ In some of the representations (comp. 64, 73, 91) there are tall candles in lofty candlesticks around; the law enjoining, and the piety of the faithful providing this honour to the Saint.¹⁷⁶ The diapered white cloth covering the altar is beautifully represented in some of the compartments. (See engraving, comp. 101.) We know the cost of these cloths from the Cathedral accounts in the year 1389. "De 15d. sol. pro iij vlnis panni linei emptis pro altari sancti Willelmi."¹⁷⁷ In some of the compartments a Pyx (comp. 55, 75), or Monstrance (comp. 51, 67), was placed upon this altar, in order to represent the ever abiding presence of Our Lord in the virtues of His Saint. The pattern of the latter is a wide tube of glass, fixed on a metal foot, with a knop, and surmounted by an ornamental cover; particularly interesting as an early representation of the Monstrance, which was not introduced before the end of the fourteenth, or generally used till the fifteenth century.¹⁷⁸ Rich and sumptuous as the shrine thus depicted must have been, there is every reason to believe that inside it there was a smaller portable one, or feretory, only taken out or displayed on special occasions, of still greater glory, immediately containing the remains of the Saint, indicated by the head of a recumbent figure just appearing within in compartments 48, 97. At Durham the outer casing of the shrine proper was of wood, and made to draw up and down for greater convenience.¹⁷⁹ The carrying of the York shrine proper on the shoulders is referred to in the account of one of the miracles of S. William, which was performed—*cum processio cum sanctis reliquiis in ecclesiam esset reversa, dum adhuc staret processio inter tumbam et ostium cantica laudis solito more decantans, &c.*; ¹⁸⁰ and the feretory or portable portion, as distinguished from the outer case, is represented in compartments 73, 84, 88, 89, and 95 of this window; particularly well in comp. 88, in which its shape, its structure of ornamental metal work and jewels, and the poles on which it was carried, are admirably represented.¹⁸¹ The position of the shrine in the Cathedral was probably behind the High Altar (*retro altare*) as at S. Alban's, Bury S. Edmund's, Westminster Abbey, S. Paul's Cathedral, Winchester, Ely, Lichfield, Lincoln, and Durham; the place of all others where practicable the most desirable, both because of its most holy position, as being even still further eastward than the High Altar itself, and as affording the greatest convenience for the approach of pilgrims, the stream on special occasions passing up the north aisle, performing their devotions at the shrine, and then returning without impeding

¹⁷⁵ See engraving of MS. Illumination from the Life of Edward the Confessor, Rock, *Church of Our Fathers*, iii., pt. i., 418, and *Rites of Durham*, p. 3.

¹⁷⁶ *Reliquiæ tamen Sanctorum venerandæ sunt, et si potest fieri, in ecclesia ubi reliquiæ Sanctorum sunt, candela ardeat per singulas noctes* *Ancient Laws*, ed. Thorpe, ii. 57. Bequests of wax for keeping up such lights are common in old wills. See *Test. Ebor.*, *passim*.

¹⁷⁷ Chamberlain's Acc^{ts}. Fabric Rolla. *App.*, 128.

¹⁷⁸ Pugin, *Gloss. Eccl. Orn. and Costume*, s. v. *Monstrance*.

¹⁷⁹ *Rites of Durham*, Ed. Surtees Soc., p. 4.

¹⁸⁰ *Acta SS. Boll. Junii*, ii. 145.

¹⁸¹ For details respecting the richness of the mediæval feretories, see Rock, *op. cit.*, iii., pt. i., 390—393, &c.; and Pugin, *Gloss. Eccles. Ornament and Costume*, s. v. *Feretory*; and on various other points connected with the subject, *Rites of Durham*, and Raine's *S. Cuthbert*, *passim*.

others by the south aisle. The following inscription in so-called Lombardic lettering behind the altar screen at Winchester, perpetuates the position of the relics in this situation before the Reformation:—*Corpora sanctorum sunt hic in pace sepulta, ex meritis quorum fulgent miracula multa.* Adjacent, would be the watching station of the *custos feretri, custos tumbæ, custos beati Willelmi, custos feretri sancti Willelmi*, as of the shrine of S. Alban at S. Alban's, and elsewhere, whose duty it was to see that none of the worshippers pilfered the costly jewels from the shrine; for though the Saint could easily bring a dead man to life again, or restore sight to the blind, hearing to the deaf, speech to the dumb, &c., he could not, or would not, prevent evil-minded and crafty persons from stealing his jewels. Besides the *custos*, on special occasions, when, for instance, a miracle was being, or going to be, or had been, performed, one of the Canons of the Cathedral was also in attendance. (Comp. 67, 75, 82)

In addition to this *Magnum feretrum*, there were some smaller shrines, or reliquaries, in which special portions of the body of the Saint were enclosed. The greatest treasure that the Church of York possessed was the head of the Saint, the most sacred portion of his body, which was preserved apart in a reliquary of silver gilt, set with jewels, and treated with special honour. It was supported by angels,¹⁸² surmounted by a rich canopy,¹⁸³ enriched by the gifts of the faithful;¹⁸⁴ and preserved in a silver chest; and there was a belt enriched with silver for carrying it in processions.¹⁸⁵ When Margaret, daughter of Henry VII., visited the Minster, this head was brought for her to kiss.¹⁸⁶ There was also, at York, a reliquary of silver gilt, enamelled and set with precious stones, containing hair of S. William.¹⁸⁷ The monks of Meaux, also, treasured carefully amongst their relics some of the hair of S. William.¹⁸⁸ At the Collegiate Chapel in Windsor Castle they had an arm of silver plate, gilt, containing the arm bone of S. William of York;¹⁸⁹ and another bone of the Saint.¹⁹⁰ And at Durham, a tooth, in *scrinio quadrangulato ornato argenteo*.¹⁹¹

The "purse-like" object mentioned above, represented in a modified form in comp. 96, must either be a purse, I think, or one of the various forms of begging cups used by the professional beggars of the middle ages. It is difficult to say whether the globular enlargement at the end of the cord-like appendage is a knot at the end of the string, or a bell attached, as was not unusual, in order to call the attention of the passer by and awaken him to the privilege of giving. Ducange mentions a *purse garnie de sonnetes d'argent*, and another *cloqueté d'argent*, and

¹⁸² Pro emendacione unius angeli supportantis caput S. Willelmi, 3s. 4d. Chamberlain's Acc't., Fabric Rolls, App. 126; and Pro factura ij alarum unius angeli supportantis caput Sancti Willelmi et pro deauracione ejusdem, 4l. *Id.*, 127.

¹⁸³ Pro factura de j alior in choro super caput Sancti Willelmi, 12d. *Id.*, 130.

¹⁸⁴ Item lego capiti Sancti Willelmi Ebor. unum monile, anglice nouche, auri, cum uno saphire in medio, et j dyamond de super, et circumpositum cum pereyre et emeraudea. Will of Lady

Hesilrigg, 1 Dec. 1400. *Test. Ebor.*, i. 265. See also, for a list of the jewels *Circa caput Sancti Willelmi*, Fabric Rolls, Append., 224.

¹⁸⁵ Item unus arcus argenti. Una zona garnishyt cum argento deaurato pro portando caput sancti Willelmi. Dugdale, *Mor. Ang.*, loc. cit.

¹⁸⁶ Raine, *Pasti*, p. 330, note.

¹⁸⁷ *Mon. Ang.*, vi., pt. iii. 1205.

¹⁸⁸ Poulson, *Holderness*, ii. 313.

¹⁸⁹ *Mon. Ang.*, vi., pt. iii. 1344.

¹⁹⁰ *Id.*, 1345.

¹⁹¹ *Leda Op.*, ed. Smith, Appx. 744.

various kinds of medieval purses are mentioned in the Inventory of Thomas Gryssop, of York, Chapman, 20 Oct. 1446 ;¹⁹² amongst others—“ij bullok pursez.” These were not mere “*Marsupia sive bursas de corio cervino, ovino, bovino, et porcino,*”¹⁹³ like those, possibly, in comp. 13, but of special make, and of quite general use in the middle ages, admirably suited for beggars both from their cheapness and indestructibility, of size proportionate of course to that of the animal which supplied them, and probably often furnished with a partition dividing them into two pouches, one for gold and one for silver. In rerum descriptione quas Prætores Riponienses annuo officio defuncti successoribus suis tradere solebant, “*magna nigra Bursa,*” seu marsupium, sæpissime enumeratur. Fama est Senatam Riponiensem multis abhinc annis taurum in communem oppidanorum usum possedissee, et in gratam memoriam animalis optime merentis, senio confecti et proli propagandæ jam imparis, e testiculorum involuero sacculum coriaceum publicâ impensâ conficiendum curavisse. Materiam in secula duraturam et discidio haud obnoxiam quod artifices hodierni in marsupiorum constructione adhibere nolunt, eo forsân referendum est quod nullo usu atteritur, et spem lucri in posterum venditionis prorsus aufert. In occidentibus comitatûs Eboracensis partibus, infantum scrotum, Bursam (Anglice *Purse*) nutrices et aniculas vocitant nominare audivimus, sive quia hæc pars in vita magni æstimatur ut humani generis conservatrix, aut post mortem in pecuniæ receptaculum perutilis est. Possibly, however, the object represented may be a *Clap-dish*, *Clack-dish*, or *Clicket* ; i.e., kind of dish, or rather box, with a moveable lid, carried by the beggars of former times in order to attract notice by the noise it made, whence the phrase—*his tongue moves like a beggar's clap-dish*.¹⁹⁴ Stanley describes an old alms-box, or cup, with a chain for holding it by the hand, and a slit for money in the lid, still preserved at the ancient lazaret-house, at Harbledown, near Canterbury.¹⁹⁵

The mendicant Friars, and numerous tribes of other professional beggars who imitated them in the fifteenth century, brought begging to the state of a highly advanced art ; and age and impotence, or apparent impotence, were universally recognized as having a claim upon society. So readily indeed did society acquiesce in this aspect of its obligations, that on the failure of the monasteries to relieve (and while as yet there were no Poor Laws), it was still sufficient to leave such persons to voluntary liberality. Only, in the twelfth year of Richard II., in order as far as practicable to prevent imposition, a system of licences was introduced, whereby those who were deemed worthy were commended to the people, and those who were deemed unworthy were restrained, or attempted to be restrained, for forged licences with seals duly attached, etc., were made use of without end ;¹⁹⁶ and, in spite of all provisions to the contrary, the said number of vagabonds and beggars was not seen in any part to be diminished, but rather daily augmented and increased into great routs or companies, as evidently and manifestly did and might appear.¹⁹⁷ These beggars were especially fond of crowding about

¹⁹² *Test. Ebor.*, iii. 101.

¹⁹³ *Dict. Johan. de Garlandia*, lived from beg. 11th cent. to at least 1081.

¹⁹⁴ Halliwell, *Dict. Arch. and Prov. Words*, s. v. *Clack-dish*.

¹⁹⁵ *Memorials of Canterbury*, 244.

¹⁹⁶ Froude, *Hist. of England*, i. ch. i.

¹⁹⁷ Preamble, Act 22 Hen. VIII.

the doors of churches, and the licences of those authorized to beg were read inside from the pulpits, that the congregations might know which of those who waited at the doors were worthy of alms. There are several references to this custom in the *Liber Vagatorum*, where also we find noticed the practice of frequenting the shrines of the saints. "These are vagrants who tramp through the country from one saint to another."¹⁹⁸ and whither soever these Stabülers come, in town or country, they beg; at one house for God's sake, at another for St. Valentine's sake according to the disposition of the people from whom they seek alms. For they do not adhere to one patron or trust to one method alone." At York, doubtless, it would be, "for the love of God and S. William." "They are the first-comers at fairs and church-celebrations, and the last-goers therefrom."¹⁹⁹ "There are also some that go up and down the aisles of churches, and carry a cup in their hands. They wear clothes suitable for this purpose, and pass about very infirm as though they were strangely ill, and go from one to the other, and bow towards those people who are likely to give them something."²⁰⁰ And a very good thing they made of it. Some there were that would "take a cow's spleen, and peel it on one side, and then lay it upon their bosom, the peeled part outside, besmearing it with blood, in order that people might think it the breast."²⁰¹ Paré relates the case of a young woman who begged in his time, at Vitre, in Brittany, and showed her breast, "as if it had a cancrus ulcer thereon, looking fearfully by reason of much sordid filth, wherewith it seemed to defile the cloth that lay under it." On opening it out, however, there was found "under her armpit a sponge moistened with a commixture of beast's blood and milk, carried through an elder-pipe to the hidden holes of her counterfeit cancer. Therefore" he fomented "her breast with warm water, and with the moisture thereof loosed the skins of black, green, and yellow frogs, laid upon it, and stuck together with glew, made of bole armenick, the white of an egg, and flower; and these beeing thus fetched off," the breast was found "perfectly sound." Others would feign "the falling down of the womb;" of whom Paré remarks—"Their cozenage is not much unlike theirs, vvho by fitly applying a sheep's paunch to their groin, counterfeit themselves to bee bursten." Several other examples *Of the Cozenages and crafty Tricks of Beggars* are given, exceedingly curious and amusing, but too long, and not quite sufficiently delicate to quote.²⁰² The doctrine, however, that special grace flowed to him who did a work of mercy,²⁰³ quite irrespective of the deserving of its object, caused all warnings and restraints for a long season to be practically inoperative. The poor, the maimed, the halt, the blind, the lepers, the deaf, the dumb, the sick, and the imprisoned, were objects of special favour; and one or other of these is the subject of by far the greater majority of the miracles of the saints. To be suffering and in distress was a sufficient warrant for relief. The cases were not carefully

¹⁹⁸ *Of the Stabülers, or Bread Gatherers.*

¹⁹⁹ *Of the Kleukners, or Cripples.*

²⁰⁰ *Liber Vagatorum*, part ii.

²⁰¹ *Id., Of the Voppers.*

²⁰² The *Workes* of that famous Chirurgion Ambrose Parey. Translated out

of Latine, and compared with the French, by Tho. Johnson, 1649; orig. ed. 1579; p. 670.

²⁰³ Fed the hungry, gave drink to the thirsty, took in the stranger, clothed the naked, visited the sick, released the prisoner, or buried the dead. —Matt. xxv.

questioned or inquired into. Better relieve a hundred undeserving than let one deserving little one of Christ appeal in vain. It is only in this manner that we can account for the munificent, but altogether indiscriminate charity we find recorded in old wills, for instance. Thus, we have Sir Richard de Scrop, Lord of Bolton, 2 Aug. 1400, leaving "Cuilibet prisonario in Gaolis castorum Ebor., Novi Castri, Duuolm', Karlioli, Richmundiæ, et Appelbi, ad obitum meum existenti ijs. Item cuilibet . . . claudum, secum (cæcum), vel impotentem, in cubiculo jacentem, xiijs iiijd,"²⁰⁴ without any restriction. So, again, Sir John Depeden, 20 Aug. 1402 :—"Cuilibet pauperi indigenti jacenti paralitico infra civitatem Ebor. iiijd. Et do et lego ad distribuendum indigentibus et jacentibus bedde reden circa villam de Helagh . . . cs."²⁰⁵ And Walter Skirlaw, Bishop of Durham, 7 March, 1403 :—"Inter mille pauperes, in lectis et aliis necessariis . . . mille marcas;" thirteen and fourpence each to a thousand poor persons to buy beds and other necessities, equal to ten thousand pounds of our money.²⁰⁶ Even Richard de Dalton, a poor barber of the City of York, acts in the same spirit according to his means :—"Pauperibus paraliticis infra Ebor. ijs iiijd. Item cuilibet domui leprosorum ijd . . . Item cuilibet pauperi debili, pernocianti infra firmariam Sancti Leonardi, jd."²⁰⁷ Numberless examples might be given. This splendid but indiscriminate charity increased, as we know, the number of beggars and vagabonds enormously, until they swarmed in England, as they do now in some of the continental cities. That they were not, as a class, regarded with disfavour, and that the people were encouraged by the Church not to regard them with disfavour, is, I think, shown by the fact that by far the great majority of the subjects of miracles in this remarkable window evidently belonged to that class of society. There are some which, in the meanness and incomparable scurviness of their appearance, approach very nearly the beggar in Raphael's Cartoon of the healing of the Lame Man at the Beautiful Gate of the Temple; that great artist, no doubt, being possessed to a considerable extent of the same idea as that which animated the designer of this window, namely, that an ill-favoured, dirty, neglected beggar, had an *a priori* claim to be the subject of a miracle. Nor can we doubt that from such a class, when the demand arose, subjects for miracles would ever be otherwise than easily forthcoming. Many of the modes in which diseases were simulated were extremely ingenious, and would readily deceive the un instructed; and if objects of charity before, how much more now, being healed, would they be deemed worthy of alms, the favoured of the saints of God! The sham *liberated prisoners*, we know, made great capital out of pretending to have been six or seven years in prison, and then liberated by the saint of whatever part of the country at the time they happened to be in, for having vowed to his shrine a pound of wax, a silver crucifix, or a chasuble.²⁰⁸ See comp. 91.

P. 49. (O. 41.) Much mutilated, smashed, and patched. Indications of an archbishop in mitre, pallium, blue chasuble, and red dalmatic, standing at Mass with hands raised and

²⁰⁴ *Test. Ebor.*, i. 274.

²⁰⁵ *Id.*, i. 297.

²⁰⁶ *Id.*, i. 313.

²⁰⁷ *Id.*, i. 154.

²⁰⁸ *Liber Vagatorum, Of the Lousers, or liberated Prisoners.*

folded, reading from an open illuminated book upon a desk at the south side of a sumptuous altar of large proportion, white and gold, with rich panelling and cornices, on an ornamental floor, with, above, an oblong canopy or *celure* of green fringed with white and gold, and at the south end a projecting rod with rings for hangings; with more or less of five ecclesiastics also standing,—one much mutilated and patched but with the remains below and in front of an alb richly apparelled in gold and of a dalmatic (now entirely red and blue fragments), carrying a closed book, on the cover of which is a large gold cross, another in an alb with similar apparel and blue dalmatic, one (vestments patched) holding an open book at the north end of the altar ready for the archbishop, one in white (small portion only visible) holding a long lighted candle, and one, lastly, at the south end of the altar near the archbishop, in a red cope, with a remarkably conspicuous tonsure. Background red, much corroded and patched.

T. 41. In the 3^d row & 1st light kneels an abp. at mass before an altar, wth a book open before him, and 3 monks kneeling behind him; the 1st habited B., 2^d gu., 3^d O. Also another monk stands at the end of the s^d altar habited gu.

William celebrating Mass at York on Trinity Sunday.

See note to comp. 41.

It is a question whether the blue colour of the chasuble in this compartment does not indicate the colour of that actually worn by S. William at the Mass celebrated by him on Trinity Sunday. Blue, strange to say, appears never to have been one of the fully recognized ecclesiastical colours for days or seasons, yet it was more or less in use from very early times. In a mosaic in the church of S. Venantius, at Rome, built A.D. 641, are figures of Venantius and Pope John IV. (the founder) *casulis cærulei coloris*.²⁰⁹ And though this is no more an absolute proof that blue vestments were actually used than is the painted glass under consideration, yet it seems not unlikely that such was the case, and that Wilfrid and later pastors of the Church of York may have brought the fashion home. Certainly old English Inventories shew that blue was much used in this country;²¹⁰ and Durandus, in speaking of the blue tunic of the Jewish High Priest, says—"The blue (*iacinthina*) set forth heavenly things (*aeria*) by its very colour."²¹¹ Particularly appropriate, therefore, would the colour be for Trinity Sunday. But Dr. Frederick George Lee has kindly furnished me with proof of the

²⁰⁹ Krazer, *De Liturgiis*, Augsb., 1786, 180.

²¹⁰ See the Inventories of York, Lin-

coln, &c., preserved in Dugdale, *Monasticon*, *passim*.

²¹¹ *Rat. Div. Off.*, iii. 19.

actual use of it on both *Whit Sunday* and *Trinity Sunday*. "Ffyrste a sute blew embroydred w^t gold, w^t anteloppes & byrdes of gold, the orfraies with crockyns & sterres of gold. That is to say ij copes with all the apparel ffor Prest Dekyn & Subdekyn the wth was the gyfft off Willm Bates & Chrystyan his wyffe. Deliverd and beyng in the keping off W. Bates, the wth by the consent of ye Parysh serveth for Whitsunday Itm a sute of blew the grond off braunches of gold, for Trinytye Sondaye."²¹² Dr. Lee is of opinion that this colour would be the one regularly used at York on Trinity Sunday.

P. 50. (O. 50.) A woman in pink, with very swollen face and legs, the former wrapped in a kerchief and the latter bare as high as the knees, seated on the floor before the shrine checky gold and black, supported by a man in a green jerkin buttoned in front and red hood. In the cornice of the shrine are several lions' heads, from which golden spouts of oil are issuing into a long horizontal trough which runs all round the shrine to receive them. Background blue, richly diapered.

T. 50. In the 5th light is another pinaced church A. & O., and 2 poor men sitting before the door thereof, whereof one is bare-legged, habited murry, the other behind him habited V^t, hood & cap gu.

The woman in the cart in comp. 46, now at the shrine of S. William, being cured.

A certain woman, who in her youth had been accustomed to walk after the wanton and lascivious flesh, presently had her viscera infected, and her several members swelled up like an inflated and translucent bladder. A fiery disease also arose in the lower part of her lungs, and caused so inextinguishable a thirst within her, that its heat could not be appeased by drinking any liquor. She therefore despises living physicians, and hastens to the living antidote of the dead physician. A cart is loaded with her body alone, and is unloaded before the door of the blessed Peter, and drawn to the tomb of the holy father William. And the wretched woman is little by little anointed with the oil which flowed from the tomb of the saint, and as she was wont to do, in a miserable tone of voice importunately besought her health from the saint. A wonderful thing! The dropsical liquid is so destroyed and dried up by virtue of the holy oil, that the watery humour bred within is neither cast out through any part of the body, nor retained within to nourish the disease. Then in a wonderful manner by the power of God she began quickly to mend, and to recover the strength of her body, once despaired of, so as to become lighter and stronger, after the favour of this divine gift, than she was by nature before the disease.²¹³

The flowing of the oil, represented above, according to the following

²¹² *Church Book of Thame, Oxfordshire*,
A.D. 1412—1526.

²¹³ *In commem. S. Willcl., lect. 2, 3.*
Brev. Ebor.

account, first began in the year 1308. "It happened in the year of the Incarnate Word one thousand three hundred and eight, on the Thursday of the holy week of Pentecost, that the tomb of the afore-said glorious confessor sweated forth a liquid oil, a sovereign remedy for various kinds of diseases; which having been announced to the heads of the church by the faithful bystanders, and by those who were lying there for the purpose of prayer, they (the clergy) doubted, on account of the extraordinary clearness of the liquid, whether it possessed the true nature of oil. Having therefore collected some of that blessed gift and made a lamp of it, and lighted it, the wonderful flames proceeding from it, as if it were common oil, struck the beholders with wonder. Then were heard the voices of psalm singers, and the ringing of bells, and the miracle was noised abroad over the city and country, and divers faithful persons who were suffering from sickness both by anointing with the oil and by the sole invocation of the holy confessor, on the same day, through the mercy of Christ, were thought worthy to obtain the joys of health.²¹⁴ The oil must, however, have been said to have flowed still earlier, as it is one of the miracles mentioned in the brief of the beatification of S. William, 1226.²¹⁵ Paris, indeed, says that it began to flow in 1223.²¹⁶ The oil is mentioned in the Breviary,²¹⁷ without any date being specified; and, again,—

Vivum xpc oleo tam large liniuit,
quod adhuc in mortuo olei fons uiuit
Ut sit nomen presulis oleum effusum,
corpus fundit oleum ad egrorum usum.²¹⁸

The flowing of the oil is also mentioned by Stubbs.²¹⁹ But the tomb of S. William was by no means singular in this flowing of miraculous oil. They had it at Beverley, at the shrine of S. John. On the feast of S. Bernard, A.D. 1312, it flowed and ceased not until the third hour of the following day; and many blind persons anointed therewith, by the merits of the holy man received sight.²²⁰ In the year 1238 the fame of S. Robert the hermit of Knaresborough was spread abroad, by reason of his tomb flowing forth a medicinal oil.²²¹ "From the reliques of St. Wallburg of Eistadt, issued a sacred oil, which by the grace of God and the intercession of St. Wallburg gave sight to the blind, hearing to the deaf, cureth the lame, &c."²²² From the tomb of S. Simeon there flowed, at stated intervals, an oil endowed with supernatural virtues; beginning to ooze out a few days before the festival of the saint, flowing out freely during the feast, and then after a few days ceasing.²²³ The tomb of the blessed Pope Nicholas also distilled forth an oil, for the healing of many infirmities.²²⁴ For a notice of the celebrated oil of S. Catherine, see Peacock, *Church Furniture*, 183, note. This flowing forth of miraculous oil was akin to the "odour of sanctity," and to the incorruptibility attributed to the saints.

²¹⁴ *Dolworth MS.*, 34.

²¹⁵ Printed in full, tranal. Browne, *York Minster*, p. 52.

²¹⁶ Raine, *Fest. Ebor.*, 227, note v.

²¹⁷ *Fest. tranal. lect. I., Brev. Ebor.*

²¹⁸ *Brev. Ebor. Rudby.*

²¹⁹ Col. 1722.

²²⁰ *Acta SS. Boll. Muii ii.*, 194. Harpessfeld, *Hist. Ang. Ecclesiast.*, 1622, p. 148.

²²¹ Matthew Paris, *sub. an.*, 1238.

²²² Porter, *Lives of Saints*, quoted by Browne, *York Minster*, p. 51.

²²³ *Surius*, tom. iiii., Junii 27.

²²⁴ *Ioonn. Diac. ex Meth. div.*, in *Vita*.

The dropsy with which this poor woman was afflicted was not probably presumed to have arisen in the ordinary course of nature, but rather to have been visited on her as a retribution for the sins and offences of her youth. Parè relates some cases as awful warnings, which will serve as well as any others to indicate the prevailing opinion, even as late as the latter half of the sixteenth century. "Joannes Ruepff, in libris de Conceptu & Generatione hominis, scribit, temporibus suis mulierem quandam libidinis perditæ, & deploratæ verecundiæ, noctu cum dæmone, qui se in virum induerat, rem habuisse, repenteque à concubitu alio tumidam euasisse, cumque gravidam se crederet, in dirum adeo morbi genus incidisse, ut interanea omnia illi per apum exciderint, nihil contra valentibus remediis. Similiis de Lanii cuiusdam seruo narratur historia. Ei in venereas cogitationes de nocte profundius demerso, apparuit diabolus muliebri facie, cum quo (mulierem esse ratus) rem cum habuisset, genitalia sic & coitu exarserunt, ut subito igne sacro multo cum dolorum cruciatu interierit."²²⁵ Notwithstanding, Parè was one of the most distinguished surgeons of his own, or indeed of any age. As Professor Theodor Billroth of Vienna remarks, "some of his treatises, that on the treatment of gun-shot wounds for instance, are perfectly classical; and he rendered himself immortal by the introduction of ligature for bleeding vessels after amputation." Parè, however, observing and describing his own experience, and Parè reading and copying the observations and experience of others, are two entirely different persons.

P. 51. (O. 51.) A man in a red tightly fitting covering for body and legs, face and hands alone bare, standing with his arms crossed on his bosom, his yellow hair cropped in an even circle all round his head, near the shrine (on the altar of which is a cylindrical monstrance on a low foot), at which are two ecclesiastics—one in a very flowing surplice with white fur almuce buttoned at the throat by a single button, and the other in a surplice alone, and a grave-looking old man with a long beard, in a purple cap, a red tunic with sleeves wide at the shoulder and narrow at the wrist, and flowing blue mantle without sleeves, high green collar, and baton hanging at his side, facing the man in red, and holding a combatant's pledge in his hand. Another figure in a green tunic lined with white fur, girt at the waist by a gold belt, looking on. Background of fragments, patched.

T. 55. In the 5th light is a church & altar A., about w^{ch} stand 2 monks, one habited A., the other gu., holding a white pater in his hand; behind the first stand 3 other men, 1st habited and capped gu., the 2^d B. & hooded gu., 3^d habited V^t.

²²⁵ Parè, Opera; lib. xxv. cap. xvj.

A certain man, Ralph by name, waging battle with his adversary Besing.

See note to comp. 55.

The tunic, well shewn in this compartment, was the usual outer garment of the civil costume at the time the window was executed, the mantle having fallen into disuse. It reached generally nearly to the ankles, was slit up in front below, but buttoned close about the neck, and the sleeves, if loose above, were tight at the wrist. In general appearance it bore no distant resemblance to the modern shirt. It was apparently put over the head in the same manner; and the aperture at the top is sometimes represented no larger than barely sufficient to allow the head to pass through, though at others it is larger, and a row of buttons closes it down the front. (Comp. 46.) Tunics with, and tunics without fur, are mentioned in old wills and inventories, commonly enough. In the Vision of Pierce Ploughman a physician is described with a furred hood and cloak of Calabre, which was a costly kind of fur; and the monk, in Chaucer, had the sleeves of his tunic edged with the finest fur that could be procured:—

“ I saugh his sleeves purfild atte hond
With grys, and that the fynest of a lond.”²²⁶

Richard de Ley, Husbandman, on the contrary, 26 Mar. 1461, bequeaths “ Thomæ servienti meo j tunicam de corio omnino.”²²⁷ But the leather tunic was more commonly called a *jerkin*. *Buff jerkins* were worn by the military formerly, and doublets and jerkins by the poor; by whom, according to Strutt,²²⁸ they were in actual use at the close of the last century. Strutt thought that the so-called round frocks, carmen's frocks, or smocks worn by rustics in some parts of England, with collars, wristbands, and fronts so elaborately decorated with needlework, are the representatives of the ancient tunic at the present day.²²⁹ The so-called frock-coats are doubtless also lineally descended from the same.

The tunic was worn loosely girt about the waist by a belt, buckled in front, often with a long end hanging down and terminating in an ornament, or pomander of open metal-work, which, descending from the hips amidst the loose flowing folds of the tunic, was far from ungraceful. So costly were the fittings of these belts, of silver, gold, and precious stones, that, like the girdles of ladies already described (comp. 46), in inventories they were generally reckoned amongst the *Jocalia*; bequeathed by will from husband to wife, from parent to child; and not unfrequently offered at the shrines of the Saints.²³⁰ A vast number of different kinds will be found described in the *Testamenta Eboracensia*, from the “zonam de argento” of Robert Eryngthorn, to the “Unam zonam de corio” of John Kexby, of York. The ornamental “pendawnt” or “mordaculum,” well shewn in comp. 78, of open metal-work, appearing on monumental effigies in great variety, and frequently described in inventories, is usually said to have contained scent, or preservative against

²²⁶ Pilgrimage, Prologue, 193.

²²⁷ Test. Ebor., ii. 249.

²²⁸ Dress and Manners, &c., ii. 353.

²²⁹ Dress and Manners, &c., i. 6.

²³⁰ There were several at the shrine of S. William and the tomb of Abp. Richard le Scrope, at York. Mon. Ang., vi., pt. iii., 1206—7.

infection, or a hot metal ball for warming the hands (Haines, *Bronzes*, i. 241, where numerous interesting examples and authorities are cited). But another use, not so well known, though probably much more common, was for containing Mithridate, or Treacle, Venice treacle, London treacle, etc., etc., the renowned universal antidote against poison, and remedy for every disease and sickness. Thus, in Caxton's *Book for Travellers*, we have—"Colard the goldsmith oweth me to make my gyrdle—A gyrdle nayled (*i.e.*, ornamented as with nails) with siluer weying xl pens and a triacle box." Mithridate was supposed to have been invented by Mithridates, King of Pontus, and it was believed from a very early period that whoever took a portion in the morning was insured against poison for the day,²³¹ and that it was in consequence of the use of it Mithridates was himself so fortified against all baneful influences he was unable to destroy himself.²³² As described by Celsus, it contained thirty-five ingredients; but Andromachus, physician to Nero, "reformed" the original prescription, adding vipers, and increasing the number of ingredients to seventy-five. The addition of the vipers, by which it was supposed to be rendered more powerful as an antidote against the bites of venomous reptiles, was deemed sufficiently important to warrant the name of the remedy being changed to *Theriaca*, under which name it was known from the reign of Trajan downwards. The strongest poisons, it was believed, had the effect of rendering all weaker ones inoperative. Even as late as the time of the Great Plague of London, this doctrine was held, and Dr. Hodges writes that, having tried crabs' eyes and all the most approved remedies without result, he preferred going on at once to rattlesnake lozenges and powdered toads, seeing carefully, however, that you are not put off with common snakes for the lozenges, but secure the genuine, rattle and all. Similar fantastic fancies and notions directed the choice of the remaining drugs in this singular composition—the more venerated the more fantastic. The extreme difficulty of procuring many of the substances—balm of Gilead, spikenard, camels' hay, Indian leaf, Macedonian parsley, etc., etc., at a time when travelling was difficult and few knew how to discriminate one drug from another, added to its reputation and enhanced its value.²³³ But the chief ground of its reputation was doubtless the authority derived from its continuous use by the greatest Physicians during a period of fifteen hundred years, during which the alteration of one of its ingredients would have been considered little less than sacrilege. For curious extracts from MSS. relating to its use in the middle ages, see Ducange, s.vv. *Mithridatum*, *Thiriaca*, *Tiriaca*, *Tyriaca*, and *Triaculum*. Ambrose Paré had the highest opinion of it, but gives an amusing account of how the travelling "Impostors or Mountebanks," "in order to cozen the better, and deceiv the people," used to take vipers at a season when they were least venomous, and feed them "wth meats formerly unusual to them," etc., etc., until at last their bites were harmless, and then allow themselves to be freely bitten in public, pretending that they escaped death only in consequence of the "counterfeit treacle" which they had to sell.²³⁴ Vincent of Beauvais called *Theriaca* "domina

²³¹ Galen, *De antidot. Lib. i.*

²³² Celsus, *De re medicina*, v. 23.

²³³ For picturesque representation of this difficulty, see *Kenilworth*, ch. xiii.

²³⁴ *Lib. xxi.*, cap. 22.

medicarum,"—of use not only in sickness of almost all kinds and as a remedy against poisons, but in health also, to comfort the heart and stomach, and sharpen the senses and appetite.²³⁵ "Unum Godet (i. e. little earthen jar) cum treacle," was thought not an unworthy offering to the shrine of S. Cuthbert. Olaus Magnus, speaking of the great number of snakes amongst the northern nations, says that in order to recover infants who have swallowed small ones, "tyriacæ portiunculam (cujus copiam *ad manus incessanter* ab exoticis negotiatoribus emptam habent) ori immittunt;"²³⁶ and adds that he knows many who have used the medicine regularly for sixty or ninety years, who by so doing have preserved their health to an advanced age,—amongst them, James archbishop of Upsala of blessed memory, who in the hundredth year of his age, died A.D. 1522.²³⁷ Chaucer bears witness to the notoriety of the drug, when he makes "Owre ost" say, in reference to the lady in the Doctor of Physick's tale :—

"By corpus boones, but yf I have triacle,
Other elles a draught of moyst and corny ale,
Other but I hiere anon a mery tale,
Myn hert is broste for pitè of that mayde."

In Butt's "Diets Dry Dinner," 1599, we are told that the "Cantabrigian Ackademicks," who used to go to Cherry Hinton in the season to eat cherries, were oft "constrained to implore the aid of Mithridate and his cosin Triacle, in regaining the Castle of Health." And, so sovereign were these remedies, the Divines of that day thought it not unbecoming to speak of Christ, in their Sermons, as our "Treacle." As late as the middle of the eighteenth century the genuine Treacle was still in use, and the old prescriptions for it are contained in all the Pharmacopœias and Dispensatories of that time, including the official London Pharmacopœia of 1746. As thus prepared, it was essentially a warm diaphoretic opiate, one grain of opium being contained in about four of Mithridate, or seventy-five of Treacle, and doubtless in a number of cases was a really valuable medicine, given, as Salmon directs in his new London Dispensatory, 1676, "in a glass of Rhenish Wine, Alicant, Tent, or Canary;" weakened and spoiled though it were by the redundancy of astrological, mystical, and inoperative, ill-understood drugs with which its more active ingredients were associated. It was eventually banished from medical practice by the ANTIOPIAKA of Dr. Heberden, which appeared in 1745; though, when its rejection was proposed to the College of Physicians by Dr. Heberden, the proposal was only carried by a majority of one, thirteen Fellows voting for its being retained, and fourteen for its rejection.

The gown, or mantle, was rapidly going out of use at the time this window was executed, at least as an indoor garment, though frequently mentioned in old wills and inventories. Thus—"Lego Johanni Lowell servienti meo . . . j gown de violet cum capucio. Item lego Roberto de Garton j robam sine capucio."²³⁸ "Unam togam de nigro cum uno capucio de eodem colore."²³⁹ "Unam togam de sangwyn, cum

²³⁵ Spec. Doct. xii. 107.

²³⁶ De Gent. Sepient., xiii. 9.

²³⁷ Ibid., xxi. 49.

²³⁸ Will of Alan de Alnewyk, Gold-

smith of York, 3 Sep. 1374. Test. Ebor., i. 92.

²³⁹ Will of Thomas de Malton, 1400. Id., i. 268.

totâ furrurâ."²⁴⁰ "Johanni filio meo unam togam viridem cum capucio."²⁴¹ The gown has, however, come down to us as an official and academical robe. As worn by judges and members of civic corporations it approaches nearest to its ancient forms; and indeed in these compartments (51-54) indicates the officer of justice. Even in the last century it was still the ordinary dress of the clergy. The late Dr. M. J. Routh, President of Magdalen College, Oxford, who died in 1854, aged 99, was probably the last to wear his gown all day long, not laying it aside even for private meals, etc.

P. 52. (O. 52.) Two men in tightly-fitting red, as before, the one to the front only being entirely visible, the head of the other appearing behind, on their knees, with their hands upon a book held out before them by a man in pink and blue patched fragments of drapery, seated on a chair, with another in pink, mutilated, standing by. Three other figures, one in blue with a fine double turned-up cap on, one in a blue cap with head alone visible, behind, and the third in green with a blue tippet, bareheaded. Background red.

T. 51. In the first row & 1st light are 2 monks habited gu., kneeling before an altar [canopied chair of officer], and 3 others standing behind them habited B.

Ralph and Besing taking the necessary oaths before commencing battle.

See note to comp. 55.

Though most of the articles of dress were cut according to one pattern, and all the peasantry especially were clad alike, a taste for great diversity showed itself in head-coverings, both as regards their form, colour, and material. Thus, in Paris, in the preceding century, there were already rules and regulations for the felt hat-makers, woollen hat-makers, fur hat-makers, &c.²⁴² Caps and hats in the fifteenth century were a fancy article, and are mentioned of all possible kinds, in old wills and inventories. "De v bonetes duplicatis, iij*s* iiij*d*." "De ij capp*s* dublicibus pro capellanis, iij*s* iiij*d*." "De j standyng cap pro puero j d." &c. &c.²⁴³ These peaked, doubled, conical, and especially high conical thick caps of fur, red, blue, and green, were very dear to the early fifteenth century glass-painters as a means of introducing colour. The material varied with the means of the wearer, from the choicest fur to sheep-skin, from the richest velvet to knitted stuff. The latter, used chiefly by the peasantry, were convenient for throwing on one side or putting into the pocket when not in use, and were similar to some in use by agricultural labourers in Lincolnshire during the recollection of the present writer, and perhaps even still in use there or elsewhere. The knitting of such

²⁴⁰ Will of William Barkar of Tadcaster, 22 Oct. 1403. *Test. Ebor.*, i. 328.

²⁴¹ Will of William Gowsell, husbandman, 21 Sep. 1428. i. 414.

²⁴² *Doc. inéd. sur l'Hist. de France, Livre des Métiers.*

²⁴³ *Inv. Thos. Gryssop, of York, Chapman, 1446. Test. Ebor.*, iii. 101.

caps was a recognized trade, as appears from a presentment in the Ripon Chapter act book, 4 July, 1466. "Marioria Claton Cappeknytter dī for cū Johē Swynburn de Ripō Harpour." (See notes to comps. 46 and 51.)

P. 53. (O. 53.) Two men in red tightly-fitting covering for body and legs, face and hands alone bare, each holding in the left hand a yellow wooden quadrangular shield by a handle in the centre, and in the right a staff expanded at the distal end like a crutch, fighting; a man in a flowing blue mantle and high conical green cap, in a chair or throne with an ornamental back, pinnaced, watching; and the heads of two others, one in a pink, the other in a red cap, appearing over the top of a wooden boarded barricade. Background blue.

T. 52. In the 2^d light stand 2 monks barefooted, habited gu., the one holding up a great stone O., the other stooping down to take up a broad stone y^t lyes at his feet; behind the first sits in a silver chair an old man habited gu. & B., cap V^t, and behind the other stands another man wth a naked sword in his hand, habited gu.

Ralph and Besing fighting before the justice, and the people watching.

See note to comp. 55.

P. 54. (O. 54.) The two fighting men lying upon the ground with their shields and sticks thrown down beside them; one of them (one particle of red tight only remaining on the left ankle, the rest replaced by modern purple) obviously in bad case, with a finger and thumb of his left hand applied to his right eye, the other—buttons of his tight red vest well showing from the chin downwards in front—leaning over and looking intently at the smitten eye; the grave old man, this time in a chair with an ornamental canopy reaching forward from the high back to which it is attached, in a blue mantle with pink tippet and blue cap, watching; and five persons, in various bright colours, leaning forward, cramming and crushing over the top of a low wooden boarded barricade, and gesticulating. Background red, richly diapered.

T. 53. In the 3^d light sits in a white chair an old man habited B., mantled murry, wth a blew cap on his head tripple-folded. Two monks lye at his feet habited gu., the

one lying upon the other wth hands over his eyes. Over agst them 6 monks stand upon a bridge, variously hooded & capped, viz., sanguine, B., gu., V^t, & O.

Besing *exoculatus uno oculo*, and the justice ordering the other eye to be extracted.

See note to comp. 55.

P. 55. (O. 55.) The man in red (but that of the right leg, arms, and chest replaced by modern insertion) prostrate before the shrine, on the altar of which is a golden ciborium, and two persons watching; one in pink lined with white fur, and one in green. Background blue, richly diapered.

T. 54. In the 4th light is a monk habited gu., kneeling before an altar in a church A., whereon stands the golden chalice covered; also another monk stands behind him, wth hands conjoined at prayer, habited sanguine.

Besing getting two better eyes back, at the shrine of S. William, in place of his lost ones.

A certain man of the name of Ralph, who having broken the peace of our Lord the King, was vanquished in a duel and deprived of an eye by his adversary Besing, was afterwards condemned to lose the other eye, because he had been vanquished. He was given over to the executor of justice, who extracted the other eye, and a certain lad named Hugh picked up both the extracted eyes, and carried them away in his hand. And after some days had passed, the aforesaid Ralph drawing nigh to the tomb of the blessed William, after having performed fasts and prayers, recovered two eyes smaller than the former, and sharp and clear sight; but his former eyes had a different colour, namely, like glass.⁴⁴ The miracle is mentioned in the papal brief for the beatification of the saint, A.D. 1226, thus:—"To one who had been overcome in a duel, and unjustly condemned, when he cried out earnestly at the sepulchre of the saint, and the more confidently asked that he would restore his eyes to him, of which he knew that he had been unjustly deprived, the saint strangely and marvellously gave other new eyes."⁴⁵

Trial by Battle, like the trial by Ordeal (see comp. 103-5), was resorted to in ambiguous or doubtful cases where the evidence was conflicting, or deficient; an appeal being made to the most high Majesty of God, which could not be deceived, and which it was believed would not but decide. Unlike the Ordeal, it was not derived by us from the Anglo-Saxons, but from the Normans, with whom it was in use from a very early period. It was indeed said by the medieval writers to be as old as the human race, Cain and Abel having agreed to settle their differences by this appeal, when unable to decide in any other manner which

⁴⁴ *Doucecorth MS.*, 37.

⁴⁵ Browne, *York Minster*, 53.

of their offerings the Lord respected. It is certain that it was in use in Spain at the time of the Roman Conquest ; that it was generally resorted to by the ancient Danes and Irish, Burgundians, Franks, and Lombards ; and that the earliest records of Hungary, Bohemia, Poland, Servia, Silesia, Moravia, Pomerania, Lithuania, and Russia give evidence of its use in those countries. Its employment is regulated, and the cases to which it is applicable defined, in the laws of Charlemagne ; and, in England, by those of William the Conqueror and later sovereigns.²⁴⁶ The trial was of two kinds ; the one, belonging to the Court Martial, with sharp weapons, to bloodshed ; the other, belonging the Civil Court, with blunt weapons, to victory only. Both were fought in the open air (*in Campo*) ; either directly by the plaintiff and defendant, or indirectly, by deputies (*Campioni, Champions*). The various circumstances and regulations under which the different forms were resorted to need not detain us here ; nor the form of trial in the Court Martial. "The general principle on which the combat was conducted was the absolute assertion by each party of the justice of his cause." In the Civil Court, if the defendant pleaded *not guilty* on, say for instance, a charge of felony, and waged Battle, he threw down his glove, and undertook to defend his innocence by his body. The plaintiff replied that he was ready to make good his charge upon the body of the defendant, and took up the glove. A solemn oath was then administered to each, either on the book of the Gospels, or on a relic of approved sanctity, or, as Spelman says, on an open Missal (*Missale apertum*). The defendant, he says, laid his right hand on the open book, and with his left took the plaintiff by the right hand and swore as follows :—*Hear this thou that callest thyself — by the name of baptism, that I who call myself — by the name of baptism, did not feloniously — on the — day of — in the year — &c., as thou dost surmise, nor am any way guilty of the said felony ; so help me God* (kissing the book), *and this I will defend against thee by my body as this court shall award.* The plaintiff then laid his right hand on the book, and with his left took the defendant by the right, and swore as follows :—*Hear this thou that callest thyself — by the name of baptism, that thou didst feloniously — on the — day of — in the year — &c., so help me God* (kissing the book), *and this I will prove against thee by my body, as this court shall award.* This done, the court appointed a day and place for the Battle ; the defendant meanwhile being kept in custody, and the plaintiff finding sureties for his appearance. At sunrise, on the day of battle, both parties were brought into the field before the Justices of the court where the appeal was pending, bare headed, bare legged from the knee downward, bare armed from the elbows forward, the lists previously having been prepared and enclosed by barriers, the ground examined to see that it was firm and even and that there were no stones lying about on it, and officers being in attendance. Each was armed with a baton a yard in length, and a four-cornered wooden shield covered with leather (*cum fuste et scuto*). An oath

²⁴⁶ Lea, *Wager of Battle* ; a most valuable Essay on all relating to this part of the subject. But the forms and ceremonies of the judicial duel, of the greatest interest in connection with the above

representations, Mr. Lea most unfortunately omits, as "merely interesting to the pure archæologist ;" and the writer has therefore been obliged to gather the materials for what follows where he could.

against sorcery was now administered to both, each touching with his hand the open missal, and saying:—*Hear this, ye justices, that I have this day neither eaten, drunk, nor have upon me either bones, stones, or grass, or any enchantment, sorcery, or witchcraft, whereby the law of God may be abased, or the law of the devil exalted. So help me God and his saints.* The battle then began, and the combatants were bound to fight until the stars appeared in the evening, if the one could not before succeed in vanquishing or disabling the other. Whichever was overcome, Providence was deemed to have decided against, and if the defendant he was fined, punished, or deprived accordingly, unless he could maintain the fight until the stars appeared, in which case the judgment was given in his favour.²⁴⁷ I have not been able to meet with an account of the red tightly-fitting covering represented above, but the *Speculum Saxonicum*²⁴⁸ says the combatants are to wear only one garment (*et unicum tunicam induant*), and that the head, feet, and arms below the elbows are to be left bare, in order to give every facility of movement; and Spelman cites a case (given below), in which the *femoralia* were of scarlet satin. Bromton quotes an old law of Richard I. which alludes incidentally to the cropping of the hair. "Let a thief," it says, "be cropped like a champion, and boiling pitch poured upon his head, and a feather be put upon his head that he may be known (tarred and feathered)."²⁴⁹ Ducange also quotes an old English Charter, in which the charge for the cropping of a champion is given, and other sources of information from which it appears that it was the custom to crop the hair all round above the ears, so as to make it resemble a wreath or crown upon the head. Many particulars of great interest are also given respecting the four-cornered shield (*escu de quatre corners*), and crutch-shaped or horned sticks (*habentes cornua, bastons cornus*).²⁵⁰ The nature of the punishment inflicted on the vanquished (and therefore, as was presumed, guilty) combatant, varied in different ages and different circumstances. Under the early Norman kings it was exceedingly barbarous. In extreme cases the eyes were torn out, and other grievous mutilations inflicted, rather than death, in order that the body of the unfortunate man might ever after remain a monument of his guilt.²⁵¹ Thus, in the year 1096, in the octave of the Epiphany, at Salisbury, the king commanded the eyes of William de Owe to be extracted (*et testiculos abscidere*) because he had been conquered in a duel, and William de Aldri his steward to be hanged, as the lesser punishment.²⁵² Possibly the supplementary punishment was inflicted on Ralph, after his discomfiture by Besing. At all events, the verse—*Membra dat castratis*, occurs in one of the sequences of the York Missal. As early as the tenth and eleventh centuries nearly every question that could possibly arise had come to be liable to decision by

²⁴⁷ Spelman, *Gloss.*, s. vv., *Campus* and *Duellum*; Stephens, *Commentaries on the Laws of England*, 4th ed. iv. 481; Ducange, *Gloss.*, s. v. *Duellum*; and the treatises by Glanville and Bracton, *De legibus et Consuetudinibus Angliæ*, the former belonging to the reign of Henry II., the latter to that of Henry III.

²⁴⁸ I. art. 63 cited by Ducange, s. v. *Duellum*.

²⁴⁹ Bromton, A.D. 1189, col. 1173.

²⁵⁰ s. v. *Campio*, *Duellum*.

²⁵¹ Interdicto etiam ne quis occidatur, vel suspendatur, pro aliqua culpa. et deruantur oculi, et abscindantur testiculi, vel pedes, vel manus, itaque truncus vivus, remaneat in signum prodicioni. et nequitie suæ: secundum enim quantitatem delicti debet præna maleficiis indigi. *Law of Will. I.*, cited by Spelman, *Op. cit.*, s. v. *Oculorum effusio*.

²⁵² Simeon of Durham, col. 222.

wager of battle; and numerous noteworthy instances of its actual employment will be found quoted in Mr. Lea's valuable Essay already referred to. S. Thomas Aquinas defends it. The legality of lots and chances in general he argues from Ps. xxx. 15 (Vulg.), *In manibus tuis sortes meæ*, on which the gloss of S. Augustine is as follows—*Sors non est aliquid mali, sed res in humana dubitatione divinam indicans voluntatem*; and on Josh. vii. 13 seq., Acts i. 24 seq. The duel, in particular, is defended by the precedent of David and Goliath (1 Sam. xvii.).²⁵³ De Lyra also in his commentary on this passage considers the civil duel lawful. Eventually however as civilization spread and people became enlightened, this (to us) senseless custom began to be distrusted. So thoroughly however had it become "engrafted in the convictions and prejudices of Europe, that centuries were requisite for its extirpation."²⁵⁴ It was first discontinued in Iceland, being interdicted as a judicial proceeding in 1011. Then in Denmark. Afterwards in France. Throughout the rest of Europe it gradually declined during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, but continued in use in England later than in any other country. Spelman relates that as late as the year 1571, Simon Low and John Kime prosecuted Thomas Paramore before the Justice of Common Pleas, at Westminster, on behalf of a manor and certain lands in the island of *Hartie juxta insulam Shepey* in the County of Kent. Paramore obtained the right of defending himself by duel, and chose for his champion one George Thorne, a strong and thickset man; the plaintiff chose one Henry Nailer, a fencing master, not so strong, but nimble; and the duel was arranged to be fought in Tothill Fields, near Westminster. A quadrangular space having been prepared, a barrier was set around it, to enclose the combatants and keep out the crowd. The west side was prepared with accommodation for the judges and officers of the Court; the other three with seats one above another as in a theatre, for spectators. On the morning of the fight Nailer appeared according to appointment, clad in doublet and drawers with looser trousers of scarlet satin, and adorned with red fillet and plume, with drums and trumpets sounding before him, an officer carrying on the point of a sword the glove which had been thrown down by Thorne, and another the *druncus* or round stick an ell in length *cornuque munitum in extremitate*, and shield of hard leather, with which the duel was to be fought. The whole court of Common Pleas turned out from Westminster Hall, the Lord Chief Justice being clad in his scarlet robes, and after certain formalities the two combatants were placed face to face, each bare headed and bare legged, with the sleeves of their doublets tied up above their elbows. By a legal arrangement, however, the adjudication was made by the Chief Justice without the duel actually being fought; the property was adjudicated to Paramore, and Nailer ordered to restore the glove to Thorne.²⁵⁵ This account is of great interest as handing down to that late period the mediæval tradition of a measured space for the combatants to fight in, of barriers enclosing it to keep out the crowd, of officers of justice in attendance, of scarlet gear, sticks and shields, etc., as represented in this window. In the

²⁵³ *Summa Theologiae*, 2nd pt., pt. ii., Quaest. xcvi., art. viii.

²⁵⁴ Lea, *Op. cit.*, where the history of the decline and disuse of the trial by

battle in the various nations of Europe is well worked out.

²⁵⁵ Spelman, *Op. cit.*

seventeenth century, Sir Matthew Hale described the various niceties of the law of judicial combat, though speaking of it as "an unusual trial at this day."²⁶⁶ Still it remained in force, and in the next century was warmly defended in the House of Commons by the learned and eloquent Dunning, afterwards Lord Ashburton, and even Burke raised his voice against the proposed innovation of its abolition.²⁶⁷ In 1818 an appeal was made to it in a case of murder, and allowed by Lord Ellenborough and his brother Justices; and had not the plaintiff withdrawn, the Chief Justice would have had to preside over the combat. A similar case occurred almost at the same time in Ireland, and led to the final abolition of this ancient right next year by the Act 59 Geo. III. cap. 46.²⁶⁸ But, though the law could abolish the legality of the Wager of Battle, it could not abolish the principle in nature which rendered it once so popular, and still so ready a method of settling differences to the satisfaction of both parties; and hence, in a rough and unauthorised form, it survived amongst both men and women of the lower orders, and school-boys, and beasts; and amongst the Irish, we believe, it is practised not altogether without some show of religious ceremonial.

CANOPIES.—A row of low-crowned canopies executed in white glass with yellow stain filling in the heads of the second tier of lights, between the second transom and the tops of the five last compartments; each consisting of a three-sided projecting front in front of another three-sided projecting front, each (with the exception of the two outermost, which do not allow sufficient height) gabled, crocketted, and pinnacled, with in addition a pinnacle at each angle: the whole design of very simple conception, the crockets being mere rounded knobs, and finials as plain as possible. The effect of the nine white pinnacles gleaming out from the background of colour in each compartment is, however, rich, bright, and graceful. The colours of the backgrounds are as follows:—

Blue Red Blue Red Blue.

For the reasons given in speaking of the tier below they ought probably to be

Red Blue Red Blue Red.

P. 56, 57, 58, 59, 60. (? O. 56, 57, 58, 59, 60.) The upper fifth of each alone glazed with disjointed fragments leaded together, and the rest with common glazier's quarries.

Torre omits all mention of these compartments, from which it must be gathered that they were empty in his time.

²⁶⁶ Hale, *Pleas of the Crown*, ii., xxix.

²⁶⁷ Campbell, *Lives of the Chancellors*, vi. 112.

²⁶⁸ *Id.*, iii. 169. Stephen, *Commentaries on the Laws of England*, 4th ed., iv. 479.

It is impossible now to say what there may not have been here originally. The transom is so wide as to hide all except the upper part of each compartment when seen from the floor. Still, on the medieval principle that beauties should be scattered, as in Nature, not only where they can be seen, but "where no man is, in the wilderness where there is no man," in bell chambers and the groined vaults of out-of-way staircases for instance, it is almost inconceivable that these compartments should not originally have contained pictures like the rest. It would be reserved for a later day to take these out from a position in which it was presumed no one would ever miss them, and place them, irrespective of sense and order, in different parts of the window in the room of damaged compartments. Here may possibly have been some of those miracles from the Dodsworth MS. or Breviary one would fain have seen in the window, but which are not represented elsewhere;—such as the cure of Albreda of Gysburne of a condition following the operation (as then performed) of stone in the bladder; of the girl at York who had a swelling on her neck; of the young man Henry by name who had club foot, and always used to be falling with it in the streets of York; the fire which accidentally broke out in the city, and burnt the house in which the body of the Saint lay whilst awaiting burial, but touched not even so much as the silken wrappings of his body; or the cure of the deaf and dumb man of Wartre.

P. 61. (O. 61.) A devil, pink, with curly hair, face, head, and sweeping bushy tail of a grotesque beast, and wings of a dragon, seizing a young man in a blue tunic lined with white fur and girt at the waist by a yellow ornamental belt, his hands uplifted, and fear depicted in his countenance. A white tree behind. Background red.

T. 61. In the lower row & first light is the picture of a fiery devill wth a cloven foot, beast's tail & horns & dragons wings, seizing a monk by the back B., as fleeing from him.

A young scholar, taken captive by the devil, rescued by S. John of Beverley.

S. John of Beverley had a special reputation for assisting those possessed with devils. Out of many instances which might be given, writes Ketellus, we will produce one, in which by aid of the aforesaid Pontiff a certain one was wonderfully delivered from dæmoniacal bondage. A young scholar once went to Beverley to study Divinity, and charmed the clergy there not less by his attainments and pleasant manners, than by his real worth and industry. The devil, envying his good name and reputation, set a trap whereby to ensnare him. In an unhappy hour his eyes rested on the face of a beautiful virgin of that city, and his heart steadfastly inclined towards her. Day by day his love for her increased and that for his books diminished, until at last he became like a horse or a mule in which is no understanding, and his beautiful youthful face was spoiled by horrid leanness. Despairing of all other modes of release or cure, he took himself to the blessed John, who re-

leased him from the snares of the Evil one, and restored him to his accustomed health.²⁵⁹

It must be remembered that in the middle ages the visible appearance of devils was looked on almost as an occurrence of every day life. Enough to satisfy most readers will be found in the four books of Johannes Laurentius Anania, *De Natura Dæmonum*. The *De visibili forma Diaboli* begins at Lib. iii. cap. xvi. The reason why God of his singular good pleasure hath made devils to be of horrible aspect; how that they which go on land do have the feet of goats, they which go in water the webbed feet of geese, and they which fly in air the wings of birds; why some be like brute animals; is treated of. And one of the most wonderful features in this and other works of the same kind, is the innumerable number of circumstantial accounts collected from all parts, showing the widespread reception of the belief. One of the most singular relates how not long before the author wrote his work, a distinguished lady was suspected of having an illicit friendship with a devil. One night, in order to ascertain whether she was alone in her chamber, they broke open the door, and by the light of burning torches found in her bed a monster horrible and deformed beyond all belief. They therefore sent for a priest of approved life and conversation, who began at once to read over it the first chapter of the Gospel of S. John, and on coming to the words—*Verbum caro factum est*, the devil, not without horrible noise and tumult, fled, taking the tester of the bed along with him, to the terror and confusion of all who were there present.²⁶⁰ There are very few indeed, however, of these accounts which will bear translation into the language of the present age, and those who are interested in the subject should read the original. There are some more presentable stories in the *Legenda Aurea* of S. Ambrose, for instance. It is related that on one occasion a man was seized by a devil in his presence, and that the man spoke impertinently to S. Ambrose, but that a word from the Saint of God put both the devil and man to silence. On another occasion, when S. Ambrose had said of a certain one that he ought to be delivered over to Satan for the punishment of his flesh, behold! at the same moment, and while he was yet speaking, an unclean spirit began to tear him.²⁶¹ And of S. Martin it is related that when he was going to Milan, a devil met him and asked him whither he was going. The Saint replied, that he was going wherever the Lord called him. Well, answered the devil, wherever you go the devil shall be against you. Nevertheless when Martin said—The Lord is my helper, I will not fear, straightway the devil vanished. This incident is represented in one of the compartments of the west window of S. Martin's Church, Coney Street; and the devil there very closely resembles the one in this compartment.²⁶²

P. 62. (O. 63.) A woman in red, her gown reaching to

²⁵⁹ *Vita S. Johann. auctore Wilhelmo Ketello*, Act. SS. Boll. Maii ii. 178. By the Bollandists the surname *Ketellus* is printed *Kecellus*; the *t* in the MS., I am informed by Canon Raine, having been mistaken for a *c*. The two letters frequently most closely resemble one another.

²⁶⁰ Johannes Laurentius Anania, *De Natura dæmonum*, lib. iii., cap. xvi.

²⁶¹ Cap. lvii., *De sancto Ambrosio*.

²⁶² For numerous other examples of demoniacal interviews, see Cahier, *Caractéristiques des Saints*, p. 307.

and covering her feet, and lilac hood, on crutches, coming to the shrine; and three men, one with green about his neck (all of the figure visible), one in blue (in a curious posture, ? insertion), and one in pink, regarding. Background blue, richly diapered.

T. 66. In the 3^d row and 1st light is another pinacled church A. & O., and between 2 of the pillars of it are leaning an old man habited V^t & a young man habited gu., and a monk wth a spade in his hand, standing behind the old man, he being habited gu., hooded A. ["Monk wth a spade," indicated now by a mass of inserted fragments.]

A lame woman of Haxeby coming to the shrine, and being healed.

There was a certain woman of Haxeby afflicted with pain and heat of her hands, legs, and feet, and at last almost unable for one year to walk, who on this festival (of Pentecost, 1177) was healed by Saint William.²⁶³

P. 63. (O. 62.) An archbishop in white chasuble, pink dalmatic, blue tunicle, stiff blue collar, jewelled mitre, and pallium, in the midst of an aureole of pointed gold rays, holding a cross-staff in his right hand, and with the forefinger of his left touching the closed eyes of a woman with a white veil over her head, in blue (but common window glass, painted with house paint), kneeling before him with her hands raised in devotion. A blue and a pink tree with brown trunks behind. Background red.

T. 63. In the 3^d light stands an abp. habited A. & A. (*sic*), pall & myter A., holding a golden cross-staff in his right, & resting his other hand on the forehead of a nun devoutly kneeling before him, habited B. & A., veiled A.

A Leeds girl cured of blindness in a vision by S. William.

A certain little girl from earliest childhood deprived of the blessing of sight, and for seven years quite in darkness, following the leading of a hired guide, came to the sepulchre of the Saint in order to recover her health. And as she remained there a long time in prayers and sorrowful sobbings, during the holy night of Pentecost she lay down to sleep, and whilst neither quite awake nor yet fast asleep, as when her health was restored she afterwards related, there appeared to her one most beautiful to look upon, having the white hair of an angel, in comparison of whose raiment snow was black, fragrant with unspeakable perfume, who having pity on her misery touched the pupils of her eyes; and at the touch of

²⁶³ Dodsworth MS., 25.

his hand the darkness of blindness cleared away, and for gloomy night cheerful day returned to her.²⁶⁴ In the Dodsworth MS. it is stated that the girl was of the parish of Leeds; that the miracle was performed on Whitsunday, 12th June, 1177; and that Paulinus, priest of Leeds, a person of good life and conversation, and the parishioners, and the mother of the said girl, were witnesses to its truth.²⁶⁵

There is a miracle of S. John of Beverley very like it. A man, not wealthy, but of good fame and given to hospitality, who lived at "Cotum," about fifteen miles from Beverley, had the misfortune to become blind, and his wife in part to lose her senses. After they had been three years in this wretched state, the venerable Confessor John appeared to the man, telling him to go with his wife to Beverley, and persevere in prayers and watchings in the church there. And when they had so done, his sight was restored to him, and reason to his wife; and they returned, praising God and blessing S. John to all time for his benefits conferred upon them.²⁶⁶ Again; there was a certain "navvy" (fossor) at Beverley, who on the festival of S. John presumed to go on with his daily work, and dig clay in a ditch; and, as a punishment for his rashness, behold, the eyelids of his eyes closed and stuck together as though with glue (quasi glutino). Throwing aside his spade he tried to open the lids with his hands, but sooner could he have torn a sound part than open those eyelids thus fastened together. It was necessary therefore he should have some one to lead him, and this man led him to the Church of the Holy Confessor, where he publicly humbled himself, confessed his sins, and did penance; remaining afterwards most strictly fasting and at prayer for eight days. The opening and way for tears was stopped up; but what by the eyes could not escape, broke through the pores of the adjacent parts like sweat. And eight days being accomplished, there appeared to him in sleep at night a certain man of reverend countenance, great stature, and mature age, clad in pontifical vesture, who taking and lifting him up by his right hand, with measured step led him round the church as far as the north door, and then gently brought him back to the place whence he had brought him. Then, applying his finger to the man's armpit, with the sweat which is accustomed to lodge there by reason of the neighbouring heat of the heart, he anointed his eyes, and commanding him to sleep on, vanished. And when he awoke, the eyes which a little before had been closed, opened; and perceiving that he had recovered his sight, he related in order to those standing by what had befallen him in his sleep; and they with one accord praised God and the Saint for his works.²⁶⁷ And yet again; there was a man from Ely who had been blind for a long time, and came to Beverley, where at the Church of the Saint he watched and fasted, and poured forth tears from his eyes as from the bottom of a gushing fountain. Then was he heard, according to the words of the Psalmist, *Praised be God who hath not cast out my prayer, nor turned His mercy from me*, for on a certain night there appeared to him in sleep a reverend person clad in pontifical vesture, who came to him and with what seemed like a goose's quill dipped in the purest honey anointed his eyes, and presently departing commanded him to sleep on. Not

²⁶⁴ *In Commem. S. Will.*, lect. iii., iv.,
Brev. Ebor.

²⁶⁵ *Dodsw. MS.*, i.

²⁶⁶ Act. SS. Boll. Maii ii. 187.

²⁶⁷ *Id.*, 190.

long after, he who was blind awoke, and the dawn appearing, as he raised his head he saw the morning light sparkling through the glass windows, and perceiving that by the aid of the Confessor he had received clear sight, he placed not his light under a bushel but on a candlestick, and in the hearing of the clergy and all the people expounded in order what had happened to him. And after he had remained a certain space, praising God and the Confessor for the deliverance he had received, at length with thanksgiving he returned to his own place.²⁶⁸

P. 64. (O. 64.) A man in a blue tunic, without belt, open in front so as to disclose his navel and the front of his naked body, sitting on the ground tilted somewhat backward, resting on his right hand and gazing intently upwards and towards the shrine, while with his left he puts a particle of something yellow into his mouth. Three fine tall brass candlesticks, one at each visible corner of the shrine, with candles in, burning. Floor checky black and white. Back-ground red.

T. 69. In the 4th light is another pinacled church A. & O., before w^{ch} a monk kneeles, habited B., & bends himself backwards wth his fingers at his mouth.

A man being cured of stone in his bladder by eating mortar from the tomb of S. William.

Gaudet et calculus
Morbo cessante lapidis,
Panem sapit sub palato
Sacrae tumbæ ex cæmento
Ad salutem sumpta particula.

Panem factum de cæmento
Prædicat ecclesia.²⁶⁹

In the absence of any more detailed account of this miracle, the following account of a cure by eating mortar from the tomb will be interesting. A certain simple man of the city of York, Robert de Lewes by name, broke off a piece of mortar from the tomb of the blessed William, and as he was carrying it home to his wife, who was ill, he opened his hand on Ouse Bridge and found the said mortar changed into bread. Amazed at the miracle, but rejoicing, he went home and declared the thing to his family and to one of his neighbours, Robert de Cleve by name, to whom also he gave a particle of the same bread; and afterwards they both came together to the church, and openly showed forth the miracle which had come to pass. And the wife of the aforesaid Robert de Lewes tasting the same bread was cured of fever, and many others also who had fever.²⁷⁰

²⁶⁸ Act. SS. Boll. Maii ii. 191.

²⁶⁹ York Missal. *In fest. S. Williel.*

²⁷⁰ Dodsworth MS., 39.

P. 65. (O. 48.) A ship at sea, the mast (with a "crow's nest" on the top and hole to climb through) broken in the middle, and falling, with a sail attached, and three mariners on board shouting in distress ; and in the midst of red cloud, just detached from the ship, in an aureole of golden rays, the figure of an archbishop in blue, without pallium, but with jewelled mitre, holding a cross-staff in his right hand while with his left he grasps the falling mast. Background blue, richly diapered.

T. 70. In the 5th light sits a bp. habited B., mytred A., holding a cross-staff in one hand & wth the other taking hold on the mast of a ship O. ; also 2 youths stand before him habited B. & O.

S. William relieving York merchants in a storm at sea.

It is said of S. William that he saved some sailors who had made a vow to him.

Facto voto nautæ gratum
Salvis rebus tenent portum
Aquis plena vecti navicula.
Ad salutis et nos vere
Portum tanti Patris prece
Christi ducat clementia.

But in the absence of any more circumstantial account I incline to think that the miracle represented in this compartment is borrowed from S. John of Beverley. There were some merchants of the city of York, it is related, who used to visit the Church of the Blessed John for devotion, because in various different dangers in the world, and especially at sea, he had been a present help to them. And having got together all things they required for a voyage, a great part of the citizens of the aforesaid city got into the ship, laden with various merchandise, and a prosperous wind blowing, set out on their accustomed journey, making for the coast of Scotland. But, like human prosperity, serenity of sky often passes away like a shadow, and nothing human lasts, or remains in the same state, for long. Presently the good weather which induced the joyful sailors to set forth began to grow dull ; then rainy clouds hid the serene face of heaven, a raging whirlwind tore up their unfurled sails, a terrible tempest accompanied the fury of the sea, the weak sides of the ship were driven hither and thither, the sails now almost torn to shreds seemed to touch the hanging clouds, and they dreaded their craft should soon touch the bottom of the sea. Their sole hope in danger lay in the rudder ; but by the fury of the tempest this was broken, the oars and other gear of the ship almost destroyed, and it was exposed defenceless to the waves of the foaming sea. Anon come tearful sorrow, fear and failure of heart, grief and heavy lamentation ; on all sides evil, on all sides mourning ; nothing remains but the image of death. Fainting for fear, and without hope

of safety or relief, at last they remember the oft proved aids of the blessed Confessor. Calling aloud, therefore, they fill the air with groaning cries; they raise their voices and wearied hands to heaven; and in their necessity and danger cry for the aid of the blessed John. Nor did the pious Father and God of all consolation delay to stretch out the hand of mercy towards his oppressed servants, labouring in such tribulation. Having allayed the horrid tumult of the winds, and pacified the fury of the waves, calm ensued, and the face of heaven before obscured by rainy clouds, now lit up by the rays of the sun, shone serene. And one of the sailors who during the storm had for some time lain prostrate in the midst, and as though in a kind of ecstasy, rising as though from heavy sleep, thus spake to the wondering seamen: Doubt not, brethren and companions, respecting our late tribulation, from which by the grace of God we are now freed. For our present prosperous and happy state after so many labours has not happened by chance, as often is the case, but is the loving kindness and compassion of a merciful God. A little before I lay down as though dead, I saw a terrible army of devils impiously hastening on and horribly labouring after the ruin of the ship to which they had come. The form of a man of venerable stature then appeared, in shining white raiment, in appearance and countenance like unto a Pontiff, who with the pastoral staff which he held in his hand broke through the crowd of evil spirits, and following them through the midst of the ship commanded them to depart, and drove them completely out of our midst. And that the truth of what I say may be proved by a sign, ye shall find an anchor tied by a new rope which the aforesaid Father brought, our own with the ropes which sustained it having been torn away before by the fury of the tempest. The sailors having heard the vision were dumb with astonishment, and wondering more than can be believed, refused to give credence to it until the truth of manifest appearance confirmed the wonderful vision of the man, and the sight of the thing itself had driven away all cloud of doubt from their hearts. Then raised they unceasing praises to the heavens to John their now manifest deliverer, and to God the Saviour of all, who alone ordereth and governeth the powers of earth and sea, and who stilleth and wonderfully restraineth the motion of her waves; to whom be praise, honour, might, perpetual peace, and glory, for ever and ever. Amen.¹⁷¹

Once whilst five men of the town called "Hertypole" in the bishopric of Durham were sailing on the sea, a tempest overtook them, and the waves of the sea rose round about them insomuch that there appeared no reasonable hope of escaping; whereupon with tearful voices with one accord they called on God, that by the merits of his blessed (John) Prior of Bridlington he would be pleased mercifully to release them. And behold, whilst devoutly they remained in prayer, there appeared to them one clad in the raiment of a canon Regular, who coming to them and placing his hand over the ship, led them safe to shore.¹⁷²

It only remains to add that tempests, like diseases, were universally

¹⁷¹ Vita S. Joan. Bev. auctore Wilhelmo Ketello, Clerico Beverlacenai, Act. 88. Man ii 179. Another account of a deliverance from shipwreck by this saint is related on p. 161.

¹⁷² Vita S. Joan. Conf., Act. 88. Bull. Oct. v. 142.

believed to be due to the direct agency of devils. S. Thomas Aquinas held this; and the subject is discussed exhaustively in the *Malleus Maleficarum*, where also will be found as many accounts as can be desired of devils, and witches by their aid, actually seen at work producing storms of wind, rain, hail, etc. That devils are agents in these, curiously so-called, "disharmonies" of Nature, is even still held by some otherwise of great learning. Thus, even Archbishop Trench, in his *Notes on the Miracles of our Lord*, thinks that when Christ "rebuked" the Tempest, he addressed himself to "Satan and the powers of evil as the authors of the disharmony in the outward world, tracing all these disorders up to their source in a person, and carrying them back to him, as to their ultimate ground." The same view is also maintained by the writer of the article on *Demoniacal Possession*, in Blunt's Theological Dictionary.

P. 66. (O. 69.) A woman with a white kerchief on her head, in a blue dress with sleeves wider at the wrist than above lined with white fur which appears at the neck and wrists, with a swollen body partly displayed by the opening of her unloosed dress in front, holding an enormously long girdle of white richly diapered with yellow edges and a buckle at one end in her left hand, as though calling attention to her size, and with her right hand laid upon her body, walking away as if in great pain from a woman with a similar kerchief on her head and blue dress, but buttoned down the front above the waist and girt with a white girdle, sitting on a long seat panelled at the back and canopied, before a four-legged table covered with a diapered white table cloth, on which are the remains of a repast; laying her right hand on the table on one side, and resting her elbow upon it on the other, as she raises her left hand to her head, she seems to be in the act of speaking. Background red.

T. 71. In the next row under the last & in the 1st light is a table wth dishes thereon B. & O., where a monk sits on one side and an holy man on the other, both habited B.

A woman of Morton S. Peter's poisoned by eating bread in which a frog has been cooked.

See note to comp. 67.

On the tables and canopied seats of the fifteenth century, see Wright, *Domestic Manners and Sentiments*, p. 153, and the illustration on p. 154. Also *Domestic Architecture of the Middle Ages*, iii., 112, seq., and the illustrations appended. A long seat was placed against the wall, richly carved at the back, and canopied either altogether or in part if it could

be afforded, on which several could sit at once. It was called a *bench*, or *bancus*, and hence *bankers*, the name applied to the cushions covered with cloth, carpet, tapestry, &c., with which these seats were furnished; one of the commonest items in the inventories of this period. The immovable table was called a *table dormant*. There are some such long oak tables and fixed benches belonging to them, apparently fifteenth century work, in the Durham Cathedral Library; and others are to be seen in the halls, butteries, &c., of old collegiate buildings.

P. 67. (O. 70.) A woman in blue lined with white fur as in the last compartment, kneeling before the shrine, on the altar of which is a monstrance with a bright white circular patch on the side next to the observer to indicate the host within, received by an ecclesiastic in white with a white fur almuce, and two fingers raised in benediction; and two men standing by, one in red with a green tippet, and one behind whose head alone is visible, in a red hood. Floor in triangles black and white. Background blue.

T. 72. In the 2^d light is a curious church & altar, before w^{ch} a woman kneeles, habited B. And behind her 2 others, one whereof is habited gu. & mantled B. Also a monk stands agst the woman, habited A.

The woman of Morton taken by her husband to the shrine, and cured.

A woman of Morton S. Peters, while she gave way to gluttony at a late supper, as she ate bread, found that a frog had unknowingly been cooked in it. Thus poisoned, for two years she was so ill that she could neither lie on her right side nor retain any bread that she ate, but having taken it, immediately vomited. She was also tormented by most excruciating internal gripings, insomuch that oftentimes she thought herself about to die, as the priest and others of the same town can testify. On the Friday in Whitsun week, 1177, she was taken by her husband and friends to the tomb of S. William, her feet, hands, and body being so swollen, as she said, that she could scarce get on to her knees; and on the following night she vomited some corruption and straightway recovered her health.²⁷³

The ordinary hour for supper for servants and the lower classes was four o'clock, and for their masters and mistresses, five; those of the highest station were in bed at eight, and in winter still earlier. To sit up later or have later supper was quite exceptional, and looked upon as luxurious and gluttonous, and therefore sinful, inviting some retribution and the divine displeasure. The Knight of La Tour-Landry particularly cautions his daughters against it, telling them for an example what became of the daughter of a certain knight who was wilful, and fond of eating, and "wold haue rere sopers whanne her fader and moder was a bedde." "Bi this exsample" learn that "it is good to . . . lyue

²⁷³ Sunday in Oct. S. Will. lect. vi., Brev. Ebor.; Dodsw. MS., 21.

tempered and modest lyff, and ete and drinke atte oures in due tyme, and sope atte oure couenable after the tyme of the yeere."²⁷⁴

The *modus operandi* of frog, swallowed, was supposed to be that the animal grew indefinitely in the body of the unfortunate person who harboured it. Thus, in the Golden Legend, in the life of S. Peter, it is related that Nero ordered his physicians, saying: "Make ye me w^t chylde, and after to be delyuered, y^t I may know what payne my moder suffred: which by craft they gaue to hym a yonge frosshe to drynke, and it grewe in his bely." To expel the like animals from the body, the mediæval physicians had some rather quaint remedies. Marcus Gratianaria of all other things "commended the smoake of old burnt shooes received in at the mouth through a Funnel; telling of a man that had in vain tried many other Medicines; and with the use of this, avoyded a Viper downwards."²⁷⁵

There is a miracle of S. John of Bridlington which closely resembles the above. (See note to comp. 81.) A certain man having accidentally drunk off some liquor in which there was a great spider, dead and burst (*magna aranea mortua et dirupta*), his body began to swell up. Perceiving himself to be in great danger, S. John appeared to him, and touching him with his hand, made him whole (*Mirac. post sancti mort. patrata*, Act. SS. Boll., Oct. v. 144). On the poisonousness of the spider, see note to comp. 41. As late as the year 1676, in Salmon's *New London Dispensatory*, p. 256, it is said to be "a poysonous insect;" and the old English name for it—*Attercoppe*, *Attycoppe*, literally *poison-cup*, conveys the same idea, immortalized by Shakspeare as follows:—

"That bottled spider, that foul hunch-backed toad."

Rich. III., iv. 4.

" Adders, spiders, toads,
Or any creeping venom'd thing that lives."

Id., i. 2.

" There may be in the cup
A spider steep'd."

Winter's Tale, ii. 1.

The substitution of the deadly spider in the later miracle of S. John of Bridlington, for the comparatively harmless frog in that of S. William is very characteristic.

P. 68. (O. 90.) A young woman in a long red dress with sleeves tight at the wrist and white ornamental belt, sitting or half lying on the floor near the shrine as if in the act of starting from sleep, attended by two men, one in red, old-looking, with long beard and bare headed, the head of the other behind in a yellow hat turned up with red alone visible,

²⁷⁴ *The Book of the Knight of La Tour-Landry*, chap. vi. Early Eng. Text Soc. Ed., pp. 8, 9.

²⁷⁵ Quoted in Banester, *Helps to Sudden Accidents*, p. 23.

and a woman in blue with green tippet and cuffs, anxiously leaning over her. Floor about the shrine paved with ornamental yellow tiles. Background blue.

T. 68. In the 3^d light is another church, pillared & pinacled, A. & O., before w^{ch} a woman kneels at prayer, habited B., mantled Vt., behind her stand 2 old men, one being bare headed, habited gu. & mantled A.; before her leans a young man backwards, habited gu.

The dumb woman represented in comp. 47 awaking cured, at the shrine, at the sound of the *Gloria in excelsis*.

Now in the second year after the translation of the saint, a woman of the city, weary as regarded her outer senses, lay down, and in sleep there appeared to her S. John of Beverley and S. William, as the said woman afterwards related. And the blessed William touched her with both his hands, and signified to her that she should come for his assistance, but what his words were, perhaps because she did not retain the whole vision in her mind, she could in nowise set forth. And when she had awaked a great desire was kindled within her to go abroad to visit S. William. And as she was not able to speak, she began in an unusual way by nods and signs to declare the desire of her mind to others, insomuch that those who stood by, in nowise understanding her nods, thought that she had lost her mind. However, after many explanations, understanding her desire to go to S. William, now newly translated, they led her to the feretory of S. William for three days, and left her there. And about the third hour, whilst Mass was being celebrated, she slept a short time in the choir; and when the priest began the song of the angels, namely, the *Gloria in excelsis Deo*, awoke by it she got up, and the string of her tongue was loosed, and she began to say—*O holy William have mercy! I give thee thanks because by thy aid the use of the tongue which I had lost is restored to me by the Lord*. And she began to set forth to them that stood by, how that in that place just before she arose S. William had visited her, and laying his hand upon her head caused her to rise, and how that so awakened by him she got up whole, the blessing of her tongue being altogether restored. The same woman also both in the presence of those standing round and others, declared at length the beginning and end of her infirmity, and also how at first she had seen S. John and S. William in sleep, and thus conceived the hope of recovering her health. And when she and they that stood by had poured forth prayer to God and the holy S. William, with joy she returned to her parents.²⁷⁶

There can be little doubt that this miracle, again, is borrowed from S. John of Beverley. The mention of the two saints appearing together is suspicious; but it is more to the point that in the Acts of S. John of Beverley the miracle is attributed in all substantial respects to him by a writer of the early part of the twelfth century, before the death of S. William, and a century and a half before his translation was thought of. It is, however, related of a young man. Like the young woman, he

²⁷⁶ Acta SS. Boll. Junii ii., 145.

awoke at the sound of the *Gloria in Excelsis*, and afterwards not only spake English but French also,—“cunctis qui astabant obstupescentibus et pie admirantibus,” as well they might.²⁷⁷

P. 69. (O. 71.) A man in a blue tunic buttoned from the chin downwards to the waist, with stiff and contracted knee-joints and eyebrows wrinkled either by age or pain, being carried by two men, one in red with a pink hat, the other much mutilated, to the shrine; a woman with a white kerchief on her head standing by. Background blue.

T. 90. In the 5th light is a church pinaced A. & O., about w^{ch} kneeles 2 monks, one habited A., the other B.

A deformed old man cured at the shrine of S. William.

An old man for many years was bowed and doubled into a ball, his chin touching his knees, and his arms and legs twisted together so that he could look on neither sky nor ground. Being carried to the tomb of S. William, the knotting of his sinews unloosed, and he was fully restored to health.²⁷⁸

Owing to the rudeness and imperfection of medieval surgery, contracted joints were of frequent occurrence. They were variously the result of blows, falls, wounds from arrows, shot, etc., dislocations, fractures, rheumatism, gout, scrofula, burns, and scalds. Paracelsus²⁷⁹ says that potable gold and vinegar of pearls administered internally, and fumigations of balsams, rubbings with fat of deer, cats, goats, and the like nimble animals, and oil of frogs applied externally, never failed to cure save in those cases which, as he quaintly says, *were fated by God not to be cured*. The fact is, some of the cases had a tendency to get well of themselves, others could not be cured at all; and no one was able to say to which of the two classes any particular case belonged. These were, therefore, most admirable subjects for miracles. The internal remedies of the medical faculty were somewhat expensive, and the outward applications not very agreeable. That some got well at the shrines of the saints no one could deny; and as for the rest, no one heard anything of them, for those who were deemed by the saints unworthy of cure would feel little disposed to advertise themselves.

P. 70. (O. 86.) A three-masted ship with a “crow’s nest” on the top of each mast, the rudder and other details very characteristically represented, and one person in it in a blue hood reaching a child in red just taken out of the water to a man in green (mutilated) standing on shore; another in the ship in blue with a green hood. Background of diapered red patched with undiapered fragments.

²⁷⁷ Act. SS. Boll. Maii ii. 182.

²⁷⁹ *Chirurgia minoris, ad fin.*, Ed.

²⁷⁸ *Inf. Oct. S. Will.* lect. vii, *Brev.* 1653.
Ebur.

T. 75. In the 5th light is a ship wth 3 masts O., & 2 monks therein, one habited sanguine, hooded B.; the other hooded V^t. Also 3 men kneel by the ship side, the 1st habited B., 2^d V^t, 3^d headed O. And behind them stands a woman habited B., elevating her hands at prayer. [The latter incidents are not now visible.]

A York child taken out of the Ouse after having fallen over the side of a vessel and been drowned.

See comp. 99.

There are some fine early woodcuts of medieval ships in Olaus Magnus, *De Gentibus Septentrionalibus*, 1555. The names of the medieval ships and vessels were generally very pretty. Thus, Robert Titlot of Hornsea, in his will dated 18 April, 1390, bequeaths "unam navem vocatam Farcoot," and "unam naviculam vocatam Mawedeleyne," and "unam naviculam vocatam Garland."²⁹⁰ And the following:—"St. George of Dartmouth," "St. Edward of Winchelsea," "Navis Dei de Hertelpol," "Sanctus Spiritus de Sandwico," "La Grace Dieu de Roma," "Welfare of Brightlingseye," "Safety of Lyn," "Godyere of Rye," etc., etc.²⁹¹

P. 71. (O. 76.) Disjointed fragments leaded together.

T. 67. In the 2^d light sits a bp. habited O., and sev^{al} others standing about him, variously habited, two whereof have golden keyes in their hands.

I will not venture to suggest from Torre's description what this compartment may have represented; it may have been the first subject in the row above, the first compartment of which, with a blue background, is missing.

P. 72. (O. 71.) A man in white leather breeches, shaded brown, strapped and buckled above and in front to a pink doublet (mutilated), and spurs with stellate rowels, riding on a white horse; his horse falling, and he himself pitching headlong over its head and ears. Four large white trees close by, and rich green stalked herbage on the ground. Background blue, richly diapered.

T. 74. In the 4th light is St Paul's Conversion, he being habited gu. & O., falling backwards on a white horse, stricken to the ground by 4 rays of silver light issuing out of a cloud B. hanging over them.

Herebald, a disciple of S. John of Beverley, falling from a horse he was told not to ride, and breaking his head.

²⁹⁰ *Tot. Acc.*, i. 139.

²⁹¹ *Wardrobe Book*, Edw I, 271-279.

Herebald of Tynemouth priory was a disciple of S. John of Beverley, from boyhood imbued with his doctrine, and his constant companion. He often used to testify to the holy life of S. John, who amongst other benefits conferred on the needy, had brought back him himself from the dead. As he used to say, there were once some young men staying at the monastery who asked John to let them try his horses, but he, thinking it idle talk, refused. At last, however, as they persevered in asking, he said—*Go and welcome, but Herebald must remain with me*; the which hearing, Herebald began with youthful vanity to be sorrowful, for the bishop had lately given him a horse he wished to try. At last, when he saw all his companions scouring the fields, he could restrain himself no longer, and leaving the bishop, with slackened rein urged his swift horn-footed one to the race. Now as Herebald used to say, just then he heard the archbishop crying out behind his back, *You do ill to leave me, and will know this full soon*. Hardly was the threat of the holy man finished when his horse fell, and Herebald pitching upon a huge stone broke his skull, injured himself internally, and crippled his hand and thumb. The rest crowding around him got down from their horses, and found him without sense or understanding, and more thought him dead than alive. Now, when the saint of God became acquainted with the ruin of his beloved disciple, beyond measure he grieved, and spent the night in prayer to the Lord to have mercy on the disobedience of Herebald. Next morning he went to see his prostrate dear one, prayed with him, and then sweetly called him by name. Wonderful to relate, he who from the seventh hour of the day before even to that morn lay as though dead, called by the saint of God, awaked as out of a heavy sleep, opened his eyes, and looked on the man of God. The saint then asked the sick one if he knew who was speaking to him, and presently he replied with tearful voice—*Thou art John, my most beloved lord bishop. And dost thou think, asked the bishop, that thou wilt be able to escape the present danger with life? I know and I believe*, was the answer, *that if I have thy prayers, God will grant it to me*. What more? The bishop of God places his hands upon the broken head, sprinkles holy water upon the weakened body, reverently calling on God he breathes on him, then signs him with the cross, and God affords a speedy remedy. Often would he relate this, living for a long time after, when, in mature age, he became a most vigilant Abbat in the place where the river Tyne flows into the sea, and which on that account is called Tynemouth.²³²

In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the breeches of persons of wealth would seem to have been made of linen. Thus, Sir Tophas, in Chaucer's Tale, had "a shirte and breche of cloth of lake." But it is obvious that for poor scholars and peasants some much stronger and more durable material must have been required, and that represented in this compartment appears to be leather. The breeches of finer make were fastened at the waist to the doublet by ribands, or laces, called *points*, as represented on plate cxxxvi. of Strutt's work on Costume; but straps and buckles are more in keeping with stiff and unyielding leather. Breeches are frequently mentioned in old romances. In one quoted by Ducange²³³ there were brought to a young hero, previously to his being

²³² Vita S. Joan. Ber. auctore Folcardo Cantuariensi monacho, Act. SS. Maii ii. 172.

²³³ Gloss., s. v. Militare.

knighted, "a shirt, breeches, stockings of cloth, and shoes of Monpeller;" and in another, Launfal, the principal character, appears at the beginning in a state of poverty, saying, "I would have gone to church to-day, but I have no hose nor shoes, and my breeches and my shirt are not clean."²⁸⁴ In the reign of Richard II. it would seem that breeches were generally worn in this country, for Henry Castyde, describing to Froissart the rude manners of the Irish, says as a matter of surprise that they wore no breeches, and that whilst he was there he caused breeches after a civilized pattern to be made for the four kings of Ireland.

P. 73. (O. 88.) A man with a smooth head devoid of hair, in a green tunic and white belt diapered in small circles, prostrate with his legs and feet—yellow, less than the natural size, deformed, and apparently rigid—turned up backwards as if unable to walk on them, propping himself on his right hand while with his left he gesticulates towards the feretory, which is supported before him on trestles, with two long candles in fine ornamental sticks, the sticks reaching from the ground to the top of the feretory, and the candles long in proportion; a man in the same costume and similarly devoid of hair, with hands raised and clasped together, looking on in great astonishment. Floor checky black and white. Background blue, richly diapered.

T. 65. In the 5th light is another pinacled church A. & O., before w^{ch} is a pavement checky A. & sab., on w^{ch} lyes a monk habited V^t, extending one of his hands thereunto. Over agst him stands another monk bare-legged, habited V^t, wth hands conjoined & elevated at prayer.

An Irish cripple cured by creeping under the feretory of S. John of Beverley.

This is another miracle of S. John of Beverley. An Irishman, an eloquent and fluent speaker, whose whole body was grievously afflicted by an apoplexy, so crippled that he could not move without assistance, having heard of the fame of S. John determined to go to Beverley. All things accordingly which befitted the weakness of the sick man and the length of the journey being prepared, he was placed in a conveyance, and not without much ado was carried by hand to Beverley, where he arrived just before Ascension Day, which was kept by the inhabitants as a festival, the relics of the saint on that day being carried in procession, and supported with honour at the entrance of the church whilst the clergy and people passed by with humble devotion. Whilst this was being done, the aforesaid sick man carried in his

²⁸⁴ "To-day to church I welde have
gon,
But me fawtede hosyn and schon,
Clenely breche and scherte."

MS. Cott. Calig. A. 2, cited by Strutt,
Dress and Habits, &c., ii., 356.

usual conveyance (*solito sustentationis vehiculo*), ordered himself to be put down beside the relics of the holy Confessor, that when the greater part of the crowd which had come together had passed by, he afflicted as he was might pass in the hope of obtaining relief; and as he was a particularly clever framer of set forms of words, he began to speak to the saint of God as though corporally living and present before him, and with many words and astonishing fluency poured forth from the bottom of his heart, prayed him to have mercy. The flow of his language collected the bystanders around him, who with one accord raised their prayers for his recovery; and when no little number of the people had gone under the feretory, he ordered himself to be drawn under the last of all (*in vehiculo*, it is said, but this for pictorial reasons is omitted in the window); and as soon as the shadow of the chest in which the holy body was borne had covered him he began little by little to get better, the crowd around looking on with wonder; and one of them taking him by the hand, with light step he walked through the midst of the church and choir borne along by people and clergy until he came to the altar, in no little degree rejoicing. Here he blessed God in the works of his beloved John, and gave thanks for the unlooked-for restoration of his health. We have heard, brethren, Luke the Evangelist in the Acts of the Apostles relating how health was restored to one lame from the womb of his mother by the blessed Peter the prince of the Apostles at Jerusalem, a miracle published abroad before the whole Church for its marvellous greatness; and now we see in the old age of the world a man not only unable to stand on his feet, but almost without the use of his whole body, in the door-way of the church, the accustomed mercy of God going before, freed from the inactivity in which he had lain so long by the beloved John, successor of the Apostles. The which miracle is not only celebrated in the county of York, but throughout Ireland also.²⁸⁵

P. 74. (O. 67.) A little child in a blue tunic with diapered white belt kneeling at the shrine, with four other figures assisting; one woman kneeling, in pink with a green tippet, one standing behind in blue with a green hood, one with a blue hood, and a fourth mutilated and patched. Background red.

T. 73. In the 3^d light is another church & altar, before w^{ch} kneels a priest habited B. & A. And behind him a nun, habited sanguine, hooded V^t. Before her stand 2 other nuns, one habited B., hooded V^t; the other hooded B.

A hump-backed little boy cured at the shrine of S. William.

A boy crooked from infancy was brought by his father and mother to the tomb of S. William, and there was made straight; and the day that this came to pass, he walked and played as never before he walked (*ambulavit et ludens ante nunquam ambulavit*).²⁸⁶ Also a boy of the

²⁸⁵ *Miracula S. Joan. Ber. auctore Wilhelmo Ketillo, Clerico Beverlacenſi, sub fin. nec. ii., Act. SS. Boll. Maii ii. 177.*

²⁸⁶ Dodsw. MS., 42.

name of Richard, of Lepyngton, the son of a knight at Carpecote, who for six years had been hump-backed and bowed, at the feast (of Pentecost, 1177) became straight, and was seen easily able to bend and straighten himself, as though he had never had anything the matter with him.²⁸⁷

These miracles, except that the last gives date, name, and address, are worse instead of better than the following earlier one of S. John of Beverley. William, the keeper of the Venerable Cross (in Beverley Minster), used to tell me that he knew a boy for nearly seven years so crooked that he could in nowise straighten himself, who was brought to the church on the Nativity of S. John Baptist. In the night he began to roll himself hither and thither for a long time in great punishment, until at last in the hearing of many the spine of his back broke like a dry stick,²⁸⁸ and the boy stood up on his feet entirely cured, and going with his head erect, offered a lighted lamp before the cross. And his parents and they that stood by glorified God and S. John, by whose merit such benefits were afforded unto men.²⁸⁹

P. 75. (O. 75.) A woman in blue, kneeling, with bare, shrunk and stiffened arms held out together in prayer before the altar at the shrine, the end of which is formed of a blue panel between a yellow strip and a white cornice above, and a pink strip and white plinth below; and two persons assisting, one of them an ecclesiastic in white with white fur almuce, the tails of which depend in front, and a closed book in his hand; on the altar of the shrine, a golden cup. Floor checky yellow and black. Background blue.

T. 64. In the 4th light is a church and altar A. & O., before w^{ch} a nun kneels habited B. Over agst her stands a white monk wth a book in his hand closed.

A York woman with contracted and withered arms cured at the shrine.

A woman of the city of York, who lived in the street called Walmgate, for thirteen years had her right hand and arm so contracted that they were entirely useless. She had also partly lost the use of her right side, so that dragging her foot after her she would sometimes fall, even with a stick, and had an impediment in her speech, so that she could not express her meaning by words. This woman on the same day (Thursday in Whitsun week) threw away her stick, having recovered her power of walking and the use of her hand and arm, as was proved by the Lord Archbishop of York, and very many others likewise, who felt her arm and bended it. Her speech also was improved.²⁹⁰

²⁸⁷ *Id.*, 33.

²⁸⁸ *Fractum est os spine dorsi ejus, multis audientibus, quasi lignum siccum.*
"Spine of the back" is still a Yorkshire provincialism.

²⁸⁹ *Mirac. S. Joan. Bev. auctore monach.*

Bev. sec 12, Act. SS. Boll. Maii ii. 185.

²⁹⁰ *Dodsw. MS.*, 18.

P. 76. (O. 77.) A king in pink, with crown and sceptre, attended by a nobleman in blue with a coronet on his head and another whose head only appears behind, and queen carefully and sumptuously attired, with coronet of gold and hair-net with pearls in the intersections of the threads, attended by two ladies with strings of pearls round their heads, one in pink and one in blue, receiving three ecclesiastics kneeling and presenting a petition, one in blue with a red tippet and white hood down loosely about his neck, one in red with a blue tippet, and the third behind only partly visible. Background red.

T. 77. In the 2^d light stands an old king in purple robes, and a young queen robed B. & O., both crowned and sceptred O. Before the king kneels 2 monks, one habited B., hooded gu., the 2^d habited gu., hooded B. And behind him stand 2 noblemen wth coronetts on, habited B. Behind the queen also stand 2 ladies wth coronetts on, one habited B., the other purple.

King Edward I. and Queen Eleanor, *necon et magnates terræ Angliæ*, being invited to the Translation of S. William.

After the glorious William, Archbishop of York, left this world, he shone forth in many and great miracles, and by decree of the most high pontiff and consent of the brethren was enrolled in the catalogue of the saints; the day of his death was kept as sacred by the faithful in all the province of York; and he was accounted glorious and to be praised both by clergy and people. The height of glory and praise however seemed wanting to this saint, seeing that his most sacred body, from which through the hard stone oil used ever and anon to sweat forth, was inclosed in but rude masonry. Wherefore, in order to fill up the measure of praise and glory, the translation of his holy body was ardently desired by the bishops, canons, clergy, and laity of the Church of York. And when the fulness of time was come, in which God decreed in the secret of His bosom that His saint should be set up on high, He raised up to the Archbishopric of York the venerable Father William (Wykwane), who previously for many years in the same church discharged the duties of Chancellor, by whose ministry He had pre-ordained to fulfil the translation of the body of His glorious Confessor. Accordingly, in the year of the Incarnation of our Lord one thousand two hundred and eighty three, and the third year of the said Father William, the renowned Anthony Bek having been elected to the bishopric of Durham, and his election confirmed, the archbishop and the bishop elect inspired by the same Spirit (as may piously be believed), with one accord desired that the translation of S. William and the consecration of the said bishop elect might be celebrated together on the same day; in order that the translation of the holy Father might be the more august with the assistance of the elect, and that the consecration of the elect

himself might have the advantage of the prayers of S. William, for whose translation he was zealous. The proposal therefore being settled, the illustrious King Edward of England, and the most serene Queen Eleanor, and the nobility of England, and others both ecclesiastical and secular, were invited to grant their presence at such a solemnity, for the honour of the saint, and intercession for the bishop elect.²⁹¹

P. 77. (O. 72.) A bearded old-looking man in blue with a very miserable face raised in supplication, sitting on the floor before the shrine ; and two others, with hands raised and folded in prayer, assisting ; one, a man in blue, standing, the other, a woman in blue with yellow cuffs, pink cape, and white kerchief on her head, kneeling. Floor of black and white triangles. Background red.

T. 76. In the 1st row & the 1st light is a church, curiously pinacled, A. & O. wth a pavement before it checky A. & sab., upon w^{ch} kneels a bp. habited B., & behind him stands a grave man, wth hands conjoined at prayer, habited gu. (now blue, modern patched). On the other side kneels a monk habited B., hooded murrey, wth hands a little elevated conjoined.

William, clerk of Weskburch, paralyzed below the navel, cured at the shrine of S. William.

Another miracle we ourselves saw wrought on a certain paralytic, William, clerk of Weskburch, who for a long time had been struck with complete paralysis in all the parts below his navel, so that he could not move his limbs, and only very slightly feel. In the year of our Lord one thousand three hundred and eighteen he watched all night before S. William's day, and falling into a little sleep in the morning, a beautiful light as seemed to him filled all the place round about the tomb, and when he awoke he began at once to walk, being fully restored to health.²⁹²

P. 78. (O. 78.) A king, crowned, in a blue tunic and yellow ornamental belt, the long end of which, terminating in an ornamental pendant, is twisted in one part so as to show the under surface, prostrate on his hands and knees upon the ground, which is covered with green herbage and trees around, four or five green, one yellow, and one red ; a queen in pink, with a string of pearls upon her head, leaning over him from behind with hands folded in prayer ; and part of a third figure in red, and of a fourth, behind, emerging from the trees. Background blue, richly diapered.

²⁹¹ Fest. Transl. S. Will., lect. i., ii.,
iii. *Brcc. N'bor.*, Act. SS. Junii ii. 143.

²⁹² *Dodaw.* MS., 35.

T. 78. In 3^d light is an old king in azure robes fall'n down to the ground. On one side stands a bp. habited gu., mytred O., wth both hands a little elevated & conjoyned. On the other hand stands a nobleman in purple robes, wth hands elevated in the like manner.

King Edward falling near the top of a hill, but by the grace of S. William, uninjured.

See comp. 80.

P. 79. (O. 79.) On an ornamental white pedestal, an image of an archbishop, nimbed, in alb apparelled beneath in front, pink dalmatic, blue chasuble, mitre, and pallium, with cross-staff in right hand and book in left, and a king, crowned, in blue tunic and ornamental yellow belt with pendant, kneeling at prayer before it with from his mouth a scroll issuing, inscribed—**Beate Wille**; and three figures behind, one in white holding a book, a rosary, and a sprinkler, one in a blue tunic, white belt, and blue cap, and one in a green tunic, white belt, and ermine cap with jewel in front. Background red.

T. 79. In the 4th light stands an abp. by his throne A., habited B., pall & myter A., wth a cross-staff in one hand & a book closed in the other; before him kneels a king in azure robes, praying to him in a form of words written upon an escrowle. Behind the king stand 3 men, one whereof is a nobleman habited V^t, furred erm., wth a coronet on; the 2^d an officer habited A., the 3^d habited B.

King Edward ascribing his deliverance to S. William.

See comp. 80.

P. 80. (O. 80.) A king, crowned, in red, and queen in long white flowing dress with green girdle and shining gold and white jewel in front, and two attendants, one in pink with a conical red cap, the other in red with a jewel in front of his cap, on white horses, journeying. Ground covered with green herbage. Background blue.

T. 80. In the 5th light are a king & queen riding on white horses, he robed gu., she A. & gu. On his left hand rides a nobleman habited gu.; behind the queen rides another, habitt & cap gu.

King Edward and Queen Eleanor journeying to York to be present at the Translation of S. William.

It was thought by many that the unfavourableness of the weather, and especially the urgency of his affairs in Wales, might hinder the king and his court coming to the Translation; but the king, inspired by heaven, firmly intended to be present. Whilst he was entertaining this holy purpose it happened one day as he was climbing a hill, that on reaching the top his foot slipped, and he fell from a height, and all those who thronged around him, stupefied, thought him *confractus et quassatus in corpore*. Straightway, however, the king arose without any hurt, and gave thanks to S. William; ascribing his fall to the enemy of the human race, and his salvation to the merits of the glorious Confessor. And from that day he was inflamed with such desire to honour S. William, that as soon as possible he started on the way, and day by day anxiously hastened to the city of York.²⁹³

On the Order for solemnly receiving either at a city, or cathedral, or abbey, any sovereign, legate, cardinal, or bishop, see Maskell, *Mon. Rit. Ecc. Ang.*, iii. cxli. 303.

CANOPIES.—A row of low-crowned canopies executed in white with yellow stain filling in the heads of the third tier of lights, between the third transom and the tops of the five last compartments; each consisting of a two-sided projecting gabled and crocketed front, in front of another flat square front, with four circular trefoiled arches beneath and pinnacles at the angles. The colours of the background as follows :—

Red	Blue	Red	Blue	Red.
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the colours of these spire backgrounds and of the compartments beneath being counterchanged.

P. 81. (O. 84.) Two men in blue tunics, white belts—one of them stained yellow towards the end with a pendant attached, and red boots, pointing to a large white stone lying on the ground, and a third, half of his long tunic reaching to the ground white and the other half green, standing by. Floor checky yellow and black. Background yellow and black.

T. 85. In the 5th light stands a woman, habited A. & V^t, betw. 2 monks habited B.

The man on whose head the stone had fallen, by the grace of S. William rising up uninjured.

On the following day whilst the matins of the Translation of S. William were being solemnly sung, that the solemnity of the day might be the greater, Almighty God magnified his saint by a remarkable miracle. Some of the servants of the Canons who had come to the

²⁹³ *Brev.* quoted by Bollandists, in Act. SS. Junii ii. 143, lect. iii.

church with their masters fell asleep in a pulpit, and one of them rested his head on the base of the pulpit in which the Gospel used to be read. And behold, during the reading of the third Lection, by some chance impulse a stone of a column of no little weight fell on the head of the man as he slept, so that his head lay crushed between the fallen stone and the base of the pulpit. And when those who stood by saw what was done, they ran to lift up the stone, thinking his head must be broken beyond recovery. But he who had slept got up, feeling nothing amiss, though the hat which he had upon his head was shattered, and as if it had been gnawed with the teeth by the stone above and the stone below; insomuch that all they that saw it perceived plainly it was a divine work, his hat being so broken on the one hand, and his head within so unhurt upon the other. Then the said servant, seeing that he was delivered from so great a danger, gave thanks to God and the blessed William, by whose merits he believed, and not without reason, that he had escaped from so great a peril.²⁹⁴

In the latter end of July, 1867, some workmen were opening a drain in Castlegate, not far from the Minster, at York, and on turning up one of the stones found an inscription upon it. The stone was about twenty-one inches in length, thirteen inches in breadth, five and a half inches thick on one edge, and two and a half on the other. The inscription ran, in lettering of the latter part of the thirteenth century—



Qui cecidit super caput Rogeri de Ripm; with, beneath, the beginning of another inscription—*Est sign* never completed. On the under side of the stone was a circular mortise five and a half inches in diameter, to receive apparently the end of a column which once supported it, and a smaller hole going through the stone for the passage of a bolt to secure it. It is presumed that this is the very stone reputed to have fallen on the head of the man asleep during the Lection, and that in testimony of so memorable an event it was preserved and fixed

²⁹⁴ *First. transl. S. Will. lect. v., Brev. quoted in Act. SS. Boll. Junii ii. 144.*

within the Minster, possibly near the shrine, where it remained until all such things were expelled from our churches, and some of them, like this, in a very literal sense became "as the dung of the earth." The stone is now preserved in the sacristy of the Minster. And who and what manner of man was Roger of Ripon? In the year 1196 a man of that name was caught at London with forged letters in his possession, and poison, which had been given to him, as he said, to destroy Simon de Apulia, then dean of York, and several of the canons.²⁹⁵ And in the Bateiman Museum, I am informed by Canon Raine, there is a pewter or leaden seal, of pointed oval shape, representing a star issuing from a crescent, inscribed round the edge—**R. ROGER. DE. RIPON.**, which was found in Fease Gate, York, in July, 1851. But whether the Roger of the seal was the same as the Roger of the poison, or of the inscription on the stone, or the Roger de Ripon collated to the precentorship of the cathedral in the fourteenth century, we cannot well determine. At all events, in this stone we have a testimony, besides that in the window, that a stone was reputed to have fallen on the head of a man at York, and that the name of that man was Roger of Ripon. A somewhat similar miracle is represented in comp. 93, 94, and 95 of this window.

It will now be not uninteresting to compare the above account with the following, from the miracles of S. John of Beverley and of S. John of Bridlington.

1. *S. John Beverley.* A high and beautiful tower—on which all the power and subtlety of the mason's art were expended, was once built in the middle of the cross of the basilica at Beverley,²⁹⁶ and so far completed that the roof only remained to be added. But when the workmen—not so circumspect as they should have been, not so prudent as subtle in their art, intent more on beauty than strength, more on giving pleasure than on stability, raised the four principal piers—the supports of the whole superimposed weight, with greater ingenuity than firmness they built old work into new, like them that sew old cloth into a new garment. Wherefore neither the bases nor the columns were sufficiently strong to bear the immense weight placed upon them, and in the course of the work great cracks made their appearance in certain of the marble columns all their length from base to capital. However, having begun, they determined to go on, though it was certain that what was built on such a weak foundation must come to ruin. The greater the weight of stones they laid on, the more they hastened the fall of the tower; and the more they ventured to load the pillars and bases, the wider became the cracks therein. At last, from fear of the impending ruin, a great part both of clergy and people ceased to enter the church. However, the priests and deacons and others bound by their office in the choir at certain times were obliged to go, and went accordingly, trusting that He whom they served thus with all their strength with pure mind and inward devotion would not suffer them to be overwhelmed or perish by sudden death, and in the guardianship of the holy Confessor whose relics were there present. Now it came to pass that about the beginning of the month of October, when the clergy were gathered together in the church one night to sing nocturns, a great piece of the stone-

²⁹⁵ Raine, *Fast. Ebor.*, 261, note x.

²⁹⁶ "Et Kinsius (23rd Abp. of York, succeeded on the death of Alfric, who

died A. D. M.L.I.) ad ecclesiam sancti Johannis apud Beverlacum turrim excelsum lapideam adjecit." Stubbs, col. 1700.

work of the tower fell, at the sound of which they were all struck with great fear. With haste they got out of their stalls, and continued the office they had begun, standing on either side of the altar. Not long after this there was heard another crash, greater than the first, of more stones falling again from the tower; as though a slight and gentle warning (*levi quadam et simplici admonitione*) to leave were followed by a peremptory command, disobedience to which must needs entail heavy punishment. So leaving the choir in order to get to a safe place more distant from the tower, passing under the impending ruin they went down into the nave of the church, where, standing by the side of the font, they went on with the office to the end. Scarcely, however, had they finished the office, and got to their homes, which were quite close to the church, when, behold, down came the whole tower to its foundations, bringing all the adjacent parts along with it in its fall, with deafening crash! Now mark how wonderful in this event was the grace of the Saviour;—of how great efficacy was the virtue of the holy Confessor. For by the disposition of the Lord, by the interposition of the saint, it was provided that the ruin of the tower should be at a time when there could be no injury to the throng of lay people, and to the ministers of the church warning was given to withdraw themselves. By the merits of the same holy Confessor, may a mansion of the blessed be granted unto us, when the course of this life is run, through Him who liveth and reigneth God for ever and ever. Amen.²⁹⁷

2. *S. John Bridlington.* (A.) One day, whilst Prior John was standing in the church, many standing by and seeing, a stone of no little weight fell from a height upon his head, but through the protection of the Most High wrought him no evil, at which fortune they who were present marvelled greatly, though he, as afterwards he said, was sorry that at that divine operation others should have been present. Well thus is it said by the prophet—*Perfecisti eis, qui sperant in te, in conspectu filiorum hominum.* And again—*Qui habitat in adjutorio Altissimi, &c.* (B.) A carpenter one day building a house fell from the higher part, was dashed to pieces on the ground, and expired. Those who were near flocked around him, and offered prayer to the Lord and His Confessor the blessed John, to give them a sign whether the man had met with his death fairly, or anyone were to blame or guilty of it. And whilst they were thus engaged on bended knees, the dead man lifted up his head, and spake, and gave a full explanation of the manner in which he came by his end.²⁹⁸

At Beverley, York, and Bridlington, the stone of no little weight falls in church in the presence of many, without permanent injury to anyone, and the interference of the Almighty is specially mentioned in each case. Both at Beverley and York it is the stone of columns that is specially mentioned as insecure, and the fall takes place at the time of service in the Minster. Both at York and Bridlington the wonder of the bystanders, that the man on whom the stone fell should not have been permanently injured, is mentioned. Both at York and Bridlington a man falls from a height and is injured, but is restored by the mediation of the saint. But after marking these essential features and resemblances, let us note the

²⁹⁷ *Miracula S. Joann. Bev. Act. SS. Act. SS. Boll. Oct. v. 144. S. John Boll. Maii ii. 293.*

²⁹⁸ *Mirac. post Sancti mortum patrata.*

Bridlington died 10 Oct. 1379.

accidental details and colouring in which they differ. At Beverley, in the eleventh century, it will be observed, there is but one miracle, and the stone does not fall on anyone, the danger being foreseen and escaped. At York, in the thirteenth century, or after, there have got to be two miracles; 1. A stone actually falling on the head of one of the servants of the canons ministering about the Translation of S. William, through whom in return the man was uninjured; the name of the man even being recorded—Roger de Ripun (comp. 81, 82). 2. A man falling down a ladder reared against a wall with a stone after him which stuns him, but apparently hurts him no further (comp. 93, 94, 95). At Bridlington, in the fourteenth century, and after, both miracles have grown considerably. 1. The stone falls on the head of the Saint himself alive and walking about in good health; and, 2. The man falls from the top of a house, is dashed to pieces, is killed, and by the intercession of the saint brought back to life again. The miracles of S. John of Bridlington are as much more wonderful than those of his predecessor S. William of York, as the latter are than those of his predecessor S. John of Beverley.

P. 82. (O. 83.) A large white stone falling on and concealing the head of a man in red lying on the steps of a yellow stair, and three figures looking on in amazement, one in a surplice and white fur almuce, another in red with a diapered white belt, and the third in green patched with blue; a hand with two fingers extended in benediction issuing from clouds in the midst of yellow rays of glory, and a bundle of rays passing from the tips of the fingers to the head of the man crushed with the stone. Floor checky yellow and black. Background blue.

T. 84. In the 4th light a monk, habited gu., sits leaning forwards in a chair O., wth 5 golden rays issuing out of a cloud at his back. Before him stand 3 monks, the 1st habited V^t, 2^d A., 3^d sanguine.

A stone falling by divine direction on the head of a man asleep on the stair of a pulpit at York at the Translation of S. William.

See comp. 81.

S. Cuthbert's maniple, at Durham, wrought in the tenth century, has in the centre a hand outstretched from a cloud, with the inscription—*Dextera Dei*. In the mosaics of Ravenna, the Divine Hand, emblematic of the Divine Providence, occurs; on the vault of the tribune of the church of S. Apollinare in Classe, for instance. And a valuable engraving of the hand extended in benediction (but according to the Greek rite), and emitting a bundle of rays from the tips of the fingers, as in this compartment, will be found in Didron, *Iconog. Chrét.*, p. 202, where also examples are given of the introduction of the Divine Hand to indicate the appearance of the Almighty, in ancient representations of the sacrifice of Isaac, the giving of the Law, the Baptism of our Lord,

the Transfiguration, the Mount of Olives, the Crucifixion, and the Ascension.

P. 83. (O. 81.) An archbishop seated in a red cope (upper part patched with blue) with stiff green collar, gloves jewelled at the back, pallium, and mitre, with around him six other bishops each holding a crozier, singing from books; one to the right in pink cope diapered white fastened on the breast with a gold morse and stiff blue collar, one to the left in green cope diapered white fastened by a gold morse and stiff blue collar, one on each side in front in blue, and the heads of two behind alone visible. Background red, but consisting of very few small panes only.

T. 83. In the 3^d light sits an abp. habited gu. & B., cope V^t, pall & myter A., and 2 other bps. sitt on besides him, habited A., one of them having a book upon his knee lying open.

William, Archbishop of York, Anthony Bek, Bishop Elect of Durham, his brother Thomas, Bishop of S. David's, and others, singing litanies through the night at the tomb of S. William preparatory to the Translation.

See comp. 85.

P. 84. (O. 85.) A feretory, white, enriched with gold and precious stones, on four golden poles carried by, in front, two bishops in red, and behind by two personages, one in red (patched), and one in yellow (who may have been crowned, but the original pane which would have decided this has gone, and other glass been inserted); a fifth figure, in very flowing surplice, holding a sprinkler in his left hand and a brazen holy water bucket in his right. Background blue.

T. 82. In 2^d light is an ark A. & O. containing the hoste, born upon the shoulders of 2 abps. preceding, habited gu., pall'd A., mytred A. & O. And of a cardinall habited O., cop. sab., and a monk habited gu., having a string of beads about his shoulders O. & A., who bear it up behind; between them goes the cencer-bearer, habited A., wth the incence pot hanging by his side.

The Archbishop of York, Bishop Elect of Durham, Bishop of S. David's, and King Edward I., translating the body of S. William.

On the following day, about the first hour, the prelates who had

come to the solemnity being assembled in the church, the king and queen also with a very great company of counts and barons being present, the Word of God being first expounded by the venerable Father William the archbishop, the king himself, together with the bishops who were present, solemnly carried upon their shoulders the chest in which the holy relics were, with very great devotion and reverence, about one part of the choir, to the place where the body of the saint now rests; for they were not able to descend into the body of the church with the holy relics on account of the multitude present, though the officers of the king endeavoured to the utmost of their ability to prepare a way. Thus the body of S. William, with the joy and solemnity that was becoming, was reverently translated from a low to a high place, from a common place to the choir, the Lord disposing.²⁹⁹

S. William was originally buried in the nave of the Cathedral at York, near the south-west pillar of the central tower; and it was mainly owing to the munificence of the magnificent Anthony Bek, who paid the somewhat heavy expenses, that the translation was effected, 8 Jan. 1283. His brother Thomas, bishop of S. David's, had shortly before in like manner paid for the translation of S. Hugh of Lincoln. Beside the three already mentioned, eight other bishops were present at and took part in the ceremony of the translation of S. William.³⁰⁰

The king doubtless made splendid offerings on this occasion, but I have not been able to meet with any record of them. The Wardrobe Book for the year 1299—1300, however, contains the offerings of the king for that year. "In oblacionibus Regis ad feretrum Sancti Willelmi in ecclesia Cathedrali Ebor', 7s. Ad tumbam ubi idem Sanctus primo sepeliebatur, 7s." "Ad feretrum Sancti Willi' in Ecclesia Sancti Petri Ebor', . . . Firmaculum auri, precii 6 marc'." "Ad feretrum Sancti Willi' in Ecclesia Cathedral' Ebor' . . . Firmaculum auri, precii 5 marc'." "Ad feretrum Sancti Willi' in Ecclesia Cathedrali Ebor' . . . Firmaculum auri, precii 7 marc'." This altogether represents not much short of £250 of our money.

The anniversary festivals of the Translation were celebrated with proportionate splendour, and the feretory was again carried in procession. Minstrels sang,³⁰¹ players acted,³⁰² the deacons of the cathedral carried flying banners,³⁰³ and miracles were wrought on sick laid on beds and couches as the shadow of the shrine passed by and overshadowed them. (Comp. 89, see also comp. 88.) How grandly impressive such pageants must have been we can now hardly conceive. The philosophical explanation of the irresistible effect of a vast concourse all absorbed in like emotion, is based on the law that, when we imagine

²⁹⁹ *Fest. Trans. S. Will.* lect. vi., *Brev.* cited in *Act. SS. Boll. Junii* ii. 144.

³⁰⁰ Stubbs, col. 1727. For other illustrative detail respecting the translation of Saints, see Rock, *Church of Our Fathers*. iii. 482; Stanley, *Memorials of Canterbury*, 204; *Legenda Aurea*, cap. cxlviii., *De Sancto Remigio*; Abp. Gray's Register. *Surt. Soc.* vol. 56, p. 148, for Translation of S. Wilfrid in 1224 (accounts of whose translation are also contained in the lections which form an

appendix to the *Ripon Psalter*.) "Nullo majore vel minore osse vel articulo, ut pro certo credamus, deficiente."

³⁰¹ Ministrallis in festo translationis S. Willelmi, 3s. 4d. *Chamberlain's Accounts*, 1371. *Fabric Rolls*, Append., 124, 127.

³⁰² In riguardo dato histrionibus inter essentibus in festo translationis S. Willelmi, &c., *id.*, 1477 circ. 135.

³⁰³ Quatuor diaconis portantibus pannum supra caput S. Willelmi in translatione ejusdem, &c., *id.*, 1477 circ. 135.

another, like ourselves, affected by some particular emotion, we forthwith become affected by the same ; and again, that if we imagine that another loves what we love, we love the same more ardently. Each individual present, therefore, intensifies the emotion, until the effect, when the concourse is large, becomes overpowering.

Speremus pariter, pariter metuamus amantes ;
Ferreus est, si quis, quod sinit alter, amat.

The writer will never forget the effect of a solemn religious procession he witnessed on the Anniversary of the Pope's accession one sweet sunny summer afternoon at Cologne in 1872, as it formed and ever went on forming from the clergy, religious orders, and general multitude assembled in that vast cathedral, crowded to the utmost, and emerged from the south transept doorway with flying banners of the choicest and most exquisite ancient needlework, singing hymns, a band of wind and stringed instruments on the outside answering the great organ of the cathedral and choir within. And yet here, for lack of *complete* and *unquestioning* sympathy, the effect must have been far, very far inferior from that produced by a York procession of the fourteenth century, when all were of one heart and one mind, and none had learned to doubt or presumed to differ from his neighbour.

P. 85. (O. 82.) Much mutilated. A coffin lying open, in which one bone is seen, and indications of two bishops, one in pink and one in red, mitred, and of four other ecclesiastics in white, with white fur almuces, kneeling, and each carefully scrutinizing a bone which he holds in his hands. Background red, much mutilated and patched.

T. 81. In the 5th row & in the 1st light sitt 2 bps. the one habited gu., the other sanguine, putting the bones of a saint into his shrine. On the other side kneel 2 monks habited A.

The opening of the coffin of S. William, and preparation of his bones for the shrine, preparatory to his Translation.

And when the time drew nigh for the body to be taken up, the venerable Father William, Archbishop of York, and the Bishop of S. David's, brother of the bishop-elect of Durham, and the bishop-elect himself, entering the church in the silence of the dead of night, accompanied by the dean and canons, chanted litanies, poured forth prayers, and humbly prostrated themselves at the tomb of S. William, beseeching his aid. At length rising from prayer, the stone placed upon the coffin being removed, they found the body of the holy pontiff wrapped up many times in the sacred vestments in which he had been buried ; and those sacred vestments were perceived, both by sight and touch, moistened with the fatness of an oil which had exuded from the body of the holy father. The paten and chalice which had been placed by the body in the tomb then being removed, the archbishop and bishop aforesaid with others who seemed to be the most deserving, beginning from the head,

rolled up the holy relics with becoming reverence and devotion, and placed them in a certain chest ; and carrying them with very great devotion to a secret and secure place, and having affixed their seals and appointed a watch, departed. Returning on the following morning as soon as it was day, they unrolled the sacred relics of the saint which they had before rolled up, handling them with pious reverence ; the sacred vestments in which the body of the glorious confessor had been rolled they laid aside, but those things which pertained to the substance of the body they most devoutly placed in a shrine prepared for this purpose, sealing the shrine, and setting a watch.³⁰⁴

P. 86. (O. 65.) A girl in blue and white thrusting her head between the shrine and one of its corner buttresses, and seven others kneeling around with faces full of interest and anxious inquiry ; two in blue, two in white, one in pink, one in green, and one whose head only is visible. Floor checky yellow and black. Background red.

T. 48. In 3^d light is a pinacled church A. & O., wth a priest therein, habited B. & gu., and 2 monks standing on each side thereof, the one bareheaded, habited gu. & A., the other barefooted, habited B., his hood murry and B. [Though not apparently at first sight the same compartment, yet on careful comparison with the original it seems to be so.]

A dumb girl of Rokesburgh cured at the shrine of S. William.

There was a girl of Rokesburgh, who by chance came to York with a glazier and her mother, and who had from birth such an impediment in her speech, that she was almost entirely unable to form her words or express her meaning. This girl there, on the same day (Wednesday in Whitsun week), so long afflicted, at length received her speech, many standing by, and with the glazier and her mother gave testimony of her cure through the merits of the blessed confessor.³⁰⁵

P. 87. (O. 92.) A man in a blue tunic (top green) and diapered white belt, kneeling, offering a white model of a leg and foot at the altar of the shrine, the white cloth on which is fringed and diapered ; and behind, suspended by strings from a yellow rod adjacent to the shrine, white models of a heart, hand, arm, and female face. Background red.

T. 87. In the 2^d light is a curious church & altar, wth an old monk kneeling at prayer before them, habited B., hooded V^t, over whose head hangs upon a cross-beam a woman's head A., wth a leg, foot & heart O.

³⁰⁴ *Fl. st. Transl. S. Will.*, lect. iv. *Brev.*
cited in Act. SS. Boll. Junii ii. 144.

³⁰⁵ *Doxlaw. MS.*, 13.

A man, having had his leg cured by S. William, offering a wax leg and foot at the shrine.

About the time of the translation of S. William, there was a certain Religious of the military order of the Temple of Jerusalem (Knight Templar) who had one leg for a long time so destitute of life and feeling that that part of his body dried up, and was obviously deprived of animal energy. And when he heard that by the aid of S. William now newly translated health had been restored to many sick persons, he directed his devotion to the saint, and conceived a firm hope of obtaining health through him. He began, accordingly, after the manner of sick persons, to measure his feeble limbs, and prepare a light in honour of the saint, according to custom, from that measure. And straightway, without loss of time by virtue of the Holy Spirit, whose grace knows no tardy delays, he was fully restored to health; and perceiving himself cured, grateful for so great a benefit, straightway published abroad the miracle, to the honour of S. William; and, in testimony of the miracle, sent a wax leg and foot under his seal to the feretory of the saint.³⁰⁶

It is related in the Acts of S. John of Beverley, that a rustic in the county of Norfolk had so great a weakness in one of his legs that he could scarcely walk, even with a stick. Having in vain tried many other saints without success, at last he came to S. John of Beverley, and after due supplication and prayer, the weakness went away, and the leg was restored whole as before. In testimony of his gratitude, therefore, he ordered a candle to be prepared, in length and thickness equal to the leg and foot, and as soon as possible set off to Beverley. There, having publicly given thanks to God and S. John, he took out the candle of wonderful size which he had taken with him, and having lighted it, placed it upon the altar before the relics of the saint; relating then to clergy and people how he had been made whole.³⁰⁷ The miracle of S. William is obviously merely an amplified version of this one of S. John of Beverley.

The offering of wax at shrines was extremely common, and is alluded to repeatedly in the *Liber Vagatorum*. Beggars would say, in asking an alms, "I have a son possessed of a devil, and have vowed to Saint — xij pounds of wax, which I must have before my son can be delivered from the power of the devil." Or, "I have been afflicted with the falling sickness, and have made a vow to St. — of iij pounds of wax and a High Mass, and I therefore beg pious folk to help me . . . that the dear holy saint — may guard and protect you evermore;" etc. etc. If the cure was wrought, then the wax (or gold, silver, &c. of the wealthy) was often made into a model of the person, or of the afflicted member, and offered at the shrine in that form. There are many references to this practice in the Acts of the Saints, and in old Wills, etc. We thus find John of Croxton, of York, chandler, for instance, in his will dated 7 March, 1393, leaving to the nuns of Ham-pole "an ymage of viij pund of wax," and "a leg of di lb."³⁰⁸ Another

³⁰⁶ *First. Transl. S. Will. lect. viii. Brev.*
cited in Act. S. J. Boll. Junii ii. 145.

³⁰⁷ *Mirac. S. Joan. Rev. Act. SS.*
Maii ii., 184.

³⁰⁸ *Test. Ebor.*

mode of showing gratitude, for favour expected or received, was to twist a piece of candle-wick round and round the afflicted member in a spiral, as represented in comp. 90. This was afterwards coated with wax, wound up into a coil of many rounds, and called a "trindle." Being then offered at the shrine of the saint, it was lighted, and placed either on the little altar at its western end, or on the floor, as shown in the Cambridge MS. Life of S. Edward the Confessor. To these, again, the Acts of the Saints contain many references. Thus, in the Acts of S. Germanus (Patron of Selby), there is an account of a man who, getting very hot and thirsty, drank greedily of rain water, and was attacked with dropsy. A *matrona fidelis* recommended him to measure himself for a taper to offer as an oblation to S. Germanus. This was done, and in the self-same hour the dropsy left him.³⁰⁹ In the Acts of S. Gibrian, it is related that a thread was thus twisted round and round the hip of a lame man, in a spiral;³¹⁰ and many other instances, as well as a full account of these singular things, are given by Dr. Rock.³¹¹ They are mentioned by name in the Injunctions of Edward VI. "They shall take away, utterly extinct, and destroy all shrines, all tables, candlesticks, trindles or rolls of wax, pictures, paintings, and all other monuments of feigned miracles;"³¹² and were particularly offensive to the Reformers in the sixteenth century.

The presentation of votive offerings was very ancient. It is mentioned by Theodoret, bishop of Cyrus, A.D. 423. "That those who pray (to saints and martyrs) with faith and sincerity obtain what they ask, is manifestly testified by the number of offerings which are made to them, in consequence of the benefits received. For some offer the figures of eyes, some of feet, some of hands, made either of gold or of silver, which the Lord accepts, though but of little value, measuring the gift by the ability of the giver."³¹³ At the other end of the middle ages, Nicholas Harpsfield, the last Roman Catholic Archdeacon of Canterbury, speaking of the miracles of King Henry VI. (of England), says that his tomb at Windsor was hung with models of the eyes, feet, hands, and other parts of the bodies of those who had been miraculously cured there; and much other illustration of the practice is given by Dr. Rock.³¹⁴ The list of votive offerings around the tomb of Lord Scrope in York Minster is given at length in the *Monasticon*.³¹⁵ There were a man's head and several ships, "vij legs and foots argenti," "4 teeth and 4 hearts argenti," "8 eyn and 2 hands argenti," "images and heads argenti 6," "6 hands and legs," "1 pap and 1 gun," "1 hart of gold ynameled with white and green," etc., etc. Around the feretory of S. William there were—"Una mamilla argenti deaurata," "Una manus argenti deaurata, cum uno sceptro," "una pecia de moder de perle," "duas pecias de corall," etc. etc.;³¹⁶ the more costly and precious of the offerings probably alone being mentioned. It is hardly necessary to say that these votive offerings were even more offensive to the Reformers than trindles. "What meaneth it that they . . . burn incense, offer up gold . . . hang up crutches,

³⁰⁹ *Acta SS. Boll.*, 31 July.

³¹⁰ *Filum accipit, et in gyrum coxam suam mensuratus est.* *Act. SS. Boll. Maii vii.*, 647.

³¹¹ *Church of Our Fathers*, iii. 233, 416, 418.

³¹² *Wilkins, Conc.*, iv. 7.

³¹³ *Serm. viii. De Martyribus.*

³¹⁴ *Church of Our Fathers*, iii., 461.

³¹⁵ *Mon. Ang.*, vol. vi., Pt. iii., p. 1206.

³¹⁶ *Id.*, 1206.

chains, and ships, legs, arms, and whole men and women of wax . . . as though by . . . saints (as they say), they were delivered from lameness, sickness, captivity, or shipwreck? . . . Now God be merciful to such miserable and silly Christians, who by the fraud and falsehood of those which should have taught them the way of truth and life, have been made not only more wicked than the Gentile idolaters, but also no wiser than asses, horses, and mules, that have no understanding . . . All these things be vain and abominable, and most damnable before God."¹⁷ There can be no question that the early Christians derived the practice from the ancient Greeks and Romans. Thus Livy, in describing the heathen temples, says they were rich in the number of offerings which the people had made in return for the cures and benefits they had received. Strabo writes, that "these temples were constantly filled by the sick, imploring the help of the god; and that they had tables hanging around them, in which all the miraculous cures were described." There is, indeed, actually a part of one of these tables still extant, which gives an account of two blind men restored to sight by Æsculapius in open view, and amidst the loud acclamations of the people, acknowledging the manifest power of the god; and ancient votive legs, arms, and models of other parts of the body are not uncommon in museums,¹⁸ in the British Museum, for instance. Abroad, these offerings are commonly seen suspended around and almost burying the more popular shrines. For an animated and interesting account of the shrine of Our Lady of Hal, in Belgium, and of the votive offerings suspended around it, see *The Sacristy*, I. 170.

The old name of Cannon Street, London, before it was altered by "city improvements," was "Candlewick Street," or *Candleweke Strete*,¹⁹ so called from the number of wax and tallow chandlers, or candlewrights, as they were called, who lined the street on either side; and the name "Candlewick" still survives as the designation of one of the City Wards.

P. 88. (O. 93.) On white glass stained yellow, a low-sided oblong chest or coffer set with jewels, capped by high pitched roof with rich crocketing and cresting, supported by two long yellow poles on the shoulders of four ecclesiastics in dalmatics, two of white diapered with gold stars with wavy points and two of green, being carried over a bridge of wrought stone with semicircular arches, the end of the bridge passed over breaking behind, and a man in a red tunic, green tippet, and diapered white belt, and woman

¹⁷ *Homily against Peril of Idolatry*, Pt. iii.

¹⁸ Smith, *Dict. Gr. and Rom. Antiq.*, s. v. *Donaria*. Middleton, *Free Inquiry*, &c., lii., liii. 78, 79. *Letter from Rome*, 327. These works are of great learning, and abound with references of the greatest interest. Dr. Challoner, in *The Catholic Christian Instructed*, replies to Dr. Middleton with not less learning, and defends the votive gifts, on the ground that prac-

tices in themselves innocent, are not rendered unlawful by having been abused by heathen; that all that was heathenish was the referring and dedicating such things to the honour of false deities; and that it cannot be disagreeable to the true and living God, that such as believe they have received favours from him by the prayers of his saints, should make public acknowledgment of it.

¹⁹ *Haradrobe Book of Edward I.*, p. 46.

in blue (common glazier's glass and house paint) with a white kerchief on her head, and outstretched arms, falling into the water ; one in red on the sound part of the bridge kneeling, with his back to the parapet, his face bowed towards the coffer, and his hands raised, worshipping. Blue sky appearing through the bridge between the crowns of its arches and the eddying brown water beneath. Background blue, richly diapered.

T. 88. In 3^d light is an ark wth the host therein, born on 4 men's shoulders, all kneeling, two whereof on the fore side are bps. coped A. & O. ; the other two on the far side being monks habited V^t. Under the s^d ark appears the host O., elevated between 2 men's hands neatly touching it wth their fingers. Behind the two monks sits a ven^{ble} old man habited B. & gu., wth right hand hanging down, & left elevated. At his feet lyes a woman prostrate at prayer, habited B. [The kneeling men are the ecclesiastics walking, but with the lower halves of their bodies concealed by the parapet of the bridge ; the elevated host is the tonsured head of the worshipper between his two upraised hands ; and the woman prostrate at prayer is the poor creature drowning in the water].

The feretory of S. William being carried over a bridge, the bridge breaking, and the crowd falling into the water.

I have not been able to find any account of this incident recorded, but am not at much loss to imagine its import. That the feretory of S. William, as distinguished from the shrine, was movable, we know distinctly from the passage in the *Monasticon* where the inventory of the jewels of the shrine occurs. The list is headed :—*Circa Feretrum Sancti Willielmi portabile*.²²⁰ In the Rolls of the Chamberlains of the Minster, also, expenses occur connected with processions in which the feretory of the saint was carried. Thus :—"Pro factura viij codes pro portacione Sancti Willelmi, 20d."²²¹ "Pro reparacione viij coddes factis pro supportacione feretri Sancti Willelmi."²²² "Quatuor diaconis portantibus pannum ultra pharetrum Sancti Willelmi in diebus Pentecostes, 4s."²²³ In other instances, we know most circumstantially that the relics of saints enclosed within portable coffers were carried in processions. Whitsuntide, and the Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday before Ascension Day, or Holy Thursday, were special days on which this ancient custom was observed. The venerable Bede died whilst the brethren were absent, thus carrying the relics of the saints through the streets and lanes at Ascension-tide.²²⁴ And we have already had an interesting

²²⁰ *Mon. Ang.* vol. vi., pt. iii., p. 1206.

²²³ 1430 *circ.*, *id.*, 133.

²²¹ 1340, *circ.* *Fabric Rolls*, Append.

²²⁴ *Epist. Cuthberti*, Bede Hist. Ecclesiast. Introd. Ed. Stevenson, p. xvii.

²²² 1390, *id.*, 129.

allusion to the carrying of the feretory of S. John of Beverley at that time (see comp. 73).³²⁵ Now, the miracle of the breaking of the bridge (see comp. 36) was the most celebrated of all the miracles of S. William. But as it would have been a reproach to the saint that he should have worked a greater miracle alive than after his decease, when, in heaven, he would have more ready access to God, he is here represented performing the same again. There may further have been a tradition that on some occasion when the feretory was being carried over the bridge, the latter gave way under the weight of the multitude following, as in comp. 36; and that men, and women with their infants, fell into the water as before; but that, by the favour of S. William, none were injured. At the time of the Translation, it is related in one of the lections, there were many miracles not specially mentioned, either because they were not solemnly or circumstantially related to the Church and the ministers thereof, or because of the ignorance and negligence of those who saw them, or because, though related, and certified, they were not committed to memory or reduced to writing.³²⁶ The miracle represented in this compartment may be one of those, or possibly turn up sometime in the Chapter Acts, like the one mentioned by Canon Raine, *Fest. Ebor.* I. 227, note u.

P. 89. (O. 94.) The feretory carried by four ecclesiastics as before; and two men with short hair and bare crowns in blue with pink tippets standing with their backs to the side of the shrine so as to face the observer, with between them a little child in a blue dress with a white kerchief on its head thrown back, holding up its hands, and a face of much innocence and sweetness. Background red.

T. 89. In 4th light is another ark wth the hoste in it A. & O., born upon the shoulders of 4 monks, 2 habited B. & 2 V^t. Between them kneels a woman, habited B., wth hands expanded. And behind them stands another monk, habited V^t & A., holding a book open in his hand.

A boy with contracted joints cured on the return of the feretory of S. William to the Cathedral after being out in a procession.

And it came to pass to the praise of the same glorious Confessor, that a boy of about thirteen years of age, with joints contracted from his birth, was carried by his parents to the tomb in which the body of S. William rested before the Translation. And one day the body of the holy Confessor was carried in procession; and it was so that, when the procession returned with the holy relics to the Church, whilst it was standing between the door (of the Cathedral) and the tomb, singing the customary songs of praise, the boy, who had slept beside the tomb,

³²⁵ For numerous other references, see Rock, *Church of Our Fathers*, iii. 473; and for the ceremonies as observed at Durham, *Rites of Durham*, 88.

³²⁶ *Fest. transl. lect. vii. Brev. Ebor. Act. SS. Junii ii. 144.*

awoke at the noise of those who were in the procession, and feeling his sinews unloosed, of himself rose up; and he who had not come to the place without assistance, no longer needing any in moving or walking, departed whole, giving thanks, so far as his age permitted, to God and S. William.³²⁷

As early as the year 1230, a chantry was founded at the altar of S. William, on the north-west side of the south-west pillar of the central tower, near the original place of burial, by Elias Bernard, one of the canons who had been most anxious to secure the canonization of S. William.³²⁸ After the Translation in 1284, this place was considered to possess a kind of reflected sanctity; a tomb or cenotaph still remained, and offerings were duly made at it; it was also, it would seem, one of the stations of the feretory when carried in procession. Thus, at Beverley, King Edward I. offered both at the shrine of S. John, and "ad tumbam ubi Sanctus Johannes de Beverlaco primo sepeliebatur in ecclesia ejusdem loci."³²⁹ At Canterbury, also, the king offered both at the shrine of S. Thomas, and "ad tumbam ubi Sanctus Thomas primo sepeliebatur."³³⁰ And at York, both "in oblationibus ad feretrum Sancti Willielmi in ecclesia Cathedrali Ebor.;" and "ad tumbam ubi idem Sanctus primo sepeliebatur."³³¹ Though the great Festival of the Translation of S. William was kept upon the 8th of January, the Festival of the Deposition or Burial of the Saint was still kept with nine lections upon the 8th of June, on which day also the saint is commemorated by the Bollandists, &c.

P. 90. (O. 91.) A man naked, with the exception of a nightcap, sitting up in bed, the head of which is panelled, with the white clothes turned up below so as to show his naked legs, round and round one of which a woman in red, and white apron, with a yellow measuring wand in her hand, is winding some thread in a spiral, and another woman in blue with a diapered white belt and dress open in front so as to disclose a white linen front plaited in horizontal folds, looking on; the valance round the bed of yellow embroidered with large white flowers, and the pillow also richly embroidered with yellow stain, but covered except at the ends with a white case; a covered pitcher and two other articles standing on a yellow table by the side of the bed. Background blue.

T. 86. The 4th under row hath in the first light an old man sitting in a white habitt, extending his hand to a woman habited gu., holding a golden rod in her hand, and behind her stands another woman habited B.

³²⁷ *Fest. transl. lect. vii. Brev. cited*
in Act. SS. Junii ii, 145.

³²⁸ Raine, *Fest. Ebor.*, 230; *Fabric*
Rolls, 305.

³²⁹ *Wardrobe Book*, 25, 37.

³³⁰ *Id.*, 29.

³³¹ *Id.*, 39.

A man having his leg measured for a trindle to burn at the shrine of S. William.

See comp. 87.

The early form of pillow case, not enclosing the ends, should be observed. "De ij dos. et di. quysshyn-cloth, vjs. iijd." ³³² Like the modern "anti-macassar" it was an ornamental protection, but being fastened on, was not like that a nuisance.

The dress open in front, laced closely to the body over a white stomacher, is well represented in an engraving from a fifteenth century MS. in Strutt, *Dress and Habits, &c.*, Vol. II., frontispiece; and in a cut from another MS. in Wright, *Domestic Manners and Sentiments*, p. 378. This lacing of the dress seems to be the foreshadowing of the bodice, or stays; and is alluded to in the following:—

"Thar kerteles wer of rede cendal,
I 'laced smalle, jolyf, and well." ³³³

The apron, *naprun*, or *barmclothe*, would seem to have been capable of being made a telling article of dress. Of the carpenter's wife Chaucer says:—

"A barm-cloth eek as whit as morne mylk
Upon hir lendes, ful of many a gore." ³³⁴

P. 91. (O. 105.) A man in white tunic and hosen kneeling before the shrine, presenting yellow fetters; behind, suspended on a beam or rod, fetters, a leg cut off below the knee, and a heart; and by the shrine, a fine tall brass candlestick and candle. Floor an ornamental pattern, black and white. Background blue.

T. 91. The 3^d row hath in the first light an old man, habited A., kneeling before a church and altar, over whose head a man's leg, couped A., hangs upon a cross-beam.

A man miraculously freed from prison, offering his chains at the shrine of S. William.

This miracle is borrowed from S. John of Beverley. A certain man, it is related, from his youth either without the knowledge of good and evil or forgetful of God his Creator, having forsaken the way of righteousness and the paths of truth, clave with full purpose of mind unto the devil and his service; thieving, ravishing, and doing many other the like things, which it would be too tedious to set forth. At length he was taken and bound; and as it was manifest that from childhood he was the son of iniquity, all those who were present cried aloud that by right judgment he should undergo the penalty of execution. The time of punishment was appointed, namely, the following day; and the nearer

³³² Inv. Thos. Gryasop, of York, chapman, 20 Oct., 1446. *Test. Ebor.*, iii. 102.

³³³ MS. Cott. Calig. A. 2, cited by Strutt, *op. cit.*, ii. 371.

³³⁴ *Miller's Tale*.

drew the time of his execution, the more heavily was the guilty man bound with chains and fetters ; and lest by any means he should escape the punishment prepared for him, there were given to him as a guard those whom before he had rejoiced to injure. But God, whose medicine never faileth, whose aid never denieth what is just to them that ask, and from whose mercy none but the unbeliever is excluded, suffered not His image to be condemned by the beguiler of the human race. Accordingly, in the silence of the dead of night, after that sleep had relaxed the limbs of his keepers, the eyes of his blindness were opened, and he began with tears to entreat the help of God. And mindful of the holy Confessor John, in whose parish on the morrow he was to pay the penalty of his crime, raising his countenance (for his hands were bound together with chains) he said :—*O John, healer of them that languish, if thou art the true servant of Christ, if the things that I have heard of the greatness of thy power be true, succour me most miserable though too late penitent, and snatch me by thy intercession from the nearness of this unexpected death, and then I renounce not only the devil and his service, but also promise, thou being my helper, abstinence from evil.* Straightway the chains upon his arms unloosed, and as the hands are faithful servants of the members of the whole body, it is to be believed that these were on that account first loosed by God, that the other members which followed might be unloosed by them. And the man seeing, after he had called on the name of God and of his holy John, that the hands which had been bound behind his back, and all his body, were free from chains, with great wonder rose up, and passed through the midst of his enemies that lay around. And having gone forth, he bent his way through the thick darkness to the temple of the servant of God, not less than twelve miles distant ; and so, at break of day, came to the church he sought. Then entering, and throwing down his chains and fetters before the tomb of the man of God, he gave thanks, and declared to the servants of the church and all them that would hear him, how he had been freed by his aid from the jaws of death. And whilst he abode for certain days with the canons of the church, by the mediation of John the beloved of God, of a ravisher he was made peaceful, and of a wolf a lamb ; and as his sins had well nigh brought on him, against his will, the penalty of the gallows, as a sign of penitence for his sins, of his own free will, he embraced the cross of God.³³⁴

P. 92. (O. 104.) A man in a loose white tunic without belt, in bed, the head of which is carved in diaper, with white pillow (without case) and coverlet richly embroidered with large yellow flowers, and footboard of two heavy pieces of wood with circular holes, through which the man's feet are thrust, with a bolt at the end for fastening, like a pair of stocks ; about his ankles are fetters, which he is anxiously endeavouring to unloose ; on the floor, stands a round wooden tub, and pitcher with an inverted cup on its mouth ;

³³⁴ *Mirac. S. Joan. Bev. auctore Willhelmo Kelell'o, sub. fn. sec ii, Act. SS. Boll. Maii ii., 176.*

and, above, upon a rail suspended by two holdfasts from the ceiling, are a blue garment, a white one, and a wicker basket containing two small loaves of bread, and, apparently, three eggs. Floor paved with ornamental tiles. Background red.

T. 92. In the 2^d light sits an old man on the ground, habited A., leaning upon a long box O., wth a pitcher of one ear at his head, & a well at his feet.

A man in prison, in fetters, beseeching the aid of S. William.

See comp. 91.

Bread is represented in a wicker basket in a similar manner in the *Feeding the Hungry* compartment of the works of mercy window in All Saints Church, North street; and fetters on legs in stocks also in the *Redemption of Captives* compartment of the same. Round wooden open tubs were called "Kymlyns" if large, or "Kitts" if small. Thus, in Dame Margery Piggot's larder were, "unum kymlyn cum cooperculo, xijd.," "j kymlyn pro carnibus salsandis xxd.," but "unum kitt cum cooperculo," is only valued at "iiijd."³³⁶ The bar or rail on which the clothes and food are hung was called a *perche*, *pertica*. Each chamber if fully furnished had two, one on which the domestic birds, hawks, and falcons used to sit, the other for suspending shirts, kerchiefs, breeches, capes, mantles, and the like, as in this instance, discharging the same function as the clothes-horse of later times. Wright³³⁷ gives three excellent illustrations from early MSS. One of these has two garments suspended upon it; one supports the arms of a knight, his helmet, sword, and shield, coat of mail, sword, and helmet; and the third, of the fifteenth century, a still more perfect representation, much resembling that in this window, supporting, as in the last example, a helmet, a shield, and coats of mail. Caxton, in his *Book for Travellers*, says—"On the perche hongen your clothes, mantelles, frockes, clokes, cotes, dobles, fures, wynter clothes and of somer, etc." And in the Dictionary of Master Johannes de Garlandia (lived beginning of 11th cent. to about the year 1081 or later), we find—"Supra perticam magistri Johannis de Gallandia diversa indumenta pendent; tunice, supertunica, etc. etc. . . . unde versus—*Pertica diversos pannos retinere solebat*." The bed-quilts, or "bedde clothes," here represented, are what were termed "chaluns," *paunos pictos, qui vocantur chaluns, loco lectisternii*."³³⁸

"And in his owen chambre hem made a bedde
With shetes and with chalons faire yspredde."³³⁹

They are said to have been so called from having been made at Chalons, and were generally highly enriched, if we may judge from these examples,

³³⁶ Inventory at Ripon.

³³⁷ *Domestic Manners and Sentiments*, &c., p. 138.

³³⁸ *Mon. Ang.* ii., 720.

³³⁹ The all-famous bed prepared by the Miller of Trumpington for Aleyn and Jon. Chaucer, *Recces Tale*.

and from entries in old wills and inventories. "Unum lectum, chaumpe de bloue, et pulverizatum cum rosis albis . . . j lectum, chaumpe de bloue, et pulverizatum cum rosis albis et cuniculis;"³⁴⁰ like the Squyer's gown in Chaucer,—“Embrowdid . . . as it were a mede Al ful of fresshe flowres.”³⁴¹

P. 93. (O. 97.) A man in a red tunic, diapered white belt, and green hose, on a yellow ladder of rude make, with a stay to prevent the foot slipping, putting up blue and white lengths of tapestry, alternately; five already fixed, and a sixth partly so. Floor checky yellow and black. Background red.

T. 93. In the 3^d light is a man habited gu., climbing upon a golden ladder reared agst a great white pillar.

A man putting up lengths of tapestry in preparation for a procession.

See comp. 95.

P. 94. (O. 98.) A man in a red tunic, diapered white belt, and blue hose, falling headlong from a ladder similar to that in the last compartment, with both his hands stretched out, and a heavy cubical white block of stone on the back of his head; green and white lengths of tapestry hanging in the background. Floor checky yellow and black. Background blue.

T. 94. In the 4th light is a man habited gu., falling prostrate from a golden ladder reared agst the far side of an altar paly of 8 pieces A. & V^t.

A block of stone falling on the head of the man in the last compartment, and knocking him down.

See comp. 95.

P. 95. (O. 99.) A perfectly naked man with short yellow hair carrying a white block of stone, and behind, four ecclesiastics in dalmatics, two of green and two of blue turned up with green, carrying the feretory of a saint on golden poles which rest upon their shoulders, and singing from an open book, held by one of the two behind. Floor checky yellow and black. Background red.

T. 95. In the 5th light are 4 monks carrying the ark & hoste therein upon their shoulders,—those two on the farr side being habited V^t. Also a man habited A. goes before them bearing a box on his head.

³⁴⁰ Will of John Frankis, 28 Aug., 1391. *Test. Ebor.* i., 161.

³⁴¹ Cant. Pilg., *Prologue*, 89.

The man of the last two compartments saved, and carrying the stone triumphantly before the feretory of S. William.

I have not been able to find any account of this series recorded, but have little doubt that it represents a man preparing for a procession of the relics of S. William, being thrown down by a stone falling on his head, and being recovered on the approach of the feretory. It would seem to be a repetition of the stone-falling miracle of comp. 82, 81, in the same way as the miracle of comp. 88 is a repetition of that of comp. 36. (See note to comp. 88.)

Can the man naked, in this compartment, mean that he was put to bed after his injury, and that he got up as he was cured on the approach of the feretory? (See note to comp. 19.) It is by no means impossible. Our forefathers would see no kind of impropriety or indelicacy in such a representation; at least the (to them) solemnity of the scene would cover or excuse all incongruity.³⁴² In the play of *the Old and New Testament*, exhibited openly before a vast concourse of both sexes at Chester in Whitsun week of the year 1327, at the expence of the different trading companies of that city, the stage direction is at first, that Adam and Eve shall stand naked, and shall not be ashamed; and after, that they shall cover themselves with leaves. In the Coventry mysteries, again, they appeared naked on the stage, and conversed with one another about their nakedness. And this was doubtless the universal rule as regards this matter. "There was the plain authority of scripture for such a representation, and they gave matters just as they found them in the third chapter of Genesis. It would have been absolute heresy to have departed from the sacred text in personating the primitive appearance of our first parents, whom the spectators so nearly resembled in simplicity."³⁴³ And, even apart from sacred representation, it should be remembered how much less delicate our forefathers were than we are. Thus, it seems to have been a common thing for beggars of both sexes, on entering a town, to leave their clothes at an inn, and then sit down against the churches naked, and shiver away there in order to excite the pity and compassion of the people; if they got money spending it in lewd sports etc., or if clothes, selling them. Others would not strip themselves until they got to the Church doors, and then, not to pretend to be cold, but in order to make a parade of scourging themselves for the sake of their sins.³⁴⁴ A state of society which could tolerate this kind of thing cannot have been particularly sensitive on the matter of clothes.

P. 96. (O. 96.) A man approaching the shrine, on crutches, with both legs bandaged, in a red tunic patched with blue, open so as to display his swollen body and navel; and two men, one in blue and one in red, creeping through the detached buttresses at the corner of the shrine, the one in

³⁴² See Warton, *Hist. Eng. Poetry* ii., 76.

³⁴³ *Id.*, p. 77.

³⁴⁴ Liber Vagatorum, *Of the Schwandlers, or Naked Beggars: and Of the Platschierers, or Blind Harpers.*

red holding out an object similar to that conjectured to be a purse in Comp. 48, but without the string. Floor ornamentally black and white. Background blue.

T. 96. In 2^d row under the last, and in the 1st light, is another church A. & O., before w^{ch} stands a monk habited gu. wth another old man leaning his head towards him. Over agst them a young man, habited gu., leans between 2 pillars of the s^d church.

A dropsical man approaching the shrine of S. William to be healed.

This compartment closely resembles comp. 48, the note to which see.

P. 97. (O. 74.) A man in a blue tunic fastened round the waist by a plain strap, on crutches, with a third and shorter crutch supporting his knee, which is bent at a right angle, approaching the shrine, at which is a figure in blue with a pink cape and red cap, seated; the head of a recumbent figure appearing inside the shrine. Floor ornamentally black and white. Background red.

T. 97. In the 2^d light is another church, curiously wrought, A. & O., before w^{ch} stands a nun, habited B., hooded sanguine, and over agst her, & behind a corner of the s^d church, kneels another of like habit.

A man of the name of Geoffrey, with contracted joints, approaching the shrine of S. William.

On the same day (Monday in Whitsun week, 1177) a man of the name of Geoffrey for nine years was so afflicted with contracted sinews, that very often he fell even on two crutches, and with one foot bent upwards and supported. This man, an inhabitant of York for many years, seen and known with his infirmity by almost everyone in the city, by divine compassion through the merits of the blessed William received health at his tomb, and having thrown away his crutches, came straight and erect without assistance to the altar of S. Peter the Apostle, giving thanks to God and S. William, both clergy and people standing by.²⁴⁴

P. 98. (O. 73.) An old looking thin-faced woman in a red dress and white girdle embroidered with quatrefoils, and head closely wrapped in a kerchief so as to leave only the more prominent parts of her face visible, kneeling against the shrine, and laying the side of her head against it. Floor checky black and white. Background blue.

T. 98. In 3rd light is another church, wth a nun kneeling

²⁴⁴ Dodaw. MS. 3.

at her devotions before the altar therein, habited gu.,
vayled A.

A deaf old woman cured at the shrine of S. William.

At that time an old woman, the openings of whose ears were closed from childhood, unable to refresh her soul through that inlet by the solace of any sound, coming to the tomb, prostrated herself upon her face and washed the pavement with her tears, until at length Christ, who holdeth the keys of the several organs of man's body, opened out the recesses of the ears, so long closed, to the reception of various sounds.³⁴⁶ On Tuesday in Whitsun-week a woman of the parish of Helmsley, deaf from her birth as she after receiving her health asserted, and we after having called witnesses together have ascertained, received most distinct hearing at the tomb of the blessed William. On Thursday night in Whitsun-week a certain woman of Helmsley who for many years had been troubled with grievous pain in her head, and had lost the hearing of one ear, as her father and others of the same town testified, was relieved there of her pain and recovered her hearing.³⁴⁷

It may seem strange that a deaf woman in order to make herself hear should tie up her ear so tightly that no sound could enter it, but it is true to nature. Within the last few days a hospital patient said to the writer,—“If you please sir I have got cold and can't hear of this left ear: would you be so kind as to order me some wool to put into it?”

P. 99. (O. 87.) A woman in blue teaching a little child in a red tunic and white or yellow girdle to kneel with folded hands before the shrine, and two other persons standing by, one in pink with a blue tippet, and one in blue with a green tippet. Background red.

T. 99. In the 4th light is another church A. & O., wth 2 nuns kneeling before it, one habited B., the other gu. Also 2 other nuns standing over them, the one habited sanguine, vayled B., the other vayled B. & V^t.

A York child, recovering after being drowned, presented at the shrine of S. William.

See comp. 70.

Not much time passed after the Translation thus made, before the God of heaven by many miracles declared his holy William to be revered throughout the province, and inquired of as a remedy from Him in distresses and tribulation. One Sunday before Ascension, the first, as is said, after the Translation was accomplished, a woman of the city of York, going as was her wont in a boat on the river which is commonly called the Ouse, had with her her daughter now three years old, and whilst casually attending to other things, her daughter fell out of the boat, and received by the said river, was borne by the violence of the flowing water under five ships, as it were even to the midst of the water, flowing now

³⁴⁶ *In Commem. S. Will.* lect. vii., *Brer. Ebor.*

³⁴⁷ *Dodsworth MS.*, 5, 16.

here, now there. And when her mother saw it, she began to rush about lamenting, to cry out miserably, and to call for aid. Then those who were near ran, and getting into boats, rowed with all their might to find the girl, and at length found her, carried down by the force of the stream as it might be a bow-shot from the place where she fell, and at once brought her to land. But when the mother took her daughter, not being able to find sense or motion in her, she lamentably complained at being deprived of the fruit of her body. A multitude of neighbours ran on hearing the noise, and tried all kinds of things, if perchance any of them might be able to find any sign of life in the child, and when she was thought dead by all, they sought the Coroner, that he might perform his office on the dead girl, as the custom is on those drowned in water. But one of those who stood by, set on by the others, began to bind a penny on the body of the girl in honour of S. William, that S. William through their holy prayers might ease the sorrow of the mother. And the mother herself, having from this conceived hope of the assistance of S. William, taking her daughter in her arms, began quickly to carry her to the feretory of S. William. And it came to pass, the mercy of God assisting, that before she came to the place intended the girl began to move herself, and to appear truly alive; and by divine providence it was so that when they drew nigh to the place intended, her vital and animal spirits revived; insomuch that when the mother had arrived at the feretory of S. William with her daughter, she who was thought dead was able to stand, and within a short time, whilst the mother devoutly prayed there, became alive, sound, and nimble. And the mother, too full of consolation, vowed her daughter to the service of S. William, and after the publication of so great a blessing received by the aid of God and S. William, returned with her child to her own home.²⁴⁸

“ Ab abyssi faucibus biduo submersum
Mater natum recipit a morte reversum.”²⁴⁹

Easter in the year 1284 fell on 9 April; so that the Sunday before Ascension would be 14 May. The binding of a penny to the body, or more common bending of a gold or silver coin, was frequently done as witness of a vow by an afflicted person, or if too weak, by some friend, that should he be restored to health, he himself would go and carry that piece of money to the church of the saint whose intercession was asked.²⁵⁰

Of S. John Bridlington it is related that several men submerged for four hours, some for a whole night dead, were by his merits brought back to life.²⁵¹

P. 100. (O. 95.) A woman in blue, with face and hands thickly covered with brown spots, kneeling before the shrine, and two men standing by, one in red with a long beard,

²⁴⁸ *Fest. transl. lect. vii., viii., Brev. Ebor. Act. SS. Boll. Junii ii., 144, 145.*

²⁴⁹ *Antiph. Brev. Ebor. Rudby.*

²⁵⁰ *Rock, Church of Our Fathers, iii.*

²⁵¹, where many interesting examples of the practice are cited.

²⁵¹ *Mirac. post sancti mortem patrata. Act. SS. Boll. Oct. v., 144.*

with one behind bearded, whose head alone is visible. Floor paved with ornamental tiles. Background blue.

T. 100. In the 5th light is another church A. & O., before w^{ch} kneels a woman habited B., hooded gu. & also 2 men both habited gu.

A woman with leprosy cured at the shrine of S. William.

A certain woman whom a disgusting leprosy prevented either being able to appear in public, *vel in maritales transire amplexus*, destitute of the comfort of all her friends, came for comfort and remedy to the Saint. Dissolved there in tears, her leprous plague is dispelled, and the whole of her members being restored to health, *ad conjugales effectus debito recipitur cum affectu.*³⁵²

Ambrose Paré, describing the medieval leprosy, amongst the symptoms enumerates "a numerous and manifest circumscription of round and hard pushes or pustles, under the eye-brows, and behind the ears, and in several places of the face, resembling round and hard kernels . . . all their face riseth in red bunches or pushes," as represented in this compartment. It is not necessary to follow him through his vivid, but loathsome description of the course of this most terrible disease. As if to give the finishing stroke to the description of its horror, he adds:—"Decimum octauum signum est coitus venerei supra naturā desiderium, tum quoddam calore peregrino intus vrantur, tum à flatu (ad cuius generationē humor melancholicus est aptissimus) permixto, varièq; tanquam cestro, per venas & partes genitales à calore præter naturam agitato & cōmoto. At tandem, postquā in frigidā & siccam intemperiem delapsa, refrigit ille ardor, venerē horrent maximè, &c." No wonder people went to shrines in days when doctors prescribed such remedies as the following:—Valesius de Tarenta castrationē in hoc casu valdè probat, nec ego eam improbandam censeo. Testium enim amputatione euirantur homines in morbum proni, sicq; in fœmineam naturam degenerant, & hepatis sanguinem assantem ardore restincto, humidi & frigidi euadunt: quæ temperies elephantiorum intemperiei calidæ & siccæ toto est genere contraria, adde quoddam sublata elephantis gignendi facultate, tollitur ea huius mali contagio, quæ per proles propagationem in humanum genus serpit & effunditur."³⁵³

P. 101. (O. 100.) A woman with a white kerchief on her head, beneath which her hair appears in front within a netted caul in a bunch on each side the face, in a red dress turned up at the cuffs with white fur, opened down the front so as to expose her swollen body, breasts, and navel, kneeling with a face expressive of great pain before the shrine. Floor ornamentally black and white. Background blue, richly diapered.

³⁵² *Dominica inf. oct. S. Will. lect. v., Brev. Ebor.*

³⁵³ *The Workes of that famous Chirur-*

gion Ambrose Paré, Eng. Edit. 1649, pp. 500—503; Orig. Edit. 1579, pp. 563—572.

T. 101. In the first row, viz. in the first light, is the picture of a church & an altar, wth a bare bellyed woman habited gu. standing before it.

A dropsical woman cured at the shrine of S. William.

A dropsical woman of Harewood, with a very tumid body, coming to the tomb of S. William, was healed there. Another woman, of Middleton in Teesdale, for two years afflicted with such internal sickness that her body was swollen like one pregnant, having vomited much corruption there, was healed.³⁴⁴

P. 102. (O. 13.) A pope in a red cope with white fur hood down loosely about his neck, and triple crown, seated on a golden throne, giving a letter to a kneeling ecclesiastic with shaven crown in blue with a red tippet, with one other ecclesiastic in blue kneeling by his side and two more standing by, one in pink whispering apparently to one in blue with a red tippet. Floor checky black and white. Background blue.

T. 102. In 2^d light sits a pope enthroned, robed gu., tripple crowned O., giving a book (or charter) to two monks y^t submissively kneel before him; the one habited B., hooded gu., the other hooded B.

Pope Innocent sending to York his judgment that William should be consecrated if the Dean would take an oath that undue influence had not been used.

The Pope decreed that if William Dean of York would swear that no order from the king had ever been delivered to the Chapter by the Earl of Albemarle, William might be solemnly admitted to consecration, he himself also for himself swearing that he had not sought this honour by any gift of money. It was also ordered that instead of the Dean, another approved person might be substituted for the oath.³⁴⁵

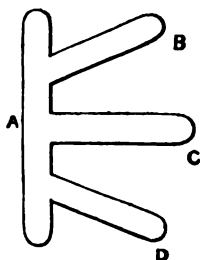
The letters of several early Popes to the Cathedral and Chapter of York, good examples of that kind of composition, are preserved in the Monasticon. Even after the lapse of seven hundred years one still seems to hear the crackling of the parchment, and see the excitement of the York clergy as they open the Pope's packet, and read—*Innocentius Episcopus, servus servorum Dei . . . dilectis filiis decano et canonicis Eboraci, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Cum vestri nobis literas . . .*

P. 103. (O. 101.) A woman in a closely fitting long skirted red dress with tight sleeves and embroidered white

³⁴⁴ Dodsworth MS., 7, 22.

³⁴⁵ John of Hexham, col. 272.

belt, kneeling before the shrine holding in each hand a trifid



implement, the part A being pressed to the palm of the hand and the arms B, C, D emerging between the fingers by which it is grasped; an old man in red, with blue under-robe and green hose, kneeling with his hands raised and folded in prayer, and a woman in a closely fitting long skirted yellow dress with tight sleeves and embroidered white belt, standing and

holding up both hands in astonishment. Floor checky black and white. Background blue.

T. 103. In the 3^d light is another church & altar A. & O., wth a checky pavement before it, upon w^{ch} kneels a nun habited gu., vayed A., holding out a golden coronet (or wreath) to an old man, who kneels over agst her wth hands conjoined at prayer, he being habited gu. & B.

A woman accused of homicide undergoing ordeal by fire (before the altar of S. Michael in the cathedral church of York, it is related, but before the shrine of S. William, it is here represented, in order to indicate the subsequent action, in which the shrine of S. William takes part).

See note to comp. 105.

P. 104. (O. 102.) A woman in a similar red dress, wearing an ermine cap with a jewel in front, kneeling or apparently falling backward on the ground, supported on her right hand, holding up and showing the palm of her left hand to a man in a blue tunic turned up at the bottom with white fur, large puffy blue cap, rowel spurs, and with a pouch attached to his belt, riding on a white horse, and looking at her with great surprise; ground covered with green turf and little stalked plants; a white tree behind. Background red.

T. 104. In 4th light a man, habited B., leans backwards upon a white horse, wth hands spread, & respecting a woman, habited gu., lying under the horse, as thrown from him.

A woman who had undergone ordeal by fire, showing

her hand—by the aid of S. William uninjured—to the Justice.

See note to comp. 105.

A pouch, or *gypciðre*, was very commonly worn attached to the girdle in the 15th century.

"An anlas and a gipser al of silk
Heng at his gerdul."

"But all with silver wrought ful clene and wel
Here gurdles and here pouches every del." ³⁵⁶

"Unam zonam de corio, cum uno powche." *Will of John Kexby, of York*, 1389.³⁵⁷ Hence "Pouchmaker," the name of the maker's trade. "Item lego Willielmo pouchmaker, ijs." *Will of Isabella Persay, of York*, 3 Sep. 1400.³⁵⁸ "Item lego Agneti Pouchemaker, xijd." *Will of Agnes Kelyngdale*, 1 Apr. 1414."³⁵⁹ Analogous to this was the pilgrims' scrip:—

"In scrippe he bare both bread and leeks," ³⁶⁰

and wallet:—

"And hood, for jolitee, ne wered he noon,
For it was trussed up in his walet.

* * * *

His walet lay byforn him in his lappe,
Bret-ful of pardoun come from Rome al hoot." ³⁶¹

Our *pocket* is the diminutive of *pouch*, or *poke*.

P. 105. (O. 103.) A woman in a similar red dress, kneeling, with both hands raised and folded before the shrine, and two men standing by; one bareheaded, in a red tunic, the other with a large high pink cap, in a tunic the right half of which is blue and the left half green, fastened round the waist by a diapered white belt, and hosen, the right leg green and the left blue. Background blue.

T. 105. In the 5th light is another church A. & O., before w^{ch} kneels a lady at prayer, habited gu., over whom stand two monks, one habited V^t, the B., wth a high cap on his head gu.

A woman having undergone ordeal by fire, uninjured, giving thanks at the shrine of S. William.

Two women accused of homicide were taken according to the custom of the kingdom and imprisoned, and one in process of time died a natural

³⁵⁶ Cant. Tales, Prologue, 358, 367.

³⁵⁷ Test. Ebor., i. 130.

³⁵⁸ Id., i. 271.

³⁵⁹ Test. Ebor., i. 374.

³⁶⁰ Ploughman's Tale, Prologue.

³⁶¹ Cant. Tales, Prologue, 680, 686.

death, while the other remained alive in prison. At length, on the coming of the justices of the lord the king, she was brought forth and accused of the said homicide. And when she denied that she had had to do with the said homicide, she was adjudged purgation of red-hot iron, according to the custom of the kingdom which then was; that it might be seen whether she was guilty of the said homicide or not. And when the woman had borne the iron, a blister of about the size of half a walnut was found in her hand; wherefore, being burnt by fire, she was sentenced to death as guilty of the said homicide, by twelve officers (*duodecim milites*) sent for this purpose. When these things were declared to the principal justices, licence of prayer was granted to the said woman, and she came to the tomb of the blessed William, where, immediately she entered the close which is around the tomb, the blister vanished, so that not a trace thereof remained. This being declared to the justices, the twelve officers were sent to inspect the hand of the woman, and finding it without any lesion or trace of the said blister or of any other infirmity, and reporting the same to the said principal justices, they, judging the said woman absolved and innocent, set her at liberty, saying, seeing that God and the blessed one have absolved her neither will we condemn her; adjudging the said officers who had condemned her to the mercy of the lord the king, because they had used false witness and given unjust judgment against her who bore the red-hot iron in the Cathedral church of York before the altar of the blessed Michael, whom and whose hand the said twelve officers examined and wished to drag forth from the church as guilty of homicide, but the priest the keeper of the tomb wished to prevent being taken forth, having been cured by a miracle of the blessed William.³⁶²

With the exception of the Chinese, the earliest records of the human race bear witness to a belief in divine interposition to distinguish, by a miraculous sign, between the innocent and the guilty. From the earliest times the ordeal by fire was in use in India, and the principles of its application are set forth in the ancient religious books of that country. The literature of ancient Egypt has perished; but from a passage in Herodotus we learn that in determining thefts, etc., a direct interposition of the divinity was looked for as a matter of course. The bitter water by which conjugal infidelity was revealed (*Numbers* v. 11-31), and the discovery of guilty persons by lot (*Joshua* vii. 16-18, and *1 Samuel* xiv. 41, 42), testify to the belief amongst the ancient Hebrews. In Japan, Pegu, Java, and Malacca, the same ordeals were in full force as were employed in India. Though not sanctioned in the Koran, the ordeal has nevertheless been in use from an early period amongst the Mahomedans. It has been in use, from no one can say what period, in Polynesia, in Africa, and in Madagascar. There are several references to it in the literature of ancient Greece; and traces of its use amongst the Romans. It was practised by the barbarian races, from whom the nations of modern Europe are descended, ages before their conversion to Christianity; the Church in this, as in so many other instances, adopting and Christianizing the Pagan observance. In this manner the knowledge and use of it rapidly spread, and became general throughout Europe. The Anglo-Saxons seem, however, to

³⁶² *Dodsw. MS.*, 43.

have been comparatively late in adopting it; at least we have no written allusion to the ordeal prior to the time of Edward the Elder, at the beginning of the tenth century, though it is evident that then its use was fully established. The laws of the later kings define its nature and use minutely. There were several distinct forms of ordeal, one prevailing in one country at one period, and another in another at another period. These will be found well described by Mr. Lea in his valuable Essay on Ancient Ordeals, in which their history is traced minutely. But of all the various forms, none was more universally resorted to throughout Europe than that by red-hot iron, termed *Judicium ferri candentis*, *judicium Dei*, &c. By the Anglo-Saxons it was termed *Or dael*, or *Great Judgment*, and was held in higher repute than any of the rest; the water ordeal, for instance, being reserved almost entirely for bondmen and rustics, while that of fire was used for freemen and persons of the highest condition.³⁶³ The latter was of two kinds: one, in which a piece of red-hot iron was carried for a certain distance; the other, in which the accused walked barefoot and blindfold over red-hot ploughshares. In either case, if the party escaped unhurt, he was accounted innocent; if otherwise, he was condemned as guilty. The weight of the piece of iron carried in the hand, in the former case, and the number of ploughshares employed in the latter, varied according to the nature of the crime and other circumstances. If the piece of iron weighed one pound, it was termed *ordalium simplex*; if two, *ordalium duplex*; if three, *ordalium triplex*.³⁶⁴ The first was used for the lightest crimes, and for persons not previously convicted; the last for the heaviest, and for hardened criminals; the medium sized for lighter crimes with aggravating circumstances, and for heavier crimes with extenuating circumstances.³⁶⁵ The manner in which the ordeal was administered may be ascertained tolerably circumstantially from the laws of Athelstan, Ethelred, Canute, and Edward the Confessor, compared with the extremely valuable *Forma judicii per Ordalium*, preserved by Spelman.³⁶⁶ The latter extends through eight closely printed columns folio. After confession, and three days' fasting on bread, salt, water, and herbs, and hearing of Masses, the accused was taken to church, where there was celebrated in his presence a *Missa Judicii*. The Collect, Lesson, Preface, etc., in this are extremely curious and interesting. Before communion, the accused was adjured as follows:—"I adjure thee N. by the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and by the Christianity which thou hast adopted, and by the only begotten Son of God, and by the Holy Trinity, and by the Holy Gospel, and by the holy Relics that be in this church, and by the baptism whereby the priest

³⁶³ Glanvilla, *De Leg. et Consuet. Ang.*, xiv. i.

³⁶⁴ Spelman. *Gloss.*, s. v. *Lada*, where the early laws are cited. Also Ducange, s. v. *Lada*, and *Ferrum candens*, both articles of great learning, and abounding in valuable information.

³⁶⁵ See the laws of Athelstan, *Chron. Briton.*, 842, 23, &c.; 843, 30 & 51; 846, 65. Of Ethelred, *Id.*, 894; 896, 37. Of Canute, 920, 67; 925, 55; 926, 30.

³⁶⁶ *Gloss.*, s. v. *Ordalium*; and the ancient Laws, particularly those of Edmund, *Briton.*, 856, 5; and Athelstan, *Id.*, 844, 22. See also the invaluable treatises *De legibus et Consuetudinibus Angliæ*, of Glanville and Bracton; the former belonging to the reign of Henry II., and the latter to that of Henry III. For a number of different foreign forms of administering the ordeal, some very early, and all very curious, see Martene, *De Ant. Eccl. Rit.*, iii. vii.

hath regenerated thee, that thou presume not in any wise to communicate, nor to come to the Altar, if thou hast done this thing, or consented unto it, or knowest who hath done it." Then, if he swore that he was innocent, or was silent, the priest returned to the altar to communicate, and returning with the host to the communicant, instead of the ordinary words used the following:—"Corpus hoc et sanguis Domini nostri Jesu Christi, sit tibi ad probationem hodie." The Mass was then concluded in the usual manner. When the benediction was given, a fire was lighted in a distant part of the church; and when the last collect was said, the iron was laid upon the fire. To this place the accused was brought in solemn procession, certain litanies being sung on the way. Near the fire, a space was measured on the floor equal to nine of his feet, and divided into three equal parts. The adjuration of the iron then commenced, in which God was called on in the most solemn language words could utter, to distinguish the innocent from the guilty, by the power of the same Spirit which had caused the bush to burn before Moses without being consumed, the three Hebrew children to walk through the midst of the furnace without harm, Lot to escape from Sodom, and tongues of fire to rest upon the Apostles at Pentecost. Holy water was next given to all standing round to drink, and sprinkled about the building, and upon the hands of him who was to carry the judgment.³⁶⁷ Two men next on either side examined the iron, and if sufficiently hot it was brought forth, and placed upon a pillar at one end of the measured space. The accused immediately grasped the iron in his hand, took three strides to the end of the space, threw down the iron, and fled to an altar appointed, where a priest bound up his hand in clean white linen cloths, sealed it with the seal of the church, kept it sealed, and after three days opened it.³⁶⁸ If, as the Rubric in the office preserved by Spelman quaintly says, the man was found whole, he thanked God; if, on the contrary, a sore were found in the track of the iron, he was accounted guilty. That God should have been unable or unwilling to endue a mass of iron with attributes entirely foreign to its essence, when so earnestly and solemnly besought to do so, does not seem for a moment to have been thought of; and, accordingly, we find the highest and most distinguished persons in those early times submitting to it, and enforcing it, without a murmur. Especially in the case of adultery, a crime for which evidence by any ordinary means was either particularly difficult to obtain, or if obtained particularly liable to be conflicting, and yet in which any doubt or uncertainty, to say nothing of mistake, was a matter of such awful importance, does the ordeal appear to have been resorted to with the greatest confidence. In the kindred cases of disputed paternity it was not less esteemed. Numerous examples of its use at different periods and under various circumstances are collected by Mr. Lea. That the ordeal by fire continued to be employed in England after the Norman Conquest, is clear from the laws of early Norman Kings, and the charters of several abbeys and cathedrals of later date than the Conquest. Thus, we find archbishop Thurstan granting the liberty to use the *ferrum judiciale* to the Abbey of Whitby, and so on until its use was abolished,

³⁶⁷ See in particular the Law of King Edmund, Bromton, 856, 5.

³⁶⁸ Bromton, 941, 65.

by law, 3 Hen. III. (26 Jan. 1219).³⁶⁹ Notwithstanding, we have a grant from King John (2 John, 28 Nov. 1200) to the Church of the Holy Trinity at Norwich, and the Bishop and his successors, and the monks there serving God, of the power to use the *judicium ferri, aquæ, ignis, et duelli bene et in pace, &c.*, confirmed by an inquisimus of the same king Henry III., given at Westminster, 7 Jan. 1232; and a grant (16 March, 1227) of the same privileges to the monks of Sempringham.³⁷⁰ An explanation of the apparent contradiction is given by Spelman, but not to my mind a satisfactory one. These and still later grants and examples of the actual use of the iron, appear rather indications of the belief in and popular demand for the ordeal surviving the legislation which was made against it, but which was not strong enough to suppress it. "The clergy also found in the administration of the ordeal a source of power and profit which naturally rendered them unwilling to abandon it There were fees to be received for its honest, bribes for its dishonest application It afforded the means of awing the laity, by rendering the priest a special instrument of Divine justice, into whose hands every man felt that he was at any time liable to fall; and even worse uses were sometimes made of the irresponsible power thus intrusted to unworthy ministers."³⁷¹ Perhaps a stronger reason still why it was retained and employed after its use had ceased to be strictly legal, was that many of the clergy still firmly and sincerely believed in its efficacy. One can hardly wonder at ignorant and comparatively obscure men clinging to its use, a use established by many centuries, when one finds such men as S. Thomas Aquinas earnestly defending it on speculative grounds.³⁷² His apology for it is similar in principle to that he makes for the judicial duel (see comp. 55). Nor can we wonder that established custom should triumph over opposition in this country, when even abroad it was found impossible for many years to enforce the papal edicts against it. Thus, in spite of the decree of the fourth Lateran Council, in 1215, the inquisitor Conrad of Marburg employed the red-hot iron in Germany as a means of convicting those suspected of the Albigensian heresy, and in one year examined by its means no less than eighty in Strasburg alone, nearly all of whom were afterwards sent to the stake.³⁷³ Even many of those who, with great learning, argued against the use of the iron, seem to have inwardly believed in its efficacy. Thus, in that extraordinary work, the *Malleus Maleficarum*, the author concludes: 1. Against whatever endeavours to discover what God has left in obscurity, and against the passage of David with Goliath being called a duel, David being rather to be regarded as an instrument of divine justice. 2. Against the opportunity given for injuring the innocent, even though it be admitted that divine justice will not suffer them to be injured. 3. Against tempting God to declare the truth by a miracle, like the Pharisees who sought a sign from Christ, tempting him. But he does not appear to have at all suspected the innate absurdity of the ordeal, and when explaining the reason why hot iron must always fail

³⁶⁹ The words of the enactment are preserved in Spelman, s. v. *Judicium Dei*, and are signed by Hubert de Burgh, the King's Chief Justice.

³⁷⁰ *Id.*, s. v. *Ordealium*, and *Judicium Dei*.

³⁷¹ Lea, *Essay on the Ordeal*; where authorities are cited.

³⁷² *Summa Theologiae*, 2nd part of Part ii., Quæst. xciv., art. viii.

when employed in the trial of witches, says it is because they can procure the aid of devils for anything, and as easily prevent or cure injuries to themselves as bring them down on others. For this reason, the appeal of a witch to the ordeal of red-hot iron was always to be received as suggestive of her guilt. The following case is cited by way of illustration. Even within three years of the writer's time, he says, there was in the diocese of Constance in the territory of the Counts of Furstenberg, in which the Black Forest is situated, a well-known witch much hated by the inhabitants, who when apprehended by the Count at the instance of many, and tried on a number of charges for witchcraft, at length, whilst under torture, in order that she might escape all their hands, appealed for the trial by red-hot iron. The young Count, not much experienced in these matters, allowed the trial, and though only adjudged to bear the iron three paces she carried it six, and offered to carry it a longer distance. This, it is added, was a manifest proof of witchcraft, for no holy person would thus have presumed to tempt divine aid. However, she was freed from her chains, and even to that day remained unpunished, though not, as the writer mournfully remarks, without great scandal to the faithful.³⁷³ Poor wretched being! If she endured the agony of torture with meekness and patience, or as they would say, with sullenness and perversity, she was assuredly guilty; if she cried in despair for the red-hot iron, she was at least strongly suspected to be guilty. If at the trial her hands were scorched, the pond or faggot were her certain lot; if not—well, all the more guilty on that very account. Who could escape such justice as this! Well may the margins of the *Malleus* abound with such catch-words as these—41 *maleficæ incineratæ*,—48 *maleficæ combustæ*; and well may we tremble at the awful power which was placed in the hands of those who had the means of ensuring conviction. "It has been a perplexing question," writes Hallam,³⁷⁴ "by what dexterity these tremendous proofs were eluded." And yet it can scarcely be doubted that those who administered the ordeal had means of favouring the escape of some, and ensuring the conviction of others. Nothing can exceed the loose and unpractical method of the inquiry. It is as though all certainty and regularity in the mode of its administration were studiously reduced to a minimum. The fire for heating the iron was not lighted, nor the iron put on to heat, until the accused person was nearly ready for the ordeal. If the fire were hurried to at once on the conclusion of Mass, and the litanies, adjuration, and sprinkling with holy water not dawdled over, the accused might easily get to the iron before it was very hot; and, even though it were hot, the holy water sprinkled on the hands of the accused would enable many to seize the hot iron and carry it the three quick strides on the pavement—after all no great distance—without injury, or at least without such injury as a three days' rest would not remove; an extremely thin layer of vapour intervening between the hand and red-

³⁷³ *Malleus Maleficarum*, pt. iii., Quest. xvii. The writer makes no pretence of stating whether this story be true or false. Either way, it is of the same value here, as showing that, in one of the

most popular works of the latter half of the 15th century, the use of the ordeal is still spoken of familiarly in Germany.

³⁷⁴ *View of the State of Europe during the Middle Ages*, iii. 295.

hot iron, allowing contact for a second or two without injury.³⁷⁵ Under other circumstances, the accused might be burnt severely. And thus the clergy, in whose hands the whole management of the affair lay, may sometimes have arranged for the accused to be burnt, at other times for him not to be; or the issue may have been left, as we should say, to chance, or as our forefathers would have said, to the decision of Providence. Eventually, as we have seen, the faith of the people in the ordeal was shaken, and its use was abolished by law; the certainly far more convenient *Canonical Purgation*, as it was called, being resorted to in preference; the dislike of the clergy to the ordeal by fire when called upon, as sometimes happened, to submit to it themselves, having possibly hastened its disuse. All that was required in the new³⁷⁶ Purgation was for the defendant to swear to and call God to witness his innocence, and produce a variable number of others to swear that "they believed his oath to be upright and clean;" these *compurgatores*, by the way, being of the same order as the defamed person; religious for a religious; secular for a secular; military for a military; and so on. Generally speaking a man's intimate friends inclined to corroborate his oath, and assure his innocence. From the Acts of the Chapter of Ripon, at least, it would seem, so frequently are the clergy acquitted of fornication, even when tolerably circumstantial evidence of the crime was afforded, that it was so; B, C, D being ever ready to swear to the innocence of A, who, in his turn, was as ready to swear to the innocence of B, C, or D. It would only be an occasional thing that, by this means, a person would be convicted. In the Acts of the same Chapter there is the case of a common scold, *Rebalda et defamatrix*, who, when in trouble, could get no one to swear for her, her neighbours rejoicing doubtless in her punishment. But I am told by my brother, the Rev. J. T. Fowler, who, during his recent examination and arrangement of the Cathedral library, has had opportunities of examining the Chapter Acts which no one has ever before enjoyed, that such cases are quite exceptional. I am also indebted to him for the information that, at this period, in the fabric rolls of the same church there is mention annually, amongst the sources of income, of a certain *ferrum scti Wilfridi* (1424—1541, when its use was abolished), *seintwilfride burnyngeyron* (1503), *sayntwilfrid burnyngyrune* (1532), or *sayntwilfrid burnygnyeron* (1541), with which for a small fee cattle were branded in order to preserve them from murrain and other diseases. The origin of this singular implement is buried in obscurity. I venture, however, to think it probable that it was the ancient *Ferrum judiciale*,³⁷⁷ used for such purposes when no longer needed for the purpose for which it was constructed. After having, in the first instance, received solemn episcopal benediction, and for many years been used for what was deemed a supernatural purpose, it would acquire that

³⁷⁵ It is by this means that mount-banks at fairs are able to handle red-hot iron, and plunge their arms into melted lead.

³⁷⁶ The writer does not mean that Canonical Purgation in the later period was a new invention. He is aware of its antiquity. But it then acquired a new prominence and importance.

³⁷⁷ The right to use the *Ferrum judiciale* at Ripon was confirmed by one of the rhyming so-called "Charters of Athelstan,"—"With iren and with water deme," &c. The date of its abolition for ordeal there is unknown.

kind of reflected virtue which appertained to an altar by reason of the Holy Sacrifice which was offered at it, and the consecration with which in the first instance it had been endowed: a virtue heightened by the presidency of S. Wilfrid, who was probably invoked for the ordeal at Ripon, as we have found S. William was at York, and S. Swithun is related to have been at Winchester; a virtue as capable of curing the murrain or other disease as of determining the perpetrator of a crime, and separating the innocent from the guilty. The loss of this singular implement (which, if my conjecture is correct, we seem almost to have brought down within our reach) would be the less to be deplored, could we be certain that the representation at York, perhaps the only one in existence, is a faithful likeness. Much was allowed at the time the window was executed in the way of pictorial licence; to mention nothing else, the kneeling posture of the woman with the hot iron in her hand there now for this four centuries and a half; and the three branches may merely indicate the triple weight of iron employed for triple ordeal. A more certain and definite trace of the ordeal we have in the name itself, a word which has come down to our own day, and become incorporated in the language,³⁷⁸ and in the expression—*you will have a judgment*. The expression, *going through fire and water* to serve another, refers again to the ancient ordeal, which in certain cases might be undergone by deputy, provided the principal were held responsible for the result. And the vulgar expressions—*I wish that I may drop down dead if—&c.*; *may this morsel be my last if—&c.*; and *I wish it may stick in my throat if—&c.*, refer to the equally ancient ordeal by corned bread, to which we have already cursorily referred, and of which a minute account is given by Spelman.³⁷⁹

CANOPIES.—A row of canopies closely similar to those in the heads of the second tier of lights, filling in the heads of the fourth and highest tier, between the tracery lights and the five last compartments; spire backgrounds following thus:—

Blue Red Red Blue Red.

For the reasons already explained they should be as in the row beneath:—

Red Blue Red Blue Red.

P. 106. (O. 106.) An archbishop standing, in alb apparelled beneath in front, pink dalmatic, blue chasuble, and amice embroidered in circles, holding a cross-staff in his left hand and his right hand on his breast, under a canopy. Background red. Canopy background blue.

T. 106. An abp. habited B. & sanguine, pall A., myter & cross-staff O.

See comp. 121.

³⁷⁸ "I have passed the Ordeal and am happy to say," &c., poem written by a patient in the Clayton Hospital Wake-

field, 29 June, 1872, on recovering from an operation.

³⁷⁹ Gloss. s. v. *Ordealium*.

P. 107. (O. 107.) A king standing, in red lined with ermine and white tippet, holding a sceptre in his left hand and his right hand raised, under a canopy. Background blue. Canopy background red.

T. 107. A king robed gu., mantle A., crown & sceptre O.

See comp. 121.

P. 108. (O. 108.) An archbishop standing, in green dalmatic, blue chasuble, white stiff collar of amice, and mitre, holding a cross-staff in his left hand and his right hand in benediction, under a canopy. Background red. Canopy background blue.

T. 108. An abp. habited B., pall A., myter & cross O.

See comp. 121.

P. 109. (O. 109.) A king standing, in red mantle, white tippet, and gold crown, holding a sceptre in his left hand and his right hand raised, under a canopy. Background blue. Canopy background red.

T. 109. A king robed gu., mantle A., sceptre & crown O.

See comp. 121.

P. 110. (O. 110.) An archbishop standing, in alb richly apparelled beneath in front, pink dalmatic, blue chasuble, amice embroidered in circles, pallium, and mitre, holding a cross-staff in his left hand and his right hand on his breast, under a canopy. Background red. Canopy background blue.

T. 110. An abp. habited B., pall & myter A., cross-staff O.

See comp. 121.

P. 111. A king standing, in a blue mantle, ermine tippet, and golden crown, holding a sceptre in his left hand and his right hand raised, under a canopy. Background red. Canopy background blue.

T. 111. A king robed B. & murry, mantle A., crown & sceptre O.

See comp. 121.

P. 112. (O. 112.) An archbishop standing, in pink dal-

matic, blue chasuble, pallium, and mitre (mutilated), holding a cross-staff in his left hand and his right hand in benediction, under a canopy. Background red. Canopy background blue.

T. 112. An abp. habited B., pall & myter A., cross-staff O.

See comp. 121.

P. 113. (O. 113.) A king standing, in a red mantle, ermine tippet, and gold crown, holding a sceptre in his left hand, under a canopy. Background blue. Canopy background red.

T. 113. A king robed gu., mantle erm., crown & sceptre O.

See comp. 121.

P. 114. (O. 114.) An archbishop standing, in alb, green dalmatic embroidered in circles, blue chasuble, and mitre, holding a cross-staff in his left hand and his right hand on his breast, under a canopy. Background red. Canopy background blue.

T. 114. An abp. habited gu., pall A., cross-staff & myter O.

See comp. 121.

P. 115. (O. 115.) A king standing, in a long white tunic with close fitting sleeves, red mantle, and green tippet, holding a sceptre in his right hand, under a canopy. Background blue. Canopy background red.

T. 115. A king robed gu. & A., mantle V^t, crown & sceptre O.

See comp. 121.

P. 116. (O. 116.) An archbishop standing, in alb, green tunic, pink dalmatic, blue chasuble, and mitre, holding a cross-staff in his left hand and his right hand in benediction, under a canopy. Background red. Canopy background blue.

T. 116. An abp. robed B., pall A., myter & cross-staff O.

See comp. 121.

P. 117. (O. 117.) A king standing, in red mantle, and ermine tippet, holding a sceptre in his left hand, under a canopy. Background blue. Canopy background red.

T. 117. A king robed gu., mantle erm., sceptre & crown O.

See comp. 121.

P. 118. (O. 118.) An archbishop standing, in alb, pink dalmatic, blue chasuble, pall, and mitre, under a canopy. Background red. Canopy background blue.

T. 118. An abp. habited B., pall & myter A., cross-staff O.

See comp. 121.

P. 119. (O. 119.) A king standing, in pink mantle, and white tippet, holding a sceptre in his left hand and right hand raised, under a canopy. Background red. Canopy background blue.

T. 119. A king robed sanguine, mantle erm., crowned O.

See comp. 121.

P. 120. (O. 121.) A king standing, in a long white tunic with close fitting sleeves, and green mantle, under a canopy. Background blue. Canopy background red.

T. 121. A king robed V^t, crowned A., sceptred O.

See comp. 121.

P. 121. (O. 120.) An archbishop, very fragmentary. Background and canopy gone.

T. 120. An abp. habited B., pall & cross-staff A., myter O.

Kings alternate regularly with bishops, archbishops, or popes, in the magnificent series of figures under canopies in the clerestory windows of the choir. All appear to have originally been named, but the inscriptions beneath several of them are either now much mutilated, or destroyed. The following notes of them, after a hasty and not sufficiently careful examination, may nevertheless be interesting :—

Beginning from the West on each side.

Window.	North.	South.
1.	{ E rex. ius ppa. Scs Edwinus rex. Scs Paulinus archieps.	lucius rex. S. Eleutherius ppa. a king. an abp.
2.	{ abp. Scs Oswaldus rex. Sanc. Honorius ppa. Scs Oswinus rex. Scs Aidanus eps.	S. Sampson archiep. Canutus rex. S. Vigilus ppa. a king. an abp.
3.	{ Scs Augustinus. Scs Oswius rex. S. Agatho ppa. Alfridus rex. an abp.	S. Sefrid † Haroldus rex † an abp. † Pope † bertus rex. an abp.
5.	{ S. Johan Beverlac. S. Ceolwulphus rex. S. ppa. Eadbertus rex. S. Wilfridus junior.	{ abp. king. Pope. king. abp. } all much mutilated.

Most of these, it will be observed, are saints of the early Anglo-Saxon Church. "These are they which were redeemed from among men, being the first fruits unto God and to the Lamb." As it was impossible to honour every saint by a separate festival, and the names of a very few only comparatively speaking were mentioned in the Calendar, so here space only allowed the representation of a few conspicuous saints to stand for the rest; and the space in the tracery lights of the S. William window being still more limited, the representations must needs be there proportionately less ornate and perfect. For the same reason the representative classes of bishops and kings only were taken, a part for the whole. Kings were, it will be remembered, invested with a sacred character at their coronation; and S. George the patron saint of England instructed the heathen king of the dragon country, doubtless according to the popularly received doctrine of the duties of a Christian sovereign. First, he was to have a care for the churches of God; secondly, he was to honour priests; thirdly, he was himself diligently to hear the divine offices; and fourthly, to be ever mindful of the poor.³⁵⁰ The fulfilment of these duties would be a sufficient warrant for the presence of kings in this window; first, as representing benefactors of the Church of which S. William was such a distinguished light; secondly, as representing such as had already or should hereafter do honour to S. William, like the King of Sicily (comp. 27), or King Edward I. of England (comp. 84); thirdly, as representing those who loved the offices of the saint, illustrated to so great an extent in this window; and fourthly, as representing those who should interest themselves in the instruction of the poor, as by the magnificent "Poor Man's Book" here provided, and laid open to be read of all men.

³⁵⁰ *Legenda Aurea*, cap. lviii., *De sancto Georgio*.

"Mens hebes ad verum per materialia surgit,
Et demersa prius, hac visa luce resurgit." ³⁸¹

On the order of coronation, and for the ancient forms, see Maskell. ³⁸²
Almost every act invested the monarch with some spiritual virtue. It was from being anointed with the sacred oil that the title *Dei gratia* was derived.

- P. 122. An ornament with a red centre.
- P. 123. An ornament with a blue centre.
- P. 124. An ornament with a blue (? O. red) centre.
- P. 125. An ornament with a pink (? O. blue) centre.
- P. 126. An ornament with a white and yellow stained (? O. red) centre.
- P. 127. An ornament with a blue and pink patched (? O. blue) centre.
- P. 128. An ornament with the monogram *ih̄s* in yellow stain on a white (? O. red) centre.
- P. 129. An ornament with a red (? O. blue) centre.

Several of these ornaments, filling in the small openings in the tracery, have obviously been tampered with. Each would seem originally to have consisted of a leaf-shaped pane of white glass directed towards and filling in each angle of the compartment, from a central circular pane of glass, the colour of which would doubtless bear a relation to that of the backgrounds in its neighbourhood. The suggestions given above in brackets are grounded on the presumption that the canopy background colours of comp. 106, 109, 112, 115, 116, 117, 120, and 121, and the ornament centre colours of 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, and 129, respectively, were counterchanged.

P. 130. (O. 130.) A golden sceptre with the top inclined towards the east, and a scroll twisted round it inscribed . . . maria. Background blue.

See comp. 135.

P. 131. (O. 131.) A golden sceptre with the top inclined towards the west, and a scroll twisted round it inscribed *gratia plena*. Background red.

[Comp. 122—131, inclusive, omitted by Torre.]

See comp. 135.

P. 132. (O. 132.) An angel in white, with golden hair, kneeling, censuring. Background red.

See comp. 135.

³⁸¹ Under carvings representing the Last Judgment, &c., on the west front of the Cathedral of St. Denis; still better put by Horace :—

*Segnius irritant animos demissa per aures,
Quàm quæ sunt oculis subjecta fidelibus.*
—*Ep. ad Pisones*, 180.
³⁸² *Op. cit.* iii, iii. 49.

P. 133. (O. 133.) An angel in white, with golden hair, kneeling, censing. Back ground blue.

T. 132, 133. On each side kneels a man in white rayment, wth a golden bird upon their heads.

See comp. 135.

P. 134. (O. 134.) Our Lord in a white tunic embroidered yellow, and pink mantle, seated on a throne, holding a golden orb in his left hand, and the right hand raised in benediction.

T. 134. A king, robed A. O. & Gu. Globe & crown O.

See comp. 135.

P. 135. (O. 135.) The Blessed Virgin, in blue, seated on a throne, crowned; her arms crossed upon her bosom, and head slightly bowed towards the preceding compartment.

T. 135. At top of all sits enthroned a queen, robed B., crowned O., holding her hand crost upon her breast, a little elevated.

For a representation of the Coronation of the Virgin, with the Legend, and some remarks, see *The Painted Glass at Thornhill*.³⁸³ This was one of the most favourite *crowning* subjects in medieval compositions. Thus, it occurs on the easternmost principal key-block of the roof of the nave, at York; on one of the easternmost principal key-blocks of the choir, at Lichfield; surmounting the great west door-way of the Cathedral, at Wells, and many of the noblest portals of the larger churches and cathedrals abroad; the glorious central doorway of the Cathedral at Rheims, the principal doorway of the exquisite Church of Notre Dame, at Treves, and the principal doorway of the Cathedral at Florence, for instance. It is represented in the head of a crozier preserved at Evreux; it was on the hoods of copes formerly at York, Lincoln, etc., etc., and on the head of a bed mentioned by Wright in his *Domestic Manners and Sentiments*. But one of the most glorious representations in Europe, and most interesting also in this association, is that at the top of the window on the north side of the choir, next the nave, of the Church of S. Jacques, at Liège. The window is divided into two grand compartments by an immense mullion, which runs up the middle and branches off at the top like a Y. In the space above the fork, God the Father, habited as a pope, with an orb in the left hand and two fingers of the right raised in benediction, inclines towards the Blessed Virgin, crowned and nimbed;³⁸⁴ with, above, the segment of a rainbow composed of

³⁸³ *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, i. 73.

³⁸⁴ Super omnem creaturam exaltata. Leg. Aur., cap. cxix.

pink, red, yellow, and blue circles of angels.³⁵⁴ The colouring, throughout extremely clear, rich, and brilliant, and the execution, near the limits of the highest excellence possible on painted glass, are both worthy of as attentive study as the design itself.

We have now reviewed somewhat leisurely and at length, if not adequately, what we conceive to be the fullest and most complete series of pictures illustrative of the life and acts of a medieval saint existing in this country. Important as the composition undoubtedly is, as a whole, and still more important as it must have been, when perfect, yet most important of all now to us it has seemed to be, as an authentic mine of illustration respecting that much written upon, but as yet in many respects imperfectly understood matter—the civil, religious, and domestic life of our forefathers. More than four hundred and twenty studies of the human figure, and of the ecclesiastical and civil costume of the period, are contained in this noble window. Some remarks have been made upon the academical hood and tippet as here represented (comp. 11), clerical gowns and hooded cloaks (comp. 12), the furred almuce (comp. 14), the blue tunic, apparelled amice, and some other parts of the episcopal vesture (comp. 16), and upon the ecclesiastical colour for Trinity Sunday (comp. 49). Also upon some parts of the female costume—the kirtle, girdle, kerchief, and practice of dyeing hair (comp. 46), laced dresses—the foreshadowing of stays, and aprons (comp. 90); upon some parts of the male costume—the shirt, breeches, stockings, shoes, gown, tunic, belt, and depending box for triacle, or mithridate—the medieval universal remedy (comp. 46, 51, and 72), caps, hats, and hoods, (comp. 52); and upon circlets, fillets, and chaplets (comp. 21), the pouch, gypcière, scrip, or wallet (comp. 104), and purse (comp. 48), as represented in this window. Some matters of ecclesiastical furniture, ceremony, and ritual also invited some remark;—the crozier, (improperly termed pastoral staff), processional cross, thurible, incense-boat, holy water bucket, and sprinkler (comp. 39); the solemnity of the consecration of an arch-

³⁵⁴ Angeli gaudendo, archangeli jubilando, throni exaltando, dominationes psallendo, principatus harmonisando, potestates citharisando, cherubin et sera-

phin hymnizando atque ad supernum majestatis divinæ tribunal ducendo, *Id.*, *Id.*

bishop (comp. 16), the reception and enthronization of an archbishop (comp. 39, 40), the archiepiscopal banquet (comp. 45), the reception and entertainment of a king (comp. 80), the order of the visitation and communion of the sick, and of extreme unction (comp. 43), the order of the burial of the dead (comp. 41), the ceremonies of the translation of relics (comp. 84), the procession of relics (comp. 84, 88), the feretory, shrine, reliquaries, monstrance on the altar of the shrine (comp. 84, 47), flowing forth of sacred oil (comp. 50), votive offerings, trindles (comp. 87), and saint-pennies (comp. 99), of which the lucky pennies and crooked sixpences of the present day are a relic. Then, relating to domestic life, we have noted the invaluable series illustrating the ancient trial by battle (comp. 51-55), and the ordeal of fire (comp. 103-105); horses and horseback travelling (comp. 20, 29), the flail-like whip, or *thaurea* (comp. 46), merchant vessels (comp. 70), wooden bridges (comp. 36), beggars, and beggars' clack dishes or alms-boxes (comp. 48), canopied seats (comp. 66), rere-suppers (comp. 67), beds, bedding, clothes-perches, counter-panes, and the like (comp. 19, 92), pillow cases (comp. 90), prison furniture (comp. 91), the household book of devotion (comp. 47), and the custom of sleeping naked in bed (comp. 91, 95). Again, we have remarked on some of the illustrations of spiritual doctrine; on the gift of supernatural chastity (comp. 29), the divine anointing of the Holy Ghost (comp. 23), the hand of God, and of the divine providence ordering all things in heaven and earth (comp. 82), retribution for sin (comp. 50), the prescience of death (comp. 41), reception of life after death (comp. 99), guardianship of holy bishops and kings over the doctrine and property of the church (comp. 121), and final triumph of the church in heaven (comp. 135). And yet again, we have noticed illustrations of darkening superstitions;—the belief in the poisonousness of innocent reptiles and insects, the frog, toad, and spider (comp. 67), the attribution of sudden death to poison administered in the chalice at mass (comp. 41), the vivid and awful realization of demoniacal possession (comp. 61), and of demoniacal agency in the production of storms, winds, and tempests (comp. 65). Lastly, in some of the miracles of healing, we have found representations, executed with the most interesting fidelity, not only of the most distressing

diseases of the Middle Ages, but of the means which were, ineffectually, taken for their relief; inflammation and dropsy (comp. 49), contracted limbs (comp. 69), distorted spine (comp. 74), deafness (comp. 98), and leprosy (comp. 100). And there remain certain miracles for the relief of dumbness (comp. 68, 86), blindness (comp. 55, 63), lameness (comp. 62, 87, 96), stone in the bladder (comp. 64), suffocation (comp. 17, 99), and concussion of the brain (comp. 72, 79, 81, 95). Nothing has been said so far upon the subject of these and the like medieval miracles in the general. To treat the subject fully would carry us too far, and might seem to pertain rather almost more to the Theologian or the philosophical Historian than the Antiquary. Still, as being perhaps of all things connected with the history of S. William the most essential and important in the eyes of those who designed the window, and as enabling us in a manner otherwise impossible to picture to ourselves the times and circumstances under which it was erected, they must receive some notice here.

That the medieval miracles were direct impostures deliberately palmed off by the clergy upon the credulity of the people, as held by Middleton, and in a modified form by Paley, Trench, and many other writers of less eminence, seems as incredible in itself, as it is inconsistent with the standard we have formed of the truthfulness and piety of our forefathers. The more original accounts of medieval miracles we read, the less we are able to bring ourselves to believe that they were any less firmly and sincerely believed by those who related them, than by those to whom they were related. It is incredible that S. Augustine, for instance, was wilfully palming off imposture, when he solemnly asserts that in his own diocese of Hippo, in the space of two years, no less than seventy miracles had been wrought by the body of S. Stephen, five of them being cases of restoration of life from the dead;³⁸⁶ or that, as Middleton would have us believe, from the earliest ages of Christianity down to the close of the Middle Ages, such men as "Justin Martyr, who is supposed to have written his 'Apology' within fifty years after the days of the Apostles," "Irenæus, who was contemporary with Justin," "Theophilus, Bishop of Antioch, who lived in the same age," "Tertullian, who flourished towards the end of the second, and died at the begin-

³⁸⁶ De Civ. Dei., xxii., 8.

ning of the third century," etc., etc., etc., made, systematically, "so bold a defiance of sacred truth," restrained only by their "experience of what the credulity and superstition of the multitude would bear."³⁸⁷ For, if men like these were cheats and impostors, and the accounts they solemnly deliver deliberate lies, what proof, it may well be asked, can we have of the sincerity of anyone, or the truth of any history? At present, however, no one believes in the truth of the medieval miracles. The change which has taken place is not peculiar to one country, nor to one class of Christians, but has affected the church at large. In the modern Roman breviary there are not as many miracles attributed to all the saints in the calendar together, as there are compartments in this one medieval window of S. William alone. A cause common to human nature has caused the great mass of miracles to be rejected, does it not seem reasonable to infer, that a cause common (rather than repugnant) to human nature caused them in the first instance as universally to be received? A mind not yet emancipated, or as yet but imperfectly emancipated, from the old heathen notion of a God of like passions and weaknesses with ourselves, jealous, angry, fickle, irresolute, doubtful, changeable; without any realized conception of a Being who governs the universe through laws of infinite wisdom, from eternity preconceiving every possible contingency; finds it as easy to picture God changing his mind (*i.e.*, his laws) as himself his own:—as easy to picture God (or a saint, his deputy) saying, "Believe in and honour me with gifts and I will heal you," as himself saying to his neighbour, "You do me or my friend a good turn, and I will do you another." A mind ignorant of the all-pervading, all-sustaining, absolutely perfect and supreme law and order revealed to us by God in the Universe, sees nothing inconceivable, nay—it may be—sees something it fancies quite conceivable, in the departure by God from his laws, and is open to any superstition. And this is the same whether in the fifth century, the fifteenth, or the nineteenth. What was formerly done by the Relics of a Saint, is now done by Spiritualism, or Homœopathy, or Animal Magnetism, or some Patent Medicine. Formerly, a child was taken in its mother's arms from

³⁸⁷ Middleton, *A Free Inquiry into the Miraculous Powers which are supposed to have subsisted in the Christian Church, from the earliest ages through several centuries*, 1825.

Hemelsay, or de Segefelf villa quadam trans teyse, ad sepulchrum Scti Will'i; now it is brought in a perambulator and cured by a Spiritualist at Pentonville. The essential element in both cases is that a "cure" is received and published as genuine by persons unaccustomed to scientific inquiry and discrimination. In both cases there is the same radically bad habit of loose and imperfect observation and verification. A man is cured of a disease, but we are not told on what the diagnosis of it was grounded, and we more than doubt the capacity of the curer to make a diagnosis. Two (to an ignorant person) extremely similar forms of disease, one easily and spontaneously curable, the other incurable, are confounded; the patient is cured of the spontaneously curable, but the curer has the reputation of having cured him of the incurable (see note to comp. 69), or the cure has not been verified; there has been for the moment a cessation of palpable symptoms, but it has not been ascertained whether the cause has been removed, or whether the symptoms have recurred, or will recur. Or, in the report of the case as handed down by word of mouth there has been exaggeration; a man with sore eyes gets to have been blind; a woman who does not speak too distinctly gets to have been dumb; a child that limps gets to have been "contracted like a ball," or bedridden. Great wonders, again, are wrought by a quick or strained imagination. Virtue has seemed to come out of the buttress of a shrine into a deaf ear or speechless tongue (comp. 86), and the Holy Ghost in form of a silvery dove to descend in glory through the golden opening of a cloud, and anoint with grace a duly attuned soul (comp. 23); while, in another age, more prosaically, but scarcely less superstitiously, we are shown a disease cured by a substance which is said to be able to produce it, and the activity of a drug increasing in proportion to the minuteness of the dose of it administered. Or an odd coincidence passes for a prophecy. It is notorious, as Bacon remarks, of prophecies, that the vulgar mark when they hit, but not when they miss. In the twelfth century S. William prophesies his death; and in the "Guardian" newspaper for 23 July, 1873, a writer claims as a prophecy a saying of the late Bishop of Oxford, shortly before his death: *I have a far more sustained sense than formerly of the nearness of the end.* And yet, had neither S. William of York nor the

Bishop of Oxford died, no one would have attached any more importance to these remarks than is done daily to those of sick persons who say they feel they shall never recover, and bid adieu to their friends, and give directions for their burial, and the like, and yet do recover very comfortably and well. Such instances might be multiplied indefinitely, and show how little human nature varies. If the "cures" of an age that deems itself not particularly ignorant or credulous, are attributed rather to ignorance and credulity than to imposture, it seems difficult to see why those of another, remarkable for both, should not be. Certainly it has never been proved that the medieval miracles were, as a rule, allied to the "pious frauds" of the Middle Ages, or that those who promulgated them were, otherwise than quite exceptionally, guilty of deliberate imposture.

It has been our endeavour to show that the belief in miracles in the vulgar sense, namely, as something above or contrary to the order of nature,³⁸⁸ arose in the Middle Ages from ignorance of the order of nature as revealed by modern science, in consequence of which, and without the means of investigating or appreciating evidence, both clergy and laity, like children, were very easily mistaken and deceived. But it was the ignorance of medical science more particularly that rendered possible a belief in the potentiality of relics. At the time of which we are speaking there were at least half a dozen distinct orders of medical practitioners. There were 1. The regularly instructed Physicians (*fysicians, leches, medici, or fisici*), monastic or lay, who had learned medicine, such as it was, at the University, and had obtained the title of Doctor, or Magister, and practised medicine, but not surgery. 2. The regularly instructed Surgeons (*surions, surgens, or surgyn leches*), united into guilds or honourable societies, examined and licensed to practise by masters of repute, duly sworn and authorized. 3. Monks, especially Benedictine, who studied and practised both medicine and surgery, but probably not so perfectly as either of the preceding, having neither the means of instruction nor the facilities for practice enjoyed by their lay brethren, and being hampered by the inability to perform operations with-

³⁸⁸ Archbishop Trench explains the miracles of Holy Scripture as having been wrought in accordance with natural

law, inclusive of those which at first sight they may seem to, but really do not and cannot contradict.

out special dispensations, etc. 4. Barbers, who as amongst the Romans were permitted by law to cup, bleed, treat sprains, and perform sundry other offices of minor surgery. 5. Travelling doctors, as they were called, who went through the market towns with a Merry Andrew, selling charms, potions, astrological and magical figures, oils, medicated wools, etc., representing that somewhat numerous but illegitimate offspring of Apollo of the present day, who flourish rather by the trumpet than by the caduceus. 6. Religious women (*matronæ fideles*) who in all distempers deprecated any recourse save to the saints. (See comp. 90). Now the physicians and surgeons of the first and second class were rarely to be found outside the greater cities, and even there were not very easily accessible. Even had it been otherwise, the fact that they were necessarily learned men—men of wide liberal education for the age in which they lived, and not mere walking receipt books, placed them above the appreciation of the vulgar of their time. And there is no evidence to show that the monastic practitioners of the third class ever did much outside the walls of their own establishments, or infirmaries, remains of which however on a large scale exist, for instance at Canterbury, Ely, Peterborough, and to a less extent at Westminster. Add to this that strife arose continually amongst the different orders of practitioners, especially in the larger cities, where all were congregated. The surgeons³⁸⁹ claimed in all respects the same rights and privileges as the members of the medical faculty, who resisted their claim to the utmost. The barbers in their turn aimed at practising, or pretended to aim at practising, surgery like the members of the surgical body. To annoy the surgeons, the physicians encouraged the barbers, and in spite of numerous compromises, the strife persistently continued. Thus the members of the various bodies who might have helped and defended one another, mutually regarded one another with jealousy and distrust, and perpetually hindered one another. The poorer and more ignorant of the people, at least, were unable to say which

³⁸⁹ In France the Society of Surgeons went under the name of the Society of St. Cosmas and Damian, the patrons of Medicine and Surgery. In the *Nurem-burgh Chronicle* there is an interesting woodcut of the two. The one holds a

pot of ointment, symbolical of surgery; the other a urinal, the astrological inspection of urine in most cases being thought indispensable by the physicians of that day.

were the most worthy of these conflicting candidates for their favour, and readily yielded themselves, on the one hand to the "travelling doctors," or on the other to the religious women—the "district visitors" of the period. Ambrose Parè gives several lively pictures of the doings of the barbers and travelling doctors. On one occasion he was consulted by a priest who had an aneurism. At the end of a year, however, the priest became uneasy at not being cured, and applied to a barber, "who supposing the tumor to be of the kind of vulgar imposthumes," opened it, and forthwith the poor man 'gave up the ghost with his blood.'³⁹⁰ Peter Lowe, again, in his *Whole Art of Chyrurgerie*, in the chapter "shewing the way to helpe the mouldy, blacke, hollow, or evill savoured tooth," says that "the comon Barbor Chyrgions doe commit great error in plucking out of innumerable teeth which might well serve . . . they plucke out one or two of the whole teeth and leave the corrupt;" for, as Parè says, "unlesse one know readily and cunningly how to use them (the instruments), hee can scarco so carrie himself, but that hee will force out three teeth at once, oft-times leaving that untouch't which caused the pain."³⁹¹ With the fear of such accidents before them, how can we wonder that the devouter sort should have betaken themselves to the shrines of the saints, which were very beautiful, not too costly a remedy (see note to comp. 69), and at all events could do no harm? Under such favouring circumstances, countless were the poor, the maimed, the halt, and the blind who thronged to the greater shrines, as did the equally afflicted ancients to that of Minerva; nor did the physicians particularly discourage this, for if, after applying to the saint, the case went wrong, how could mortal man be blamed for not succeeding where a supernatural remedy had failed?

But not all the saints owed their popularity principally to miracles. Though to all, apparently, miracles were attributed, to some they added a lustre quite unimportant compared with that derived from other sources. The popularity of S. Thomas of Canterbury, for instance, whom the writer ventures to think the greatest of the English saints, was rather due to the sternness and inflexibility with which he withstood the arbitrary and unlawful oppression of a brutal sovereign, and so nobly laid down his life in defence of the

³⁹⁰ Opera, lib. vii, cap. 32.

³⁹¹ *Ibid.*, xvii. 27.

liberties of the church, than to his miracles, how numerous soever they were. In the north, the popularity of S. Wilfrid was due to a like cause; that of S. Paulinus to his having been in the hands of God the instrument for planting Christianity here; that of S. Aidan to his missionary labours; that of S. Oswald the king to his exertions towards the establishment of infant Christianity; that of S. Cuthbert and of S. John of Beverley to their simplicity and guilelessness of heart, their true integrity, and genuine undoubted piety; and that of S. Bede to his profound learning. But the fame of S. William had none of these foundations to rest on, and could scarcely have been established without miracles. Personally he seems to have been, whilst alive, not even a genuine man, but rather a shuttlecock, long beaten about between the royal, the clerical, and the monastic parties, but at last happily settling into place at York; and after death, of influence merely as the local relic, of which, of course, many miracles were expected. Of how great value, power, and importance the possession of a miracle-working relic was to a medieval church has been shown by Dean Stanley in his delightful *Memorials of Canterbury*, and by Professor Willis in his *Architectural History of Canterbury Cathedral*. It would take us too far to enumerate the results which flowed at York from the possession of the relics of S. William. Enough that foremost among them was, certainly, the projection, design, execution, and presentation to the Cathedral of the noble window we are here considering.

As regards the style in which the window is executed, it will be sufficient to say that it possesses all the features of a work belonging to the first half of the fifteenth century. Each compartment in the body of the window is contained within a slender architectural framework; with a narrow border of shafts, and buttresses with long rectangular shallow sunk panels and crocketed and pinnaced set-offs, running up on each side to terminate in a canopy or mass of little slender spires and pinnacles, between and above which, filling in the cinque-foiled head of each light beneath the transoms and springing of the tracery, sparkles a blue or ruby background. The kings and bishops in the tracery also stand under canopies, but of simpler construction. The general effect is bright and sparkling; more so than in later examples, in which deeper and more elaborate shading is

employed. As for the colours, the red is not so deep and rich in tone as in the earlier windows of the Minster, but it is a fine, full, rich scarlet or crimson, equally beautiful in its way. The blue is of that particularly soft light purple grey neutral tint, so admirably fitted for backgrounds and for harmonizing the more positive colours with which it is associated. The yellow pot-metal is of a full golden colour, and the stain, here freely used, for the most part of a charming light lemon tint, softening, not overpowering, the outlines which it is employed to enrich and heighten. The green, sparingly used in the draperies, and for herbage, etc., is a very fine and pleasing colour. Here and there a light pink or rose-coloured pot-metal glass, when brilliant perhaps the most delicate and exquisite of all the Perpendicular colours, is found, but its beauty here for the most part is greatly obscured either by brown shading, or corrosion, or dirt ; possibly in places by all three. The outlines, compared with those of the preceding style, are weak and timid ; making it comparatively difficult to see what is represented, especially at a little distance ; though, to some extent, this is atoned for by the lower tone of colouring throughout. In like manner the shading generally is very light and transparent, giving rise to an undue flatness and want of relief ; the perfection of medieval glass painting, in which the shading and general pictorial effect was pushed to the utmost short of diminishing the lustre and brilliancy of the material, not being as yet attained. The faces and naked parts of the body are executed entirely on white glass. Some of the heads are drawn in a striking and spirited manner, but others more tamely, and in little more than outline. The folds of the drapery of the less important figures in like manner are scarcely indicated, the dress being represented by little more than a surface of plain coloured glass of the required shape. The foliated and other ornaments are more conventional than those of the preceding style ; in the diapered backgrounds, for instance, instead of leaves of natural form, we have a pattern, suggested it is true by the oak-leaf, but more resembling a free and spreading pattern of embroidery ; for that very reason, however, the more restful and pleasant to the eye, and the less distracting ; not tempting away the mind from the figures, and from the action of the pictures, so much the more important.

In order to ascertain the historical position of this window more minutely, it should be compared, as a whole and in detail, with others of similar design, the date of which is known. Take the great east window of the Cathedral, and the great west window of the neighbouring Church of S. Martin, Coney Street, for example. Both are panelled arrangements, and closely similar in their general design. The former was executed in the years 1405-8, the latter erected in the year 1437. The general effect of the former is decidedly flatter than that of the window we are here considering, the figures appearing to overlap one another more ; the attitudes are more forced and strained ; the draperies more formal ; the foliated ornaments stiffer and more like natural forms ; the patterns of the diapered backgrounds less free and graceful. The general effect of the latter is just as decidedly rounder than that of the S. William window, the figures being in much better relief, and the draperies more flowing and natural ; the diapered backgrounds are of the easiest and most flowing patterns ; the canopies have a fair projection, being well stained yellow in the lights and shaded beneath the head ; the mitres are sensibly higher ; and the heads of the croziers more elaborate. From these, and other features less easy to express in writing, an attentive study will lead the observer to assign as the probable date of our window, a period about midway between the dates of the two preceding examples. The costume of the figures supports this conclusion ; the disuse by civilians of the hood around the neck and of the mantle as a part of the ordinary dress, and representation of the tunic only ; the tight-fitting kirtle of the ladies girded across the hips, with sleeves as a rule extending no further than the wrists ; and so on. But it is the costume of the military figures which is our most important guide. The armour after the beginning of the fifteenth century underwent many rapid changes, and in dated windows, ancient brasses, and other monuments, we have a number of authentic examples to which others, without date, may confidently be referred. From these it would seem clear that the persons represented in this window cannot have lived much earlier, or much later, than about the year 1420.

At this exact period, a painted window was wanted in this situation. The eastern portion of the choir, according to Professor Willis, was built between 1361 and 1373, and the western

portion, of which the eastern transept forms a part, between 1380 and 1400, as indeed seems indicated by the fabric roll of 1399, which records the preparation of timber and other materials for the roof;³⁹² and that the roof and wooden vaulting were finished at the beginning of the year 1405, seems clear, as Mr. Raine has pointed out, from the roll of 1404, in which is the charge for plastering the walls and altars of the new choir, which could not have been done until the roof was erected.³⁹³ The east window and windows in the eastern choir would thus be ready for their glazing in and after the year 1408, and those in the western or later portion somewhat later. As matter of fact, we know the date of the erection of the east window from the indenture for the glazing, dated 10 Dec., 1405, stipulating for the completion of the work within three years. The glass of the north aisle of the choir eastward of the eastern transept is all of the reign of Henry IV., and would be amongst that executed next after the completion of the great east window. The window of the eastern transept, from its style, we should judge to have followed next, and to belong to the reign of Henry V.; whilst the three windows westward, in memory of Parker, Canon of York, Wolveden, Treasurer of the Minster, and Archbishop Bowet, manifestly later, belong apparently to the early part of the reign of Henry VI.

Lastly, the Heraldry so fortunately preserved, not only corroborates all that has been advanced so far, but actually informs us in memory of whom, and gives grounds for inferring by whom, and for what reason, and more exactly when, the window was erected. It has been shown that the figures represent John, eighth baron Roos of Hamlake, Margaret his wife, William, Thomas, Robert, and Richard his brothers, and one or more of his sisters (comp. 9). I take it for granted that the window could not have been erected either by the sister or sisters, or Richard or Robert the brothers, on account of their youthful age and dependant position in the family during the period that the Roos arms were impaled with those of Le Despencer. Neither by William, for a like reason, and because he never returned alive from the wars in France. Nor by Thomas, because of the subordinate position he holds amongst the other figures, and because he was but 'fourteen years and a half and more' of age when he

³⁹² *Fabric Rolls*, p. 13.

³⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 24, note.

succeeded to the barony. It must then have been erected either by John the eighth baron or Margaret his wife. The former was however scarcely eighteen years of age in 1416 when he went to France, and at that early age would hardly actively be caring much about putting up painted windows. Still it is quite possible that the matter may have been talked of in the family. Miracles had been wrought at the tomb of S. William on certain afflicted poor folk of Helmsley (comp. 98), and it would be an act of gratitude to hand these and the like down to posterity in so glorious a memorial. That the family of Roos loved the Minster and were noble benefactors to the fabric of it is well known. The three water bougets of Roos are repeated more frequently than any other arms in the spandril of the nave and choir. Then came the separation of the newly married pair; and the wife, with a heart softened by grief at her husband's absence and full of uncertainty as to his return, may well have more seriously brooded over the erection of this window as a thank-offering in their joint names should it please God to restore him with honour to his country. Finally, on hearing of her husband's death, in 1421, possibly after the window had been begun, she would have it completed for the benefit of his soul, and that of his brother William who died with him, and for her own good estate and that of Thomas her deceased husband's eldest surviving brother, Robert and Richard his younger brothers, and his sisters. The work must at least have been speedily finished after this date, for on the death of her father, in 1423-4, Margaret de Roos was found married to Sir Robert Wentworth, who we have no reason, from the character of those times, to suppose would encourage this act of piety towards her former husband, even did her grief for him last so long as to suggest it.

Whilst we grieve that so precious a monument should not have escaped injury and mutilation, let us be thankful that sufficient still remains to be of value to the Historian, "a bower quiet" to the Antiquary, and to interest, it is hoped, the general public; trusting it may still be preserved amid the deluge of "Restoration" now raging around us, in which it is scarcely too much to say that more of interest and value has already perished, than by all other destructive agencies combined. There are three well marked attitudes of the

mind towards historical monuments. There is 1. That of *indifference*; true wisdom is only justified of her own children; and it is in vain to give to Æsop's cock a gem, who would be better pleased, and happier, to have a barley-corn. 2. That of *awakening interest*; in the feverish heat of which a blind rush is at once made into "Restoration." 3. That of *fully awakened interest and appreciation*; absorbed in which a monument is watched with affectionate and anxious care, and guarded, tenderly, reverently, and continually, as best may be, and at whatever cost, from every influence of dilapidation.³⁹⁴ All great influence of masses of people in matters of this kind is proverbially extremely slow. It was only after years and years of able and eloquent writing and speaking that the public could be awakened, and roused from the first to the second stage of enlightenment. Now it is found even still more difficult to urge on the third stage, for the significant reason that the public mind imagines itself already fully enlightened, a most effectual obstacle to any further progress ever since the time of Seneca, who remarks—*Multi sapientes proculdubio fuissent si se non putassent ad sapientiæ summum pervenisse*. True, the reaction against "Restoration" has already fully set in amongst the well informed, and must eventually spread and become general. But one is often fain to cry—*Usque quo, Domine!* and wonder whether, after all, the finest of our national monuments may not have been destroyed before the country is, too late, awakened to the value of what it has lost for ever.

³⁹⁴ The principles of right treatment of historical monuments are eloquently and convincingly laid down by Mr. Ruskin in the well-known sixth chapter of his *Seven Lamps of Architecture*. As examples of right treatment, and marks of full interest and appreciation, we may mention the great east window of Gloucester Cathedral, which has simply been releaded, without any attempt at "Restoration," beyond supplying such insignificant parts of the coloured grounds as were wanting, with modern glass of corresponding hue; and the Five Sisters windows at York, which, without being releaded or tampered with in any way, have simply been defended from the weather by a casing of plate glass on the exterior. The great east and great west windows have also been defended by plate glass; but the latter, like one near it on the south side of the nave, seems,

unfortunately, to have also been "re-stored," and thus to have lost much of its historical interest and value. By "Restoration," here and elsewhere, we mean that pestilent process by which by some modern and inferior hand the marks of historic and artistic authenticity are obliterated, with or without any further conjectural alteration, emendation, or addition. The furthest extreme of this is reached when an ancient monument is actually destroyed, in order to make way for a worthless imitation; as in the case of one whole five-light window of the incomparable series in the Chapter House, at York, which, incredible as it may seem, some years ago was taken out and, instead of being releaded as it well might have been, was destroyed in order to make way for the present abomination, or "Restoration" as it was called.

THE MONASTERIES OF S. HEIU AND S. HILD.

By the Rev. DANIEL HENRY HAIGH, of Erdington, Birmingham.

From my memoir on the Runic inscriptions of Yorkshire I purposely withheld notice of one at Hackness, because it could scarcely be treated of apart from other inscriptions, on fragments of what appears to have been a memorial of several abbesses, of the religious community founded there by S. Hild, in the year of her death, A.D. 680. To these I now invite the attention of our Society, offering at the same time a few notes, intended to elucidate the history of the illustrious foundresses and first mothers of the monasteries of Heruteu, Strenæshalh, and Hacanos, and other relics of those monasteries, which time and violence have spared. Of S. Heiu Ven. Bæda records these simple facts:—that she was the first woman in Northhumbria who embraced the monastic life; and that she was consecrated by S. Aidan, and founded a monastery at Heruteu not long before A.D. 649, in which year she retired to, and fixed her abode at, Kælcacæstir. He mentions also a nun named Begu, who was at Hacanos when S. Hild died, who had then been a nun upwards of thirty years, and therefore must have been professed not long after Heiu. In the life of S. Begu, written in the twelfth century by a monk of S. Bees in Copeland, these two ladies are identified; and several circumstances in his narrative, indicating that he had early and authentic sources of information, quite distinct from what is contained in the “*Historia Ecclesiastica*,” led me at one time to rely on his authority in this respect; but I now see that the relations, between the monastery of Wearmouth, in which Ven. Bæda was a novice at the time of the death of S. Hild, and her monasteries, were so intimate, that it is scarcely possible he could have been ignorant of this identity, or would have failed to notice it, had it been a fact. Leaving to S. Heiu, therefore, what he records of her history,

I accept for S. Begu what remains in the Copeland life :— that she was the daughter of a powerful Irish prince, born early in the seventh century, and brought up from childhood in the Christian faith ; that she early conceived the desire of devoting herself to the service of God, and was encouraged to do so by a holy man who visited her, recommended her to make a vow of celibacy, and presented her with a bracelet which she was to wear constantly in token of her consecration ; that a prince of Norway, with her father's approval, sought her in marriage ; that she fled from home and crossed the sea to that district in Cumberland which still bears her name ; that there she led a solitary life, until the constant infestation of the coast by pirates rendered it unsafe ; that then she quitted her cell, repaired to S. Aidan, and received from him the black habit and a veil ; and that she died at Hacanós on the 31st October, in the year following the death of S. Hild, *i. e.* A.D. 681. There, in the year 1140, in the presence of witnesses who related the circumstances to the writer of her life, a coffin was found with the inscription, " Hoc est sepulchrum Beghu."

Her bracelet she left behind when she fled from Copeland, and it was preserved there with great veneration for her sake. I do not doubt but that it was the possession of this which occasioned the name *Begu* to be substituted for her original Irish name ; *begu* being the old Northumbrian form of *bég*, *bedg*, "a bracelet." Her Copeland biographer, who alone tells us of this bracelet, did not know this ; and it must be remarked, that his *Heritesei*¹, for the name of the place where she commenced her conventual life, more truly conveys the sense of "Hart's island," than does Ven. Bæda's *Heruteu*, (which he so translates, but which really means "Hart water" or "pool").² His *Freitha* may well have been another name for Frigyth, the superiress of Hacanós.

The successor of Heiu at Heruteu, the foundress of Strenæshalh and Hacanós, occupies the very first rank in

¹ Florence of Worcester has the equivalent *Heortsig*. He, as well as the Copeland writer, must have had materials, distinct from those of Ven. Bæda, for his notices of these events.

² This mistranslation, and Strenæshalh, "bay of the watch-tower," instead of "hall of Strena," have seemed to me to

betray ignorance of his mother tongue on the part of Ven. Bæda. There is, however, an alternative ; that these and similar parentheses may have been glosses in the margin of the original "*Historia Ecclesiastica*," embodied in the text by the writer of the earliest extant copy.

the catalogue of our Yorkshire worthies ; none of them ever possessed more influence than she, or used it more beneficially ; and if, with regard to others, it be considered a matter of consequence to elucidate all circumstances of origin or connexion, it should be especially with regard to her. The few words in which Ven. Bæda alludes to these matters, have been the occasion of much misapprehension. He tells us that her father was Hereric, *nepos* of king Eadwine, and her mother Breguswith ;³ that, during her infancy, her father was an exile, and was poisoned, in the realm of Cerdic, king of the Britons ; and that her sister Hereswith, was mother of Aldwulf, king of the East Angles. Now Florence of Worcester, the only chronicler of Norman times who has given much attention to the genealogies of the Angles and Saxons, represents this Hereric as a son of Eadfrith, and grandson of Eadwine. This is clearly impossible ; for Eadwine, born A.D. 586, could scarcely have had a grandson, certainly not a great grand-daughter, in 614, the year in which S. Hild was born. *Nepos*, therefore, can only be a latinization of *nefa* "nephew" in this instance. Yet there are so many indications in Florence's genealogy, that he followed some ancient Northhumbrian authority now lost, that I think it is very probable that his error may extend no farther than this,—that his authority represented Hereric as the son of Eadfrith, and that he identified this Eadfrith with the son of Eadwine, perhaps misunderstanding the word *nepos*. Eadfrith is just such a name as a brother of Eadwine might be expected to have, and that this was the name of his brother seems to me the most simple solution of the enigma.

Nennius tells us, that Ceretic was king of Elmet, and that Eadwine expelled him and occupied his kingdom ; and the "Annales Cambriæ" record the death of Ceretic in 616, the year before Eadwine became king of Northhumbria. There is so much correspondence between Nennius' notes, and the "Annales Cambriæ," that the identity of this Ceretic cannot be doubted. It follows, that the murder of Hereric in Elmet, Eadwine's invasion, and Cerdic's death, preceded the accession of Eadwine ; and the inference is natural, that

³ I adopt one uniform orthography of these personal names: substituting *w* and *th*, when analogy requires it, for the

u and *d*, by which the *wen* and *thorn* of our fathers are rendered in the "*Historia Ecclesiastica*," and dropping Latin endings.

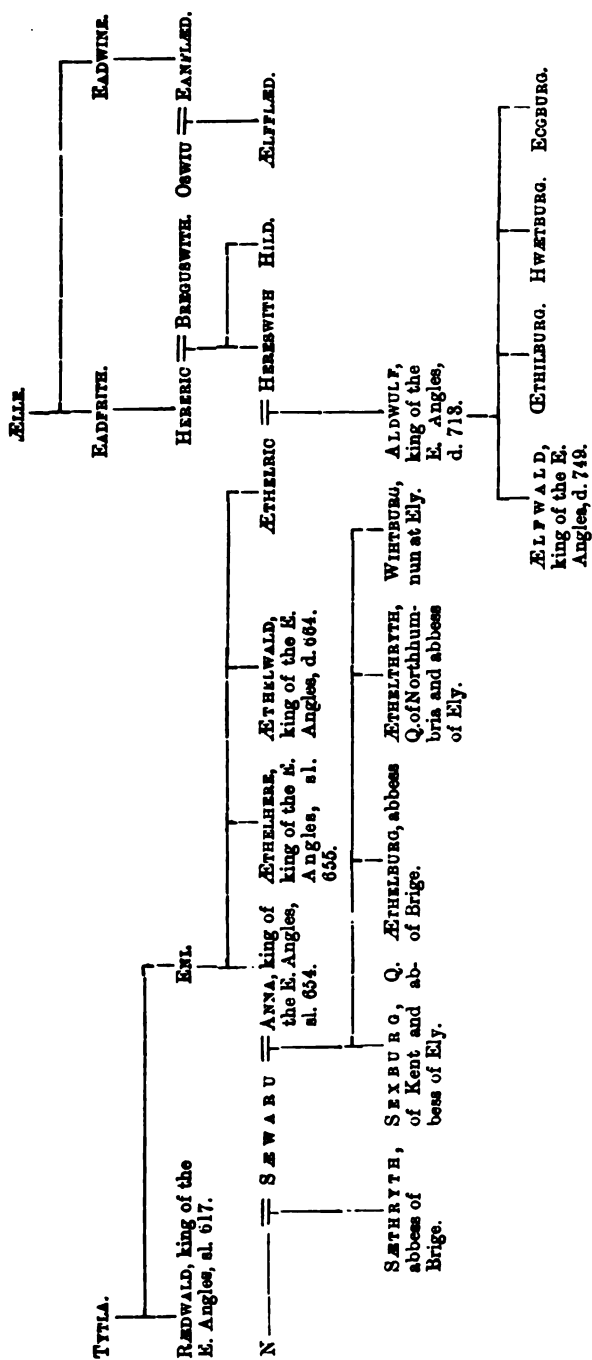
Eadwine's quarrel with Cerdic was in revenge for the murder of Hereric. Connected as he was, with the royal family of Mercia, by his marriage with Cwœnburg, daughter of Cearl, he had resources sufficient to enable him to punish Cerdic's treachery, though not to cope with Æthelfrith.

Eadwine's last refuge was with Rædwald king of the East Angles; and the fact that Rædwald's nephew married Hereric's daughter, suggests the probability, that Hereric's widow and children accompanied Eadwine in his flight.

The compiler of the genealogies in the "Textus Roffensis," which cannot be much later than A.D. 824, tells us that the father of Aldwulf, (and so the husband of Hereswith), was *Ætheric*, (i. e. Æthelric); and his statement is confirmed by the nearly contemporary, but independent authority of Nennius, who calls this personage *Edric*, (corruptly, of course, but parallel to his *Eadfered* for Æthelfrith). I have no hesitation in preferring their concurrent evidence to that of Florence, three centuries later, who says that he was Æthelhere; and to that of later hagiographers, who say that he was Anna. The following scheme, I believe, exhibits correctly the parentage of S. Hild, and her relationship to other personages whom I shall have occasion to notice in the sequel (p. 353).

Sæthryth was a daughter of the wife of Anna, who is called Sewara in the Life of S. Botwulf. Sexburg and her sisters were Anna's *filiae naturales*, i. e. "own daughters." Sexburg must have been born years before 647, when Hereswith was a nun at Cale; for her son, Ecgberht, was old enough to reign in Kent in 664; so that the idea of Hereswith's having been the wife of Anna is out of the question.

Her sister, S. Hild, one of the firstfruits of the mission of S. Paulinus, baptized with the rest of the family of Eadwine, Easter A.D. 626, was destined to play a most important part in the conversion of the Northumbrian Angles. Of her earlier life Ven. Bæda tells us no more than that "she accomplished the first thirty-three years, living most nobly in the secular habit;" and the beginning of his next sentence, "for she was noble also by birth," shows that his meaning is, that her life befitted the nobility of her origin. It is to be observed that he never bestows on her, as he does invariably on her successor, the title "virgin;" she is "woman devoted to God," "most religious servant of



Christ," but nothing more. A circumstance so extraordinary in that age, as that she should have attained the age of thirty-three without marriage or religious consecration, would surely have been noticed ; it seems therefore most probable that she was a widow, like her sister, in 647. Herewith was then a nun in the monastery of Cale, (founded by the first christian queen of the Franks), and S. Hild repaired to her kindred in the province of the East Angles, there to wait for an opportunity of passing over into Gaul, and joining her. But S. Aidan was beginning the work of founding monasteries for women, had given the religious habit to S. Heiu, and established her at Heruteu, and now recalled S. Hild to her native land, and gave to her a small estate of one family on the north bank of the Wear. There, with a few companions, she led a conventual life for about a year, when she was chosen to be S. Heiu's successor at Heruteu, A.D. 649. Six years later, King Oswiu, in thanksgiving for his victory over Penda, devoted his daughter Ælfflæd, then a year old, to the religious life, committing her to the care of S. Hild, and set apart six estates in Bernicia, and six in Deira, each of ten families, as sites for monasteries. One of these appears to have been at Strenæshalh, (now Whitby), where S. Hild was commissioned to build a monastery, and whither she repaired with her infant ward, A.D. 657 ; not, however, relinquishing the charge of Heruteu. In these her monasteries it seemed as if the primitive church was revived, so excellent was her discipline, so perfect her inculcation of every virtue. Her reputation for prudence attracted to her all who needed counsel or consolation, from the lowest rank in society up to royalty itself ; all who knew her called her mother ; and not only over her own subjects and neighbours did her authority and influence extend, but to very many at a distance who knew her by name only, she was the occasion of edification and amendment of life. Her diligence in obliging her subjects to apply themselves to the study of the sacred scriptures, and the exercise of all good works, raised Strenæshalh to the very first rank amongst the Northern monasteries, even before Lindisfarne, as a seminary of the clergy ; and, as such, in 664, only seven years from its establishment, it was chosen as the place of synod for the settlement of the important question, which for many years had divided the court, and distracted the church, of Northumbria,—

King Oswiu with the disciples of S. Aidan taking one side, King Alhfrith and Queen Eanflæd with her chaplain, Romanus, and the disciples of S. Paulinus, the other,—the true reckoning of Easter.

In this synod, Colman, Bishop of York, and S. Cedd, Bishop of London, with many abbots and priests, represented the traditions of Hii; Ægilberht, Bishop of Dorchester, Romanus, James the deacon of S. Paulinus, S. Wilfrith Abbot of Ripon, and another priest named Agatho, the doctrine of Rome. Particular interest must be attached to the name of the last, on account of the title *Papa* with which Cæddi graces him. If not at this very time, certainly within the five years which followed, Cæddi was attached to S. Wilfrith, and as he must have had frequent opportunities of conversing with his master about this synod in which he was so deeply interested, he must be admitted as an unimpeachable witness on this point; and we must believe that, just as he styles Ægilberht *episcopus transmarinus*, although it was not until after the synod that he could be so called correctly, (as Bishop of Paris), so does he style Agatho proleptically *Papa*; that this Agatho is no other than he who was raised to the chair of S. Peter in 678. At the time of the synod, no doubt, he would be one of the leading clergy of Rome, and his coming to the synod with Ægilberht, (who had conferred the priesthood on S. Wilfrith immediately before), suggests a probability, almost amounting to certainty, that they were entrusted with a special mission from Rome, to endeavour to bring the Northhumbrian church into conformity. Ægilberht, (who, soon after, resigned his see on account of his imperfect acquaintance with the Saxon tongue), on this occasion employed S. Wilfrith to speak for him; Agatho, it may be presumed, could not speak English at all; hence we can understand the necessity of an interpreter; and this office Ven. Bæda tells us was faithfully discharged by the Venerable Bishop of London. The result of the synod is well known. S. Hild, previously attached to the Scottish observance, adopted thenceforth the orthodox computation, which was accepted in Scotland and in Ireland also, some years later, and has ever since prevailed in Western Christendom. During the two last years of her life, S. Hild appears to have been opposed to S. Wilfrith. The enormous diocese which that prelate ruled, embracing

what are now Lincolnshire, the six northern shires of England, and Scotland to the Clyde and Forth, is said to have excited the jealousy of Queen Eormenburg, and to have occasioned her to regard him as the rival of her husband. Viewed in its ecclesiastical aspect, it is easy to understand, how this would seem too much to be efficiently administered, even by a prelate of such indomitable energy as S. Wilfrith unquestionably possessed ; and this view only can have been presented to S. Hild, and to S. Theodore. There may, also, have been some ground for complaint of his neglecting his diocese ; for the monasteries which were under his rule in the kingdom of the Mercians must have engrossed much of his attention ; and occasion was taken from his absence to effect the division, which the interest of the Northumbrian church would appear to require. At the invitation of King Ecgfrith S. Theodore visited Northumbria, accompanied by several of his suffragan bishops ; and, after having heard what the opposite party had to allege in favour of the change proposed, divided the Northumbrian diocese into two, Deira and Bernicia, (thus making each diocese coterminous with a kingdom), and severing therefrom a diocese for Lindissi, (the modern shire of Lincoln). From what follows, it would seem that the other bishops did not fully acquiesce in this proceeding ; whether they were dissatisfied with the whole arrangement, or disapproved of S. Wilfrith's being set aside, as he was, we are not told ; but when S. Theodore proceeded to fill up the dioceses he had created, he was left to consecrate the new bishops alone, without the canonical assistance of other bishops. The new bishops were Bosa, from the monastery of Strenæshalh, for the southern diocese, with York for his see ; for the northern, Eata, from the monastery of Lindisfarne, with Hexham or Lindisfarne for his see, at his option ; and for Lindissi, with Sidenacæstir for his see, Eadhæd, who had been for many years chaplain to the king and his father. S. Wilfrith protested in vain against this invasion of his rights ; then, by the advice of the southern bishops, he resolved to appeal to the Apostolic See, to which Agatho, his associate at the synod of Strenæshalh, was raised in this very year. He set out for Rome immediately, but did not reach it until the summer of 679 ; for, landing in Friesland, he found there was work for him to do there, and he devoted himself to the

conversion of the king and his people. This happily accomplished, he proceeded to Rome, where he found that his business was well known already, for the messengers of S. Theodore and S. Hild had arrived before him. A council of more than fifty bishops was assembled to judge his cause, and the result of their deliberations was an unanimous decree, that the intruded bishops should be deposed, that he should be restored, and that he, with a synod of English bishops, should choose others who would work harmoniously with him, to be consecrated as his coadjutors. As he is said to have spent much time at Rome, it is not likely that his return to his native land was before 680. How S. Theodore or S. Hild received the decree we are not informed; its only immediate result was, that after it had been submitted to King Ecgrith first, and then to a synod laical and ecclesiastical, S. Wilfrith was imprisoned on suspicion of having obtained it by bribery.

This was in the last year of the life of S. Hild. For six years severe sickness had afflicted her, but without interrupting her labours. Even in this year she had founded a new monastery at Hacanos; and in the early morning of November 17, at the age of sixty-six, in the midst of her exhortations to her children, she calmly passed away. For reasons which will appear in the sequel, I believe that she was buried in her earlier monastery of Heruteu.

Her influence did not die with her. At Strenæshalh she left a successor in every way worthy of herself; and bishops, trained under her care, diffused throughout Britain the benefit of her teaching and discipline,—all men of singular merit, as Ven. Bæda assures us. Of these Bosa was one, Bishop of York 678 to 686; and S. John of Beverley, consecrated to Hexham in 685, and translated to York in 686, another. A third, Ætla, was consecrated to Dorchester in 679. A fourth, Otfor, whose early studies had been made in both her monasteries successively, who had spent some time with S. Theodore in Kent, and then gone to Rome, returning to Britain, preached so efficaciously in the province of Hwiccas, that he was chosen coadjutor to Bosel, Bishop of Worcester and succeeded him in 691. Besides these, Tatfrith was nominated to Worcester in 680, but did not live to be consecrated; and, though later than S. Hild's time, Wilfrith II., S. John's successor, was a monk of Strenæshalh; so that the see of

York was administered by bishops who had been educated in this monastery, for sixty-seven years consecutively, (saving the intervals of S. Wilfrith's restorations). What was wanting to *Ælfflæd* of the authority of years, was supplied at first by the assistance of her mother, Queen *Eanflæd*, who had retired to *Strenæshalh* on her widowhood in 670, and afterwards by the counsels of *Trumwine*, Bishop of *Abercorn*, who fixed his abode there, when expelled from his diocese by the Picts. Of her history, during the thirty-four years of her motherly rule, we know but little; and that little is, as it were, but an occasional raising of a curtain, revealing scenes in which she usually plays but a secondary part, but is always the same grand character; "the venerable servant of Christ, *Ælfflæd*, who amid the joys of virginity, bestowed the care of motherly tenderness on many communities of handmaids of Christ, and grafted on the stock of royal nobility, the higher nobility of consummate virtue;" "the most reverend virgin, and mother of the virgins of Christ, *Ælfflæd*;" "*Ælfflæd*, the abbess, and most wise virgin, who is in truth a king's daughter;" "the blessed abbess *Ælfflæd*, always the comforter and most wise counsellor of the whole province." Thus do Ven. *Bæda* and *Œddi* speak of her.

In 683, we have the story, related by herself to *Herefrith*, a priest of *Lindisfarne*, and by him to Ven. *Bæda*, of the restoration to health of herself and one of her nuns, by means of a linen girdle sent to her by her friend, S. *Cuthberht*. In 684 she met S. *Cuthberht* on *Coquet isle*, by appointment, and consulted him on matters which might well be a source of anxiety to a daughter of *Oswiu*,—the life of her brother *Ecgrith*, and the succession to the throne,—and received from him the intimation, that within a year his throne would be filled by another, who was also her brother, (meaning *Aldfrith*, then an exile for the love of learning in the isle of *Hii*). In 686, (as she related the story to the monk of *Lindisfarne*, who has recorded it in his *Life of S. Cuthberht*), S. *Cuthberht* visited her at *Osingadun*, (now *Easington*, seven miles from *Whitby*), where a community of her monks was established, for the purpose of consecrating a church; on which occasion, whilst they were at dinner, he saw in spirit the departing soul of a brother of her monastery, and a messenger, sent thither, returned the next

morning with the intelligence of the death of a shepherd, Hathuwald, at that moment.

But for her friendship with S. Cuthberht we should not have known this little of her history; nor should we have known more, but for the influential position which she held in her native kingdom, and which occasioned her to come prominently forward in connexion with the troubled career of S. Wilfrith. To his history I now recur, with the view of bringing out some facts which are but obscurely alluded to by Æddi.

In several passages Æddi alludes to interference on behalf of S. Wilfrith, decrees in his favour, by Agatho and his successors in the Papacy, Benedict and Sergius being specified on almost every occasion. The proceedings of the synod over which Agatho presided in 679, the words of the decree, the facts of its being presented "*cum totius synodi consensu, cum bullis et sigillis signatis*," first to the king, then to his witan, and of its rejection, are fully recorded, but of the decrees of Benedict and of Sergius we have no record in the course of the history. With respect to that of Benedict we must note, that his election was July 3rd. 683, his consecration June 26th 684, and his death May 7th 685; and as in almost every instance, in which his action in these affairs is alluded to, he is qualified as "*electus*," his decree must have been sent in 683 or 4, before his consecration. There is no trace of any effect produced by this. It was not until 689, the last year⁴ of the life of S. Theodore, that he was reconciled to S. Wilfrith; but when he sought reconciliation, his motive is said to have been fear of the Apostolic See,⁵ so that he must have recently received a rescript from Sergius, whose elevation to the Chair of S. Peter was December 15th 687. Accordingly, when Æthelræd, King of Mercia, received S. Wilfrith in consequence of S. Theodore's letter to him, he is said to have acted in obedience to the authority of Agatho, Benedict, and Sergius.⁶

⁴ *Scio enim post hunc annum, appropinquans vite mee terminum, secundum Domini revelationem*," words attributed by Æddi to S. Theodore, (c. xlii). He died in 690.

⁵ "*Auctoritatem apostolicæ sedis, a qua missus erat, metu agitante honorificana*." (Æddi, c. xlii)

⁶ "*Propter auctoritatem beatissimo-*

rum pontificum, Agathonis scilicet et Benedicti Sergique." (*Ibid.*) From this mention of Sergius, and the allusion to the last year of S. Theodore's life, it follows that the second year of Aldfrith's reign, in which both Æddi and Ven. Pæda date S. Wilfrith's restoration, is a mistake for fifth, (ii for v, as if each had followed MS. authority in this particular),

S. Theodore wrote at the same time to Aldfrith, King of Northumbria, entreating him to restore S. Wilfrith to his rights, and to the Abbess Ælflæd, assuring her that she need have no hesitation in being cordially reconciled to him. Aldfrith at once invited him to return, restored to him first his monastery at Hexham, and then, after some interval, his episcopal see of York and his monastery of Ripon. The intruded bishops were deposed, Cæddi says ; but they were not the same as those who had been appointed eleven years before ; indeed great changes had taken place during the interval. In 679 Lindissi had been wrested from Ecgrith by Æthelræd, King of Mercia, and Eadhæd was expelled from his see. In 681, S. Theodore had made a still further division of the Northumbrian dioceses ; Deira had two sees, York and Ripon, and Bernicia two, Hexham and Lindisfarne ; and besides these, the south of Scotland, then subject to Ecgrith, was made a separate diocese. Eadhæd was appointed to Ripon, Tunberht to Hexham, Trumwine to the Pictish diocese, of which the see was fixed at Abercorn. At York Bosa died in 686, and was succeeded by S. John. At Hexham Tunberht was deposed in 685, succeeded by Eata of Lindisfarne, who, dying the same year, was succeeded by S. John, and he was translated to York in the following year. At Lindisfarne S. Cuthberht, who had been consecrated as successor to Tunberht at Hexham, became bishop on Eata's retiring in his favour, and accepting Hexham ; he died in 687, and Eadberht succeeded him after an interval of a year. From Abercorn Trumwine was expelled by the Picts in 685, and he retired to Strenæshalh, there to end his days. Thus the bishops who were deposed in 689 would be S. John of York, Eadhæd of Ripon, Eadberht of Lindisfarne, and S. John's successor at Hexham. Peace continued for five years, S. Wilfrith administering all his original diocese except Lindissi and the land of the southern Picts, which were no longer subject to the Northumbrian sceptre. At length the old quarrel revived, continued for some time, and culminated

and this makes the chronology of S. Wilfrith's life more satisfactory.

A.D. 678 Appeal to Rome.

679 Decree of Agatho in his favour.

684 Decree of Benedict in his favour.

689 Decree of Sergius in his favour.

Reconciliation and restoration.

694 Renewal of dissensions.

695 (or later) Second expulsion.

Appointment to the see of Lichfield in succession to Sexwulf, who died in 695.

701 Second decree of Sergius, citing S. Wilfrith and his enemies to Rome.

Synod of Austerfield.

704 S. Wilfrith's cause finally decided at Rome.

in S. Wilfrith's being banished again, in or after 695. Rome was again appealed to; and, although we are not made acquainted with the details, it is clear that rescripts must have come from Sergius in the last year of his pontificate, 701, citing S. Wilfrith and his opponents to appear at Rome. In evasion of these, and to obtain from S. Wilfrith a renunciation of his rights, Berhtwald, Archbishop of Canterbury, assembled a synod at Estrefeld (now Austerfield, on the borders of Yorkshire and Nottinghamshire, therefore of the kingdoms of Northumbria and Mercia), but S. Wilfrith persevered in his determination to maintain his cause at Rome, and there it was finally heard and decided in 704. But Aldfrith positively refused to receive him again within his dominions; nor, until mortal sickness attacked him, and he found himself at the point of death, would he entertain thoughts of reconciliation. Then, in the presence of the Abbesses Ælfflæd and Æthelburg, and of others who are not named, he avowed his determination to do full justice, if he should recover, and left this duty as a strict charge on his successor, if he should not. He died soon afterwards, A.D. 705; Eadwulf, who succeeded him, refused to ratify his intentions; but his nobles conspired against and slew him, after a reign of two months, and raised to the throne Aldfrith's son, Osred. Then Berhtwald assembled a synod on the banks of the Nid, and exhorted obedience to the decree of the Apostolic See; the three Northumbrian bishops (they could only be S. John, Eadhæd, and Eadfrith of Lindisfarne, Eadberht's successor), demurred, that they could not contravene the decree of the synod of Austerfield, at which almost every bishop of Britain had assisted; but Ælfflæd testified to the dying words of Aldfrith, and Berhtfrith, the guardian of the young king, professed the determination of his ward and of the nobility, to fulfil the intentions of their late master. Several conferences followed, of the bishops with the archbishop, and with Ælfflæd; eventually a compromise was made; the bishops, apparently, retained their sees, but the monasteries of Ripon and Hexham were restored to S. Wilfrith.

It is very probable that Ælfflæd assisted at the translation of the body of her friend S. Cuthberht in 698, for in the inventory of the relics of the Church of Durham, one of the linen cloths (outer envelopes of his body), which were taken from it in 1104, is described as "a linen cloth of a double

texture which had enveloped the body of S. Cuthberht in his grave; Elfred, the abbess, had wrapped him up in it." Moreover, I venture to give her credit for the stole and maniple which were found upon his remains in 1827, which were noticed amongst his other vestments in 1104, and which therefore must have been a part of the new vestments which, by order of Bishop Eadberht, replaced in 698⁷ those in which he was buried. On their reverse or inner side they bore the legend *ÆLFFÆD FIERI PRÆCEPIT PIO EPISCOPO FRIDESTANO*. But who was Frithestan? Here I must call attention to a passage in the story of S. Cuthberht's death related to Ven. Bæda by Herefrith, abbot of Lindisfarne. After saying that the brethren of his monastery were singing the verse of the fifty-ninth psalm: "O God Thou hast cast us off, and destroyed us; Thou wert angry and hast had pity on us," when the news of their bishop's death was brought to them, he continues:—"The issue of events showed that this was arranged by divine dispensation. For when the man of God was buried, such a blast of temptation" (or "trial") "shook that church, that many of the brethren preferred leaving the place to being exposed to such dangers. But, after a year, Eadberht, a man of great virtues, and eminently learned in the Scriptures, and very much given to works of almsdeeds, being ordained to the bishopric, the storms of disturbance being dispelled, the Lord, (to use the words of Scripture), built up Jerusalem,—and gathered together the scatterings of Israel." It seems to me most natural to understand these words as referring to some nomination to the bishopric on the part of the court, of some stranger who was distasteful to the brethren; and the eventual withdrawal of such nomination, and the choice of a person every way acceptable, as the calm which followed the storm.⁸ Thus we should have a person for whom *Ælffæd* might order these sumptuous ornaments to be made, and as they were not required for his consecration, and remained at her disposal, it might seem that they could not be better bestowed than by the adornment of the body of S. Cuthberht at its translation. Again,

⁷ "Nova" inquit "indumenta corpori, pro his que tulistis, circumdate, et sic reponite in theca quam parastis." (Vita S. Cuthb. xlii)

⁸ Ven. Bæda says that the see of Lindisfarne was administered during the

year by S. Wilfrith; but it is certain, as I have shown above, from Eddi's testimony, that S. Wilfrith was not allowed to return to Northumbria until the last year of S. Theodore's life, 689. In 687-8, therefore, he was occupied in Sussex.

there is the possibility that this Frithestan might be the unnamed bishop of Hexham, S. John's successor, and that he might retire to Lindisfarne on his deposition in 689, and there end his days.

The last trace we possess of our holy abbess is very interesting. It is contained in a letter,⁹ addressed by herself to an abbess, Adolana, whom Mabillon identifies with Adela or Addula, daughter of Dagobert II., King of Anstrasia, and foundress of a monastery at Pfalzel, near Treves, over which she presided for thirty-five years. To her charity Ælfflæd commends an abbess, her spiritual daughter from the days of her youth, who had long wished to make the pilgrimage to Rome, whom she had hitherto detained for the sake of the community of which she was superioress, but to whose persevering desire she had yielded at length. This letter must have been written shortly before her death, which occurred in 714; and the lady to whom it refers must have been Abbess of Heruteu or Hakanos, for we know not of any other over whom she could have authority. Her body was interred in the church of S. Peter, in her monastery of Strenæshalh, with those of her grandfather and her father and mother, where it is to be hoped that some memorial of them may yet be discovered.

The names of holy wells, such as S. Chad's at Lichfield, S. Kenelm's near Hales Owen, S. Winifrid's at Holywell, doubtless indicate local traditional connexion with these and other saints. The chapel¹⁰ at Hartlepool is dedicated to S. Hild; but the Blessed Virgin, S. Nicolas, (patron of mariners), and S. Helen,—each of whom had chantries in this chapel,—were associated with her, in old times, in the devotion of the Hartlepool people; and to S. Helen there seems to

⁹ Amongst the "Epistolæ S. Bonifacii." ciii. The greater number of these letters were written by S. Boniface and S. Lul, his successor, to the Popes their contemporaries, and to their friends in all parts of England. S. Boniface spent three years of his missionary career in assisting the Apostle of Friesland, S. Wilibrord, who had been one of S. Wilfrith's disciples at Ripon; and thus, probably, he became acquainted with our northern worthies. S. Lul completed his studies in the monastery of Jarrow, during the later years of the life of Ven. Bæda. Thus we find in this collection, letters from S. Boniface to Ecgberht, Archbishop

of York; Pethelm, Bishop of Whitheerne; and Cuthberht, Abbot of Jarrow; from Alhred and Osgifu, King and Queen of Northumbria; Cœna, Archbishop of York, and Cuthberht, Abbot of Jarrow, to S. Lul, and from him to the two last; besides others of which I shall have to speak in the sequel. Some letters of the series, written by Angles or Saxons, have no connection with the history of S. Boniface, and one or two were certainly written before his mission began, as was this of Ælfflæd.

¹⁰ Hartlepool is a chapelry in the parish of Hart.

have been a particular devotion, for there was another chapel dedicated to her, and there is a well, bearing her name, on the isthmus which connects Hartlepool with the mainland. This indicates a local connexion with S. Helen; and as it is not likely that the memory of the first foundress would be forgotten, and as it was usual, in the early days of Scottish Christianity, for ecclesiastical personages to have Latin names alliterating to their own,¹¹ I conclude that the Hartlepool S. Helen is no other than S. Heiu. This view is confirmed by remarkable traces of devotion to a S. Helen in the neighbourhood of her later foundation.

Coterminous with the parish of Tadcaster is the chapelry of Healaugh (anciently Helegh, and still pronounced Heeley); Healaugh Hall, close to the river, Healaugh Manor on the site of an ancient priory, about two miles north by east, and S. John's chapel, about a mile and a half farther. The final element in this name means of course "a district subject to jurisdiction" (*lag, lah, leag, leah, legli*), and in the initial it is easy to recognize the name of Heiu, so that Healaugh is really the "domain of Heiu." It is not improbable that the chapel, to the north-east of which there are considerable remains of ancient foundations, as well as the priory, stand on the sites of earlier buildings of S. Heiu's monastery; for the early monasteries were usually of great extent, embracing several churches and detached buildings at considerable distances apart; indeed, large as is the chapelry of Healaugh, it is small compared with the territories of some of these monasteries; and it is not in Healaugh itself, but in two parishes adjoining, that I find the traces of its foundress, of which I have spoken. In that of Wighill, the Roman road, Rudgate, crosses the river three miles above Tadcaster, at a place called S. Helen's ford, a little distance north of which stood S. Helen's chapel, in Leland's time. The chapel has disappeared, but "Chapel wood," by the side of the Rudgate, preserves its memory; and in a nook, hollowed out of a bank raised above the level of the meadows by the river side, is S. Helen's well. Twenty years ago the Rev. E. Peacopp, curate of Healaugh, informed me that shreds of linen were to be seen attached to the bushes which overhang this well, evidence that the country folk had still faith in its virtue. The

¹¹ Thus Cellach became Celsus, Dicul Flann Florentinus, Seachnall Secundinus, Deicola, Eilge Elias, Eochadh Eugenius, &c.

dedication of the church at Bilton, the parish which adjoins Healaugh on the north, preserves another remembrance of S. Helen.

In the course of digging a vault in the cemetery at Healaugh, many years ago, the broken tombstone, of which the figure is here given (Pl. I., 1), was found six feet below the surface. The design is very peculiar,—a composition of circles, all scratched slightly with a compass, and a cross roughly formed by triple lines. The inscription gives two names, disposed like those of

VER TORHT
MUND ET SUID

on one of the Hartlepool tombstones to be noticed in the sequel. The name to the left is MADUG,¹² certainly Celtic, and (whether it be British or Scottish) as certainly referring the antiquity of this monument to the seventh century, when some British population may be believed to have still remained in the not very distant territory of Elmete, and Scottish monks, at least before A.D. 664, formed a part of the community in many of the Northumbrian monasteries. The name to the right wants but one letter, (to correspond with those on the left), to complete HEIU, and thus confirms what I have advanced with regard to the locality of S. Heiu's latest settlement.

The cemetery of the ancient monastery at Heruteu was accidentally found in 1833, in digging for the foundations of houses in a field called Cross close, (and so perhaps retaining in its name a memorial of some monumental cross formerly standing therein), about 135 yards south-east of the ancient chapel of S. Hild, and almost due south of the ruins of the Friary; and additional traces of it were revealed in 1838 and 1843. At the depth of $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet from the surface, several skeletons, male and female, of tall stature, were found lying in rows on the surface of the limestone rock, in a direction nearly north and south. Small flat stones, from 4 to 5 inches square, were found lying under their heads, as it were pillows; and it is said that stones marked with crosses and inscribed were placed under some of them; but this I cannot believe;

¹² A S. Madoc is the patron of some churches in Wales; a Maedhog died Bishop of Ferns, A.D. 632. On account of the soft consonant terminating the

name, Madug may be regarded as having been more probably a Scot like the latter.

indeed, the very nature of the inscriptions contradicts it. There is reason to believe that more were found than can now be traced ; but the following is a correct list of all that are known to be in existence ;—

1. Fragments of a circular stone, marked with a cross and remains of an inscription HOC LOCO ——— REQUIESCIT.

2. A stone, marked with a cross of very peculiar form, each limb being graced with a glory, such as is found around the heads of holy personages on some early Northumbrian stone carvings and coins. The inscription below the transom of the cross is —GUGUID, (certainly for —GUSUID, for *swith* is very common as the final element in the names of women, whilst *guid* or *gwith* never occurs). The first letters of the name had been destroyed by an injury which must have been done to the stone whilst it was exposed to the air, since the same hard weather coating which covers the rest of the stone appears also in the hollow ; but there is no possible way of restoring what is lost, so as to get a true Angle name, other than BREGUSUID. The defacement of this name seems to have been compensated for at a later time, by an inscription above the transom, less deeply cut ; this was much injured at the time of the discovery, but is certainly to be read (ORA)TE P(RO) BREGUSUID (Pl. I., 2).

This stone was the latest found (October, 1843), and with it were two skeletons, the head of each resting on a plain stone about 5 inches square.

3. A stone, 11 inches square, with a cross and border incised, *AN* above the transom, and the name of a female, HILDITHRYTH, in runes, below (Pl. II., 1).

4. A stone, about the same size, with cross and border incised, *AN* as before, and the name of a female, BERCHTGVD (*Ib.*, 2).

5. A stone, about 8 inches by $6\frac{1}{2}$, with similar cross and border, and the name of a female, HILDDIGYTH, in runes. The second D is redundant, and the G, originally omitted, supplied above, its proper place indicated by a dot (*Ib.* 3).

6. A stone, about 9 inches by 8, with similar cross, but the border interrupted by the ends of the cross, and the name of a female, KANEGNEUB (*Ib.*, 4).

7. A stone, about $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches by $5\frac{1}{2}$, with cross and border in relief, and the name of a man, EDILUINI (*Ib.*, 5).

8. A stone, about $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches by 7, with cross detached

from its border, and an inscription requesting prayers for a man and a woman, ORA PRO UERMUND & TORHTSUID. (*Ib.* 6.)

9. A stone, nearly the same size, with a cross of different form detached from its border and in relief, and two inscriptions, requesting prayers for the persons commemorated by the two last, ORATE PRO EDILUINI . ORATE PRO UERMUND ET TORHTSUID. (*Ib.*, 7.)

Nothing else was found with these remains but a few pins and a needle of bone, which had probably fastened the habits of the departed, and several pieces of coloured glass, (in 1843).

I think the inscriptions on 7, 8, and 9 are conclusive proof that they were not buried, but were intended to be seen and read. It is interesting to compare them with that on a fragment, recovered by the Rev. Canon Greenwell, during the restoration of the church at Billingham, in Northumberland. This must have been about 12 inches by 10 when complete. It has a cross and Λ like 3. Below the transom was probably a name, and within the border all round was an inscription, of which the following restoration corresponds with the measurement, *Orate pro F(ratribus nostris et pro cunctis xp̄anis ho) minib'.*

The stone 2, distinct from all the rest in character, is apparently the earliest of the series. It is undoubtedly the memorial of Breguswith, the mother of S. Hild.

A particular interest attaches itself to 3 and 4, which must be the memorials of personages of distinction in the community, since they are so much larger than any of the rest. In a communication to the Geologic and Polytechnic Society of Yorkshire, April 29th, 1870, I called attention to the fact, that it was usual amongst our fathers for persons who had compound names, such as Hildithryth, to be known and called by the first element in those names, instancing such names as Cutha for Cuthwulf in the English Chronicle, Cuana for Conrad in the "Chronicon Scotorum." Hence I suggested the probability that Hildithryth, in the instance before us, might really be the full name of S. Hild, and this stone her memorial. I might have cited an instance more exactly to the point than the above, had I adverted to it at the time; Liobgyth, one of the disciples of S. Boniface, first a nun at Wimborne, then Abbess of Bischofsheim, who uses her full name in her correspondence with him, but whose Life

is written by Radulf of Fulda, under the shorter, *Lioba*. I had not then had an opportunity of referring to the "*Liber Vitæ*"¹³ of Lindisfarne, and so had not the advantage of being able to adduce the remarkable confirmation of my views, which I have since found in that invaluable record. The name of the great abbess of Heruteu and Strenæshalh would certainly not be omitted from its list of queens and abbesses. *Hild*, however, is not there, but *Hildithryth* is, in fol. 13 and 14; and that the former is the Hildithryth of our monument 3, may fairly be presumed, since it is followed by *Berchtyth*, the name on 4. Thus *Hildithryth* of the stone and of the "*Liber Vitæ*," called *Hild* by Ven. Bæda, is exactly parallel to *Leobgyth* of the Bonifacian correspondence, called *Lioba* by Radulf, her biographer.

Farther,—the mother of S. Hild is called *Breguswith* by Ven. Bæda, and I cannot doubt but that she had this name. But Florence of Worcester calls her *Beorhtswith*. Is it possible that she could have had both names successively, and so be known by some under one name, by others under the other? We have an instance of the kind; S. Liobgyth or Lioba was originally called *Thrythgifu* (the German form is

¹³ This MS. must have been written at Lindisfarne in the latter half of the ninth century, and interrupted by the invasion of the Danes, A.D. 875. For the latest names that can be identified, in the original writing on fol. 12, (devoted to kings and princes), are *Karlus*, (probably Charlemagne), *Custantin* and *Uoenan*, (Kings of the Picts, A.D. 853 and 871); and immediately before *Uoenan* are *Ælfred*, (of Wessex), and *Beorn* and *Egbert*, (the latter King of Bernicia, A.D. 867, the former doubtless the traitor Buern, who, as I believe, was made King of Deira at the same time). It is quite clear that it is not a transcript of an earlier register of the same form. On the contrary, it presents strong internal evidence that it was compiled from various documents; and these, I believe, were lists of persons commended to the prayers of the brethren of Lindisfarne, in letters from other monasteries, from time to time. For there are several repetitions of groups of names, (pairs and triplets), which can only be accounted for by the supposition, that they were included in more than one list, communicated by different writers; and there is one group of five names of women amongst the "queens and abbesses" on

fol. 14, repeated amongst the "monks" on fol. 40. Then there is the name of a woman, *Ebbe*, amongst the "monks" on fol. 40 b; and her name is followed by *Uulfheard*, a name which immediately precedes the above-mentioned group of five. Evidently these names formed part of lists, comprising names of men and women; different lists containing the same names in part; and in these instances the scribe has registered the names of women in the wrong category. With these proofs that he did not always arrange his materials in their proper order, we must not be surprised to find that the names are not always in strict chronological sequence. Thus many names intervene between that of King *Osberht*, (sl. A.D. 867), and those of *Ælfred*, *Beorn*, and *Egbert*; and *Osgoof*, the Queen of Alhred, (A.D. 768), is named last amongst the "queens and abbesses," preceded by the names of several who lived later. In my "Essay on the Coins of the Danish Kings of Northumbria," I have attributed a coin with the legend *BARNRED RE* to the traitor Buern. It is very remarkable that we find on fol. 12 not only *Beorn Egbert*, but also *Beornud Egbert*, another instance of repetition, probably.

Trutgeba), and doubtless was known by this name amongst her earliest friends. So I would answer this question affirmatively, and with all the more confidence, when I find in the "*Liber Vitæ*" these three names in succession, *Berchtswith*, *Hildithryth*, *Berctgyth*. Berchtgyth must have been a successor of S. Hild, perhaps just after Ælfflæd, (who is also named in the "*Liber Vitæ*," but in an earlier place, amongst the royal family). I believe she was the writer of two amongst the Bonifacian epistles (cxxxix. and cxl.). They were addressed to Balthard, apparently one of the band of missionaries who had left their homes, and were evangelizing Germany, under the auspices of S. Boniface. In the first letter (cxl.) she says, "I am left alone, deprived of the help of all my kindred.—Many gatherings together of waters are between me and thee, yet let us be united in love. I ask thee, my best beloved brother, either to come to me or contrive that I may come and see thee before I die." In the second (cxxxix.) she acknowledges the receipt of a letter from her brother by the hands of one Aldred, who is also the bearer of her reply. She again urges him to come and visit her; calls to mind how she had been abandoned in youth by all her friends; says she can remain contentedly where she is, if he will but gratify her wish; but, if not, expresses her determination to go and end her days where the bodies of her parents rest.

The mention of the bearer of this letter affords a clue to the date, for it appears that Aldred had come from Germany, and returned thither, bearing another letter of this series from Ingalice to Lul (ciii.); and, as S. Lul is addressed as deacon, it was probably not long after his ordination in 732. One expression in the first letter disposes me to identify the writer with our Berchtgyth, "many gatherings together of waters are between me and thee." This is a thought which would be constantly present to one who lived on the coast; whereas one who lived inland would think rather of provinces to be traversed, than of seas to be crossed; as when S. Liobgyth writes from Wimborne to S. Boniface, she does not speak of the sea, but of the "long interval of places" which separated her from him.

So many skeletons were found without memorial stones, that we may presume that they who were thus distinguished

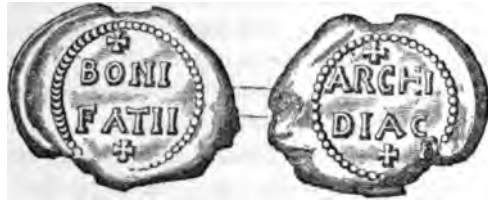
were priests or prioresses in the monastery. However, we can say nothing about them, beyond noticing the fact that Hildigyth is one of a series of five names which occurs twice in the "*Liber Vitæ*."¹⁴

In these memorials Hartlepool has spoken to some purpose, but I have waited many years for a voice from Whitby. The silence is broken at last, and, although other than I had anticipated, the utterance is very interesting. From the south side of the abbey a short slope leads to the edge of the cliff; and diggings, extending over twenty years, on the slope and at the foot, which was once washed by the tide, have revealed the fact, that the denizens of the original monastery were wont to throw the refuse of their kitchen over the cliff, the lighter matters remaining on the upper ledges, the heavier rolling to the bottom. The space covered by this midden must have been very great, many tons of bones having been carted away for manure at different times, and as much as seven feet thickness of bones having been observed beneath the foundation of walls. Unfortunately there has been no one to exercise systematic supervision of the operations there carried on; and it is to be feared that many objects, which would have been of great interest to us, have been destroyed or buried again. To Mr. Francis K. Robinson I am indebted for the knowledge of what has been discovered, since his attention has been particularly drawn to the spot.

On the upper shelves of the cliff, the deposit consisted of birds' bones, and oyster, whelk, and periwinkle shells; amongst which was found the comb with Runic inscription, and a piece of iron like a nail beaten flat, some years ago; and, last year, (by Mr. Robinson and a friend), another comb with two sets of teeth, finely cut. At the foot of the cliff the deposit consists chiefly of bones of oxen, with very large skulls and teeth, mixed with which are a few skulls and other bones of sheep, one or two horns of goats, and quantities of bones and large tusks of wild swine. Amongst these have been recently found three pothooks of thick flat iron; two flat iron rings $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches diameter; a double meat-hook; a scraper of iron with a dowel for attachment to a

¹⁴ On fol. 14 and fol. 40, as above noticed, the names are *Cynithryth*, *Uilburg*, *Hildigith*, *hadu*, *Eardgyth*.

wooden handle; a small shovel, so much battered that its use could only be guessed with some difficulty; several bottoms of coarse pots, and one which was complete when discovered, but broken in pieces by children whilst the labourers were at dinner; half a glass bead spotted inside with yellow; several square pieces of jet, and one oblong flat piece begun to be bored at each end; a hemispherical knob of bone $\frac{3}{4}$ inch radius, ornamented with two rows of small circles, and pierced through the centre (apparently a spindle wheel); a brown curved horn with point sawn off, above 9 inches long and 4 diameter at the base, weighing $30\frac{1}{2}$ ounces, and having a partition inside, showing that it was intended to contain two kinds of material (probably inks for writing); two styles of bone about 6 inches long, pointed at one end, and spoon-shaped, but flat at the other, apparently intended for writing on wax tablets; and the leaden bulla here figured.



This bulla bears the name and title of an Archdeacon Boniface; and there can be no doubt that it belonged to, and was attached to some document sealed by, the only person of that name who is connected with our history.

The archdeacon was the "hand and eye" of the bishop, his vicar-general in the decision of all appeals, and in the management of temporal affairs. He was also the instructor of the inferior clergy; they frequented his house as a school of learning and piety; and it was his office to certify to the bishop, the fitness of all those who were to be promoted to the order of priesthood. So, when S. Wilfrith, as an aspirant to holy orders, went to Rome in 654, it was not by accident, but as a matter of course, that he became acquainted with, that "he found a friend and teacher in, Boniface the Archdeacon, who was also the counsellor of the Apostolic

Pope," by whom he was perfectly taught the four gospels, the true computation of Easter, and other rules of church discipline, and then presented to the Pope, Martin I.

Thirty-one years later we find the same office held by a person of the same name. Boniface, the counsellor of Benedict II., was employed in vain to convert Macarius, who had been deposed from the see of Antioch for heresy, in order that he might be restored to that see, in succession to Theophanes, in 685.

I have entered at some length into the history of S. Wilfrith, and the part which the abbesses of Strenæshalh played in his affairs, with a view to account for the finding of a bulla of this archdeacon at Whitby. It appears to me that there were two occasions on which it might be brought thither, but the later far more probable than the earlier. I have noticed the presence, at the synod of 664, of an eminent Roman priest, who was afterwards Pope. He would of course be provided with proper credentials, and these would be signed and sealed by the archdeacon, as head of the clergy of Rome. Again, as the procurator of the Abbess of Strenæshalh appeared at Rome in 679, along with the procurator of the Archbishop, in opposition to S. Wilfrith, the decrees of Agatho, Benedict, and Sergius, in his favour, would be addressed to both; and as Benedict was merely "electus," his decrees would be sealed by the archdeacon as the highest authority at the time. These were probably disregarded, as they were certainly ineffectual; and so that which was addressed to the abbess would be lost, and find its way into the kitchen-midden, which has faithfully preserved for us the only relics we possess of the early history of this monastery.¹⁵

I have now to notice three fragments of a memorial cross

¹⁵ The Commendatore de Rossi, the highest authority on matters of Christian Roman antiquity, consulted by a mutual friend with regard to this bulla, replies:—"The seal of Boniface the Archdeacon is interesting, and the many *bullæ* of lead that we know, agree very well with the conjecture, that this Boniface belongs to the times of S. Wilfrith. The letters on the *bullæ*, their regular disposition in two lines, and the two crosses, all conspire to induce me to put it nearer to the seventh century than the ninth, wherefore I hope

you mean the S. Wilfrith, who died A.D. 709, and not a later saint of the same name, belonging to a later part of the same century." (I suppose my friend had not specified which I meant, but the reader will see that De Rossi's views and mine are the same.) "I have not arranged in order the leaden seals of this class; so I will not venture to say that this specimen is altogether unknown or inedited; but I do not think I shall come across any copy of it."

which are preserved in the chancel of S. Peter's chapel at Ilackness, relics of S. Hild's latest foundation.

The uppermost fragment has a scroll on the southern side, and a knot on the northern, of the same character as those on the cross at Bewcastle, and others in Northumbria. On the other sides are inscriptions in Latin, but so disfigured by blunders, as to make it evident that the writer did not understand the language. In the first, *ET* at the end of the first line, and *GA* at the end of the second, cannot otherwise be completed, than by restoring the name *HVAETBVRGA*. In the two next lines, the lacunæ between the second and fourth letters show that the flaw, which encroaches on both lines, was there before the inscription was cut. The first *M* in the fifth has two scores across it, and the first *M* in the sixth a superfluous score at the foot, which would be embarrassing if the inscription were not so plain. Making the obvious corrections, *N* for *M* in the fourth line, *A* for *R* in the seventh, suppressing a redundant *M* in the sixth, and supplying *R* in the seventh, I read the whole :—

*HVAETBVRGA SEMPER TENENT MEMORES DOMVS TVAE TE MATER
AMANTISSIMA.*

"Huætburg! thy houses always remember thee most loving mother." (Pl. III. 1.) The evident blunders in this prepare us to expect similar blunders in the other. It is very much defaced, and we cannot hope to be able to restore it with anything like the certainty we should have, in dealing with an inscription correctly written. It will be observed that the writing changes after the fourth line, as if it had been continued by an inferior hand. In the first line we have certainly the name *OEDILBVRGA*; and to the end of the fourth the restoration is indubitable. Then reading *t* for *s* and *o* for *d* in the ninth line, and supplying an *e* in the fifth, I propose to restore the whole as follows :

*OEDILBVRGA BEATA AD SEMPER TE RECOLANT MOERENTES PIE
DEPOSCANT REQUIEM VERNANTEM IN NOMINE XPI MATER VENE-
RABILIS.—LICA.*

"Blessed Æthilburg! for ever may they remember thee, dutifully mourning, may they ask (for thee) verdant rest in the name of Christ, venerable mother." (Pl. III. 2.)—*LICA*, which follows, is separated by a line, and is therefore the

beginning of another memorial,—to *Cuoemlicu*, who is named amongst the “queens and abbesses” in the “*Liber Vitæ*,” or to some other whose name ended in *licu*, (but it is to be observed that such names are extremely rare, and that the “*Liber Vitæ*” presents no other instance of this class). The second fragment has, on one side, the bust of a female figure, over which is a line of letters, which I restore, BVGGA, and on the other, two lines of ordinary, and four of cryptic, runes, followed by ORA(TE). The other sides are defaced. (Pl. III. 4.) The lowest fragment is also defaced on the north; on the south there are the lower extremities of two monsters; on the east an inscription in four lines, in characters apparently analogous to the Celtic Ogham; and on the west TRECE(AB)OSA ABBATISSA OEDILBYRGA ORATE P(RO NOBIS). (Pl. III. 3.)

As the monastery of Hacanos was dependent upon that of Strenæshall, there can be no difficulty in identifying Cethilburg with the abbess Æthelburg who accompanied Ælflæd to Driffeld on her visit to her dying brother Aldfrith, in 705, and whose name follows Ælflæd's in the “*Liber Vitæ*.” In that record, amongst the “queens and abbesses,” the first and second are the two wives of Oswiu, *Ræcumaeld*, (called by Nennius *Riimmelth*¹⁶ daughter of Rum), and *Eanfled*; the third is *Iurminburg*, the wife of Ecgfrith; the sixth is *Cuthburg*, the wife of Aldfrith; and *Ælfled* and *Æthilburg* intervene between the two last. John of Wallingford has two notices of an *Ethelburga*, daughter of Aldwulf, king of the East Angles,¹⁷ and therefore great-niece of S. Hild, with whom I confidently identify our Æthilburg. He says that she was first an anchoress, and afterwards compelled to undertake the charge of a monastery. Her relationship to S. Hild doubtless led to her being so chosen.

I have noticed above a letter of Ælflæd to Adolana, com-

¹⁶ The IE, in this form of the name, doubtless represents the diphthong Æ, which was written with the A stroke parallel to the E, occasionally, at all times down to the time of William Rufus. Thus *Ræmmelth* was written RIEMMELD in the earlier record from which Nennius compiled his genealogical notes, about A.D. 825.

¹⁷ “*Eathelwold frater Aldulfi patris Sanctæ Ethelburgæ virginis. Fuit iste Eathelwoldus filius sororis Sanctæ Hild*

nomine Hereswith.” “*Eidemsancto* (Guthlaco) contemporanea Ethelburga Eadulfi regis filia quæ primo anachoreticam vitam in virginitate sanctâ duxit. Postmodum vero exigentibus causis necessariis a loco suo extracta abbatissæ nomen accepit et vices ad implevit. Nam sanctimonialium multarum cuneis præposita in virginitate permanens vitam presentem terminavit. Eratque Eadulfus frater Ethelwoldi filii sororis Sanctæ Hildæ de Witebi, nomine Hereswit.”

mending to her charity an abbess, her spiritual daughter, on her way to Rome. Two other letters in the same collection, taken in connexion with this, seem to give us her name, and a little farther insight into her history. The first of these (xxxiii.) is written by an abbess Ecgburg, whom I confidently identify with another daughter of Aldwulf, (and so sister of Æthilburg), who sent a linen winding sheet and a leaden coffin to S. Guthlac, before the year 715;¹⁸ and I think she may be the same as the abbess whose name is recorded in the "*Liber Vitæ*," fol. 13 b. It is addressed to S. Boniface, under his original name Wynfrith, and designates him abbot; it was, therefore, written whilst he was Abbot of Nutshell, during the interval between his first and second missions to Germany, A.D. 717-8. She expresses her desire to see him in the following terms: "The tempest-tossed mariner does not so much long for the haven,—the thirsty fields do not so much desire the showers,—the mother does not so anxiously wait for her son on the winding shore, as I desire to enjoy the sight of you;" and the last of these metaphors, to say nothing of the first, is one which could only have occurred to a person, whose residence near the coast had afforded her opportunities of witnessing what she alludes to. She tells him that he had taken the place, in her affections, of her brother and his friend Oshere; and after many expressions of the sorrow she still continued to feel in the remembrance of his death, which had happened many years before, she goes on to speak of another more recent trouble. "After that Wetburg, my most dear sister, (with whom I grew up, with whom I was nursed at one breast, and had one mother of us both in the Lord), as it were inflicting a wound, and renewing my grief, vanished from my eyes and left me,—everywhere is sorrow.—Before that unforeseen, not bitter death, but more bitter division, separated us, one from another, her as I believe happy, from me unhappy, knowing how much I loved her, how much I cherished her, she permitted me to keep,¹⁹ as it were, a certain deposit (for her) for this life; and now, as I hear, a prison confines her in the Roman city." The letter concludes with a sentence, in which one Ealdberht, evidently her amanuensis,

¹⁸ As recorded in the *Life of S. Guthlac*, by Felix.

¹⁹ The text of the letters is very cor-

rupt. In the present instance I read *servare* for *servire*.

reminds S. Boniface of their plighted friendship, and requests his prayers. We shall meet with this person in the same capacity some years later.

The other letter, (xxxii.), is from S. Boniface as bishop, therefore after A.D. 723, to the abbess Bugge, daughter of Centwine, King of the West Saxons, and an early friend of his. She had asked his advice about making a pilgrimage to Rome, and he replies: "I presume, neither to forbid, nor boldly to advise, a pilgrimage, but I will say what seems good to me. If you have resigned the charge which you had of the servants and handmaids of God, and the monastic life, for the sake of quiet and the contemplation of God, why should you now, with toil and tedious solicitude, be subservient to the words and wishes of seculars? However, if you cannot on their account, have the freedom of a quiet mind in your own country, it seems better that you should gain liberty of contemplation by a pilgrimage, if you wish and can arrange it, as our sister Wetburg did, who has intimated to me by her letters, that she has found just such a quiet life as she long desired and sought, at the threshold of S. Peter." It appears, then, from these three letters,—of Ælflæd, about A.D. 714; Ecgburg, 717-8; and S. Boniface after 723,—that Hwætburg had entertained the desire of a pilgrimage to Rome long before she was enabled to gratify it; that she had resigned her charge, (for so only can I understand the phrase, "she permitted me to keep a certain deposit for her"), into the hands of Ecgburg, who was her sister, not only naturally, ("nourished at the same breast"), but in religious profession also, ("one mother of both in the Lord"); that she had gone to Rome, and although she met with some persecution, and was even imprisoned, had eventually obtained what she desired, that leisure for contemplation which the cares of her monastery did not allow her at home. The chain of circumstances which enable us to identify her with the Hwætburg of Hackness is very complete: Æthelburg and Ecgburg are sisters, daughters of Aldwulf, and great-nieces of S. Hild; Ecgburg and Hwætburg are sisters; Æthilburg and Hwætburg are commemorated on this monument, the former as deceased, the latter as absent, and both would be, (if contemporary with her), spiritual daughters of Ælflæd; an abbess Æthilburg is associated with Ælflæd in the "Life of S. Wilfrith" and in the "Liber Vitæ," and a

pilgrimage to Rome is long wished for, and eventually made, by a spiritual daughter of Ælflæd, and by Hwætburg, (the dates corresponding); and Ecgburg, whose first charge had been the monastery of Repton in Derbyshire, speaks of having succeeded her sister Hwætburg, and uses a metaphor which suggests the idea that her new abode was near to the sea, as Hackness is. The memorial of Hwætburg and Ælflæd's letter, united, form a beautiful testimony to her character, her fidelity in guiding the souls committed to her charge, and the affection with which they regarded her. As she probably died at Rome, it is not strange that her name does not occur in the "Liber Vitæ."

Besides the abbess Bugge, to whom a letter above cited was addressed, whose return from Rome and relationship to himself are mentioned in a letter from Æthelberht, King of Kent, to S. Boniface, and whose death Bregowine, Archbishop of Canterbury, reports in a letter to S. Lul, about A.D. 760, another lady of the name appears in this collection of letters, and there are several circumstances which render it probable, that she might be the person who is named in the single line inscription, on the second fragment.

The letter, (xxx.), is addressed to S. Boniface before A.D. 723, (since he is merely styled "priest"), by an abbess *Cangith* and her only daughter *Heaburg*, surnamed *Bugge*. Now the name of this abbess is of a form so unusual, that I have hitherto met with but two others that at all resemble it. The first is *Kanebad*, an abbess of royal lineage, to whom Denewald, Lul, and Burghard addressed a letter, (xxxv.), calling themselves her children and servants, and announcing their arrival in Germany from England, about A.D. 732; and as S. Lul went thither from Jarrow, (we know nothing of the origin of Denewald or S. Burghard, the first Bishop of Wurzburg), it is most probable that she was an abbess of some northern monastery. The same Denewald is called by the abbess Cangith her "necessary friend," so that these two ladies are connected, not only by similarity of name, but by their relations with him. Now, as it was usual, amongst our Angle and Saxon forefathers for members of a family to have names resembling one another,²⁰ it is not unlikely that

²⁰ Ex: gr: *Osac*, *Osaf*, *Oswald*, *Oswiu*, *Oswudu*, sons of Æthelfrith of Northumbria; *Æthelberht*, *Æthelræd*, *Æthelthryth*, *Eormenbergh*, *Eormenburgh*, *Eormengyth*,

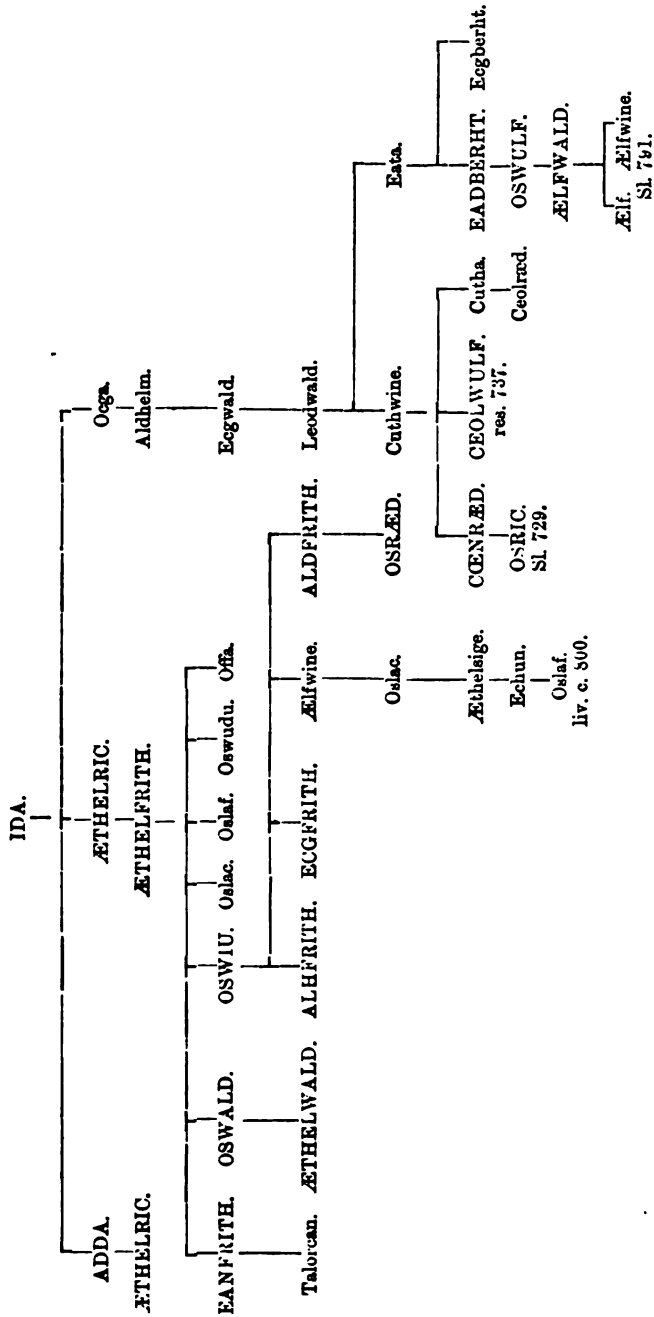
children of Eormenræd of Kent; *Cynceburg*, *Cyncewith*, daughters of Penda of Mercia; *Milbury*, *Milgyth*, *Mithryth*, daughters of Penda's son Merewald.

these ladies, with names so unusual, yet so like, were sisters. The other, presumably another sister, or the mother of both, connects them with S. Hild's group of monasteries, for her memorial stone, inscribed *Kanegneub*, was found at Hartlepool. If Kanebad and Kanegyth were thus related, they were both of royal lineage, and Kanegyth's letter affords an indication of the family to which they belonged. She says, "we have neither son nor brother, father nor uncle, but an only daughter, entirely bereft of all who were dear to her in this world, except her very aged mother, and an only sister of hers, and a son of their brother, and he, without any fault of his own, is much distressed on her account, and because the king hates his family exceedingly." Hence it appears that the royal family to which she belonged was represented in the male line only by her nephew, and that the throne was occupied by another line, the representative of which regarded their family with hostile feelings. This could be said of Northumbria only, when her letter was written. Osræd, who died in 716, was the last king of the line of the descendants of Æthelric, son of Ida. Cœnræd, who succeeded him, was descended from Osga, another son of Ida; and as Osric, who succeeded him in 718, and was reigning when this letter was written, named Ceolwulf, Cœnræd's brother, as his successor, he must have been of the same line, if not Cœnræd's son. But the line of Æthelric's descendants was not extinct, for Nennius has preserved four generations of descent from Oswiu's youngest son Ælfwine, and one of these, Æthelsige or Echun, might be the nephew of whom Kanegyth speaks.²¹

She was then Northumbrian, and she gives us indications of the situation of her monastery. Like Ecgburg, she makes use of a metaphor, which shows that she was familiar with the sea, and lived near the coast. She says, "we are assailed by the tumult of secular affairs, like the foaming waves of the sea, which sweep over and dash against the rocks, when the violence of winds and the fury of the storm drive the swelling tide, and the keels of the boats are turned upwards, and the mast of the ship is cast downwards." An abbess of Heruteu, Strenæshalh, or Hacanós, might well have

²¹ The following scheme (p. 379) exhibits all the posterity, in the male line, of the three sons of Ida who are known

to have left issue, distinguishing by capitals those who reigned in Northumbria.



written thus ; but when she names, amongst the causes of her distress, her poverty on account of the confined limits of the pasture land of her estate, we have a condition which is better fulfilled by the last, a narrow valley enclosed by steep hills, than by either of the others. Then the second name of her daughter is one which occurs on the Hackness monument ; and the first, *Heaburg*, is registered in the "*Liber Vitæ*," fol. 136.²²

The letter sets before us the nature of the troubles which oppressed Ecgburg, and prompted Hwætburg to seek retirement at Rome ; the responsibility attached to the guidance of so many souls of both sexes, the difficulty of reconciling dissensions, which were continually arising amongst her monks, and poverty. Added to these the hostility of the king, and the loss of that support which she might have had from her family, had long prompted in her the desire to seek rest and retirement at Rome, where many of her friends and relations had found it, and having at length found in S. Boniface a friend in whom she could confide, she proceeds to consult him on the subject.

The inscription on the lowest fragment commemorates three persons, Trecea and Bosa, whose rank does not appear, but who were probably abbots, since Æthilburg, who follows, is an abbess. The name Trecea has only once occurred to me, as that of a person acknowledging the receipt of a letter from S. Lul, and establishing with him a communion of mutual prayer.²³ I venture to identify him with our Trecea, because his amanuensis appears to be the same as the writer of Ecgburg's letter, nearly forty years before. In the interval, and long before the writing of this letter, this Aldberht had been ordained deacon, and apparently had been made an abbot, for he begs to be admitted, with his *familia*, into the number of the bishop's friends. An abbot-priest of this name is registered in the "*Liber Vitæ*," second after

²² There are several instances of persons having two names, and appearing sometimes under the one, sometimes under the other. Thus Ven. Bæda, in his *Life of S. Cuthberht*, tells a story on the authority of Bishop Trumwine ; and the same story is presented in the *Life* by an anonymous monk of Lindisfarne, on the authority of Bishop Tuma. The *English Chronicle* and Florence of Worcester

name Æthelberht as the successor of Ecgburht in the see of York ; but Florence, in his list of bishops, puts Cerna in his place, and under this name he appears as the correspondent of S. Lul, (Epist. S. Bonifacii, cxviii., cxxi.) We do not find the name of Æthelberg, the Queen of Eadwine, in the *Liber Vitæ*, but we find instead her other name *Tatæ*.

²³ Epist. S. Bonifacii, cvii.

Botwine, (probably of Ripon, deceased A.D. 786), who received and replied to a letter from S. Lul at the same time,

Of Bosa I can say nothing, save that an abbot of this name is registered in the "*Liber Vitæ*" immediately after *Wulfhæth*, (of Beverley, deceased A.D. 773), *Adlberht* (of Ripon, deceased A.D. 787), and *Alchuini*, (their cotemporary, the friend of Charlemagne).

The *Æthilburg* who occurs in this connexion must have been later than the subject of our first notice above; and we find a second *Ethilburg* in the "*Liber Vitæ*," three lines above *Heaburg*.

This inscription concludes with a request for prayers; and as it does not precede the names, as at Hartlepool, I think it most probable that these persons were living, concurred in the erection of this monument, (supposing that the three fragments belong to one cross), to *Æthilburg*, *Hwætburg*, *Cwæmlicu* (?), and perhaps others, and requested prayers for themselves. The same must be the character of the inscription, partly in ordinary, partly in cryptic runes, followed by the word *Orate* (Pl. III., 4).

In the first line of this we have a cross and MMC. Of these neither the Rev. J. T. Fowler nor I have any doubt. The next two, I think, are confused by an accidental stroke, like that across the first M; I read them NN. The next may have been either R or Æ. The last is clearly Æ. At the beginning of the second line there is a rune of a peculiar form, which I have not seen elsewhere; it is most like the G of a futhorc in the S. Gallen MS. 270. The next is distinctly N, and is followed by W or R, and S, (disfigured by an accidental score). Then there is a defaced rune of which I can make nothing, then Æ distinct, and then perhaps A.

The inscription in cryptic runes is unique in this country; but a notice in the S. Gallen MS. 270, shows that this kind of writing, based on the futhorc, was recognised amongst the Teutonic peoples of Germany in the ninth century; as a similar system, based on the Norse futhorc, was in Scandinavia. Its principle is this: that the original futhorc was divided into classes, each consisting of eight runes; and that for simple runes other signs were substituted, each representing the class to which the rune belonged, and its position in the class, by numerically corresponding marks. Thus, (using Roman numerals for the classes, and Arabic for the runes),

the futhorc may be expressed,—I. 1 to I. 8, II. 1 to II. 8, III. 1 to III. 8, IIII. 1 to IIII. 8. The manuscript in question specifies five distinct kinds of fancy writing, of which the first four are as follows :—

1. *Iis-run*a, in which each rune is expressed by a group of long and short I, (*Iis*), the number of short ones denoting the class to which the rune belongs, and that of long ones its rank in the class. (This may be varied by using the long ones for the class, and the short ones for the rank.)

2. *Lago-run*a, differing only from the last in employing the rune *Lago* instead of *Iis*.

3. *Stof-run*a, in which the rank of the rune in its class is denoted by a number of dots, and the class by others placed above them (or *vice versâ*).

4. *Hahal-run*a, in which the class is marked by branches to the left, and the rank by others to the right, of a stem.

The word CORUI is given as an example, written in each way,—

I. 6, III. 8, I. 5, I. 2, II. 3 (see Pl. III. 5).

and as this shows that III. 8 had the *o* sound and so was *othil*, we see that the writer had the German futhorc in view, not the English, in which it was *æthel* or *éthel*, and had the *æ* or *é* sound. The MS. is of the ninth century ; our monument is certainly of the eighth, and so is the earliest evidence of this kind of writing.

Much later than these, the same principle is found at work in Scandinavia ; and as the Scandinavian futhorc cannot have been derived from ours, nor from the German, nor from the Gothic, at any period to which our history reaches, so neither can I believe that the Norse people borrowed this peculiar kind of writing. On the contrary, I regard it as a part of their common inheritance from the very ancient time when the ancestors of the races were one family. Now, as the Norse futhorc consists of three classes, six runes in the first, and five in each of the others, their writing of this kind would be I. 1 to I. 6, II. 1 to II. 5, III. 1 to III. 5.

But it is a curious fact, that we have III. 6 in some Norse inscriptions, and this is inconsistent with the Norse futhorc, which extends only to III. 5 ; so that the idea is suggested that the order of the classes might be fancifully inverted, the third becoming first, and the first third. This, Professor

Stephens discerned, and he has successfully read inscriptions in varieties of the *Hahal-runa* at Maeshowe in Orkney, *ARLICR, DISAR RUNAR*, (Pl. III. 6 and 7), and one in *Iis-runa* at Rotbrunna in Sweden, *NIRICR* (Pl. III. 8).

This seems to have been a Norse development of the older system, with a view to puzzling. Clearly it was not known to the writer of the S. Gallen MS. ; had it been, he would certainly have noticed it. I make this remark, because it will greatly facilitate the reading of inscriptions of this kind, if any should be found hereafter in our old Northumbria ; but I see clearly that the present inscription consists of nothing but unconnected letters, as does the inscription in ordinary runes, above it. It belongs to the *Hahal-runa* class.

The first character in the first line is III. 8, *Stun*, *st* ; or, (if the lowest left hand branch be accidental), III. 8, *Ethel*, *æ*. The rest in this line are too much defaced to allow me to say to which class, or member of class, any one of them belongs.

In the second line we have III. 2, *Beorc*, *b* ; II. 4, *Gear*, *o* ; III. 8, *æ* ; II. 1, *Hægel*, *h* ; II. 5, *Ih*, *i* ; II. 4, *o* ; III. 2, *b* ; and indistinct traces of three others.

In the third, III. 2, *b* ; four others indistinct ; III. 8, *æ* ; III. 2, *b* ; II. 4, *o* ; III. 3, *Eh*, *e*.

Of those in the fourth line I can say nothing.

Amongst the old Northern inscriptions, collected by Professor Stephens, we have two examples composed partly of full words, partly of initials, but this stands alone. We cannot, however, be at a loss as to its significance. In the inscription last discussed we had the names of priests, (perhaps abbots), and an abbess,—a learned class,—written in a language and in characters not native but foreign ; here we have the initials of the names of simple members of the community, written in their native runes, all concurring in the erection of this monument. The concluding *Orate* shows that the intention of each is the same.

The inscription on the eastern side of the lowest fragment (Pl. IV. 1), is the most interesting of all, because it seems to be, and most probably is, a variety of that writing which is found most frequently in Ireland, but of which several examples have occurred in Wales, four in Scotland, and two in England.

This system of writing, the only one of which there is any trace in Ireland previous to the introduction of the abecedarium by S. Patrick, is said to have been invented by Ogma, son of King Elatan, of the Tuatha De Danann race. It differs from every other known system in these respects ; that it is written, on stone monuments, upwards, like a tree springing from its root, and usually with a stem, represented by the edge of the stone, or by a raised ridge, or by an incised line ; that it is composed of classes, each of five signs, formed by strokes, varying in number from one to five ; that the first five branch off to the right, the second to the left, the third cross the stem obliquely, the fourth are shorter crossing strokes, or simple notches or dots, and the fifth, (rarely seen in inscriptions), are of composite forms (Pl. IV. 2). As in the Hebrew alphabet and the Teutonic futhorc, each sign has a significant name ; but, whereas in those systems the names are those of a variety of objects, in this they all belong to trees, and together form nearly a complete list of trees indigenous to the British isles. From these peculiarities, the following conclusions necessarily follow :—that it must have been founded on another simpler system, as the *Iis-run*a and *Hahal-run*a were based on the futhorc ; that it must have originated in a country lying within the same degrees of latitude as Ireland ; that its inventors were a race amongst whom trees were objects of special veneration, as were the Druids of Gaul, Britain, and Ireland ; and that they were a people sufficiently numerous and powerful to have established their own literature in Ireland, and to have imposed on the trees of the country the names of their own letters. Farther, on ancient MS. authority, we know that the scores to the right of the stem were called the left hand, and those to the left the right ; and this shows the origin of the division into groups of five. The left hand, spread before one, gives successively one to five fingers representing the first group ; the right, similarly, gives the second group ; the union of both the third ; and as these are all the consonants, they were probably the original scale. The placing the vowels in a class by themselves seems like an after-thought, and the similar grouping of diphthongs in the fifth class, another, later still. From the order of the first characters this system is named *beithluisnion*, as *alphabet* and *futhorc* designate the Classical and Teutonic systems.

The inscriptions of this class, chiefly in the south-west of Ireland, exhibit the Irish language in a very much earlier stage than the oldest MSS., and even than the oldest monuments of Romanesque writing. The forms of the words on the Ogham monuments of Wales and Devonshire are exactly the same as on the Irish, and it becomes an interesting question, whether this writing was introduced into Britain from Ireland, or into Ireland from Britain.

There was certainly an occupation of Wales by Scots and Picts at the end of the fourth and beginning of the fifth century. "Buile with his people," says Gildas, "held the island Eubonia (Anglesey), and other regions around, and the sons of Liathan son of Ercal seized the country of the Dimetæ, (Caermarthen, Pembroke, and Cardigan), and other provinces, Guoher, (Gower in Glamorgan), and Cetgueli, (Kyd-welly in Caermarthen), until they were expelled by Cunedla and his sons from all the British territories;" and Nennius says "Cunedag and his sons, whose number was eight, had come from the north, from the region which is called Manau Guotodin, (beyond the wall of Hadrian), 146 years before Mailcun reigned, (in Gwynedd or North Wales), and expelled the Scots with very great slaughter from those regions." A Welsh MS., cited by Mr. Gunn in his notes to Nennius, tells us, that Cunedda sent his sons into Gwynedd against Sirigi the Gael, and that they conquered the country; and that the grandsons of Cunedda expelled the Gaels from Anglesey, and slew Sirigi, who had held possession of Gwynedd from the time of the Emperor Maximus. Thus the coming of the Scots into North and South Wales was about A.D. 388; the coming of Cunedda was A.D. 410; and the complete expulsion of the Scots was not many years later. Wales then became, what it has been ever since, the land of the Cymry. The Ogham inscriptions in Wales are found in those counties which the sons of Liathan are said to have occupied, and in the adjoining county of Brecon, fourteen in number; but there is one in North Wales, in the county of Denbigh. Can they belong to this period of Scottish or Gwydelian occupation? They are of three classes, examples of each of which follow.

I. Simply Ogham.

1. NETTASAGRU MAQI MUCOI FFECI (or SLECI). Bridell, Pembroke.

Here we have one personal name, resembling in its first element the Gaulish name *Veragrus*, and another which is found on Irish monuments; ex: gr: *Dego magi Mucoi toicapi* at Dunloe, and *Magi Mucoi uddami* at Whitefield, both in Kerry.

2. LEHORIC ——. Lougher, Glamorgan.

II. Strictly bilingual, or commemorating the same person in Ogham and in Latin inscriptions.

1. SAGRAMNI MAQI CVNATAMI	SAGRANI FILI CVNOTAMI S. Dogmael's, Cardigan.
2. TRENACCAT LO	TRENACATVS IC IACIT FILIVS MAGLAGNI, Llanvaughan, Cardigan.
3. TRENAGVSU MAQI MAQITRENI	TRENEGVSSI FILI MACUTRENI HIC IACIT. Cilgerran, Pembroke.
4. TVRPIL(LI MAQI TRI)ILVNI	TURPILLI IC IACIT PVVERI TRI-LVNI DVNOCATI. Glanusk, Brecknock.
5. SUBILIN(I TO)FISACI	SVMILINI TOVISACI Ruthin, Denbigh.
6. DOBLOTUCISI	DOBLOTO FILIVS EVOLENCI Dygood, Pembroke.
7. FITALIANI	VITALIANI EMERETO. Cwm Gloya, Pembroke.

III. Ogham, accompanied by distinct Latin memorials.

1. CVNACENNI FIIL FFETO	CVNOCENNI FILIVS CVNOCENI HIC IACIT. Tralong, Brecknock.
2. - MAQI M—TAQOLEDEMU—	BARRIVENDI FILIVS VENDV-BARI HIC IACIT. Llandawke, Caermarthen.

Now is it clear that these monuments are Gaelic rather than Cymric.

The name *Dunocati* occurs in an inscription at Whitefield, Kerry, *Dunocati magi Maqiretti*; and other names above may be compared with *Talagni*, *Cunagussos*, &c. on other Irish monuments. Still more distinctive is the word *magi*, "son," of constant occurrence in the Irish inscriptions. The monuments which have Ogham legends only, are apparently the earliest; and the latest probably those of the third class, on which successive generations appear to be commemorated. As, then, these monuments are found precisely in the districts which were occupied by the Scots, I think they may be referred with great probability to the period of Scottish occupation. The characters on the Cilgerran monument very much resemble those which were introduced into Ireland by S. Patrick a few years later.

Thus it will appear that the Scots in Wales first used their own characters alone, and then had bilingual legends on account of the people amongst whom they were settled.

In Ireland, S. Patrick exerted himself strenuously to introduce everywhere the Latin letters, and as a proof of his zeal, it is recorded that he wrote 365 *abgetoria*. These were probably on stone pillars, like that at Kilmalchedor, otherwise the writing of these alphabets would scarcely have been a work of importance sufficient to be so recorded. The extraordinary rarity of monuments inscribed with Ogham and Latin letters seems to me to indicate that he was as successful in this as in the introduction of the Christian faith; and that the period of transition from the age of Ogham writing to that of Latin, was very short. By the side of the hundreds of Ogham and of Latin inscriptions in Ireland, I know of but one strictly bilingual. It is at Killeen Cormac, Kildare; in Ogham HUFANO SAFEUO SAHATIOS, in Latin IUVENE DRVVIDIS; where *Safeuo Sahattios* "wise sage," corresponds to *Druuidis*, and the name *Hufano* is rendered *Iuvene*, (perhaps originally *Huvene*).

Still I believe that this kind of writing was practised in Britain earlier than in Ireland. In Cæsar's time Britain was the head quarters of Druidism, to which all who wished to become proficient in its mysteries resorted from Gaul. The suppression of Druidism was begun in Gaul by Claudius, A.D. 43, and completed in Britain by Suetonius Paulinus, A.D. 61. This would involve the destruction of its monuments in Britain as in Gaul, and the Romans occupied both countries long enough to make the destruction complete. On very good grounds the Tuatha De Danann, to whom the introduction of the Ogham writing into Ireland is attributed, are identified with the Druids, who fled from Britain, before Ostorius and Suetonius; and to the interval between their migration and the mission of S. Patrick, I believe nearly all the Ogham inscriptions in Ireland belong.

Some fragments, supposed of the lid of a coffin, found at Barming in Kent (Pl. IV. 3 & 4) present remains of an inscription of undeniably Ogham character. But in this it seems as if words were written on separate stems, instead of on one continuous stem; and although there are the scores from one to five, this appears to differ from the ordinary Ogham writing. The same must be said of the remarkable

monuments at Scoonie in Fife, Logie, (where a circle is the stem-line), and Newton, (where the Ogham is accompanied by an inscription in alphabetic characters, never yet satisfactorily read), in Aberdeenshire, and Golspie in Sutherland. These are all in the land of the Picts, and I suspect they are in the lost language of the Picts.

Some of the stones which form the sides of a passage in a chambered tumulus at Keryaval in Bretagne, are inscribed with scores, grouped from one to five, and one of them has besides a clear Ogham stem, (Pl. IV. 5). These cannot be ascribed to Irish influence, but must be referred to the time when students from Britain carried the mysteries of Druidism to Gaul.

I arrived at the conviction that Ogham writing originated in Britain, very soon after the publication of my notes on this subject, in the Transactions of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society; and, in the expectation that examples of this kind would be found in this country, I requested friends to examine the Celtic megalithic monuments in different districts. Nothing, however, of the kind was found. There was, (and, I believe, still is, though hidden beneath the soil), a monument called the *Grey-stone*, on the road from Leeds to Burley, on which are said to be deeply impressed the marks of a giant's fingers; and these finger marks I suspect will be found to be an Ogham inscription, should this monument, (which the late Mr. Denny, to whom I wrote about it in 1857, was unable to find), be sought for, and disinterred. But though my inquiries in these quarters were unsuccessful, my expectations were justified afterwards, by the discovery of the monument from Fardell in Devonshire, now in the British Museum. It has three distinct inscriptions; one in Ogham, SAFAQQVCI MAQI QICI; two in Latin, FANONI MAQVI RINI and GAGRANVI. This is in the heart of South Devon. Later still, the lady of Dr. Ferguson, (all honour to her!), discovered another, a bilingual, at Buckland Monachorum in the same county. On this the Latin legend is DOBVNN = FABRI FILII ENABARRI; of the Ogham, only—ENABARR—is distinct.

Now there is no story of a Scottish settlement in Devonshire, to account for these. They are monuments of the race, which, once settled in Britain, colonized Ireland also,—the race to which the later Scottish settlers in Wales also

belonged ; and so, although the discovery of Ogham monuments in that part of Wales which those Scots occupied, establishes the probability that they belong to the time of that settlement, there is also the probability that some of them belong to an earlier time, (as these Devonian monuments must), and are to be accounted for otherwise. For farther illustration of these facts, we may compare, (with Dr. Ferguson), the Ogham legends, *Ulcagni*, (Glanavullin), *Maqqidecedda*, (Gortnagullagh), *Maqidecedda*, (Ballintaggart), *Maqidecedda safitoranias*, (Ballycrovane), and *Saffiqegittocattac*, (Dunbel), with *Ulcagni fili Severi*, (Padstow, Cornwall), *Hic iacit Ulcagnus fuis Senomagli*, (Llanfihangel-ararth, Cardigan), *Sarini fili Maccodechetti*, (Buckland Monachorum, Devon), *Id iacet Maccudecetti*, (Penros Llygwy, Anglesey), and *Safaquci magi Qici*, (Fardell). The same race occupied, and practised this peculiar writing in, Albion and Ierne ; and the writing, I doubt not, followed the stream of colonization from the former to the latter.

. Of the ordinary scale, in which all the inscriptions in Ireland and Wales are written, the stem-line, and the upward direction, are essential features. But in MSS., written when the Ogham was no longer a living system, but an antiquarian curiosity, we meet with words or sentences written on a horizontal line, from left to right ; and in the Book of Ballymote we have upwards of fifty kinds of Ogham writing, all horizontal, some written on two, some on three, some on four lines, almost all mere variations from the monumental scale. Some of these, should inscriptions be found in which they were used, would be easy to read ; but others are so much disguised that they could not be read without a key ; as, without the keys which this Book of Ballymote contains, it would have been impossible to read the inscriptions on the monument, discovered by the late Dr. Charlton on Bressay island, and interpreted by Dr. Graves as the memorials of a daughter of Naddadd, (the discoverer of Iceland A.D. 861), and his grandson Benir, of the tribe called "sons of the Druid." But there are five, (Pl. IV. 6 to 10), which partially resemble the scale to which the Hackness inscription belongs, and which I imagine was something like fig. 11. It will be observed that 8, 9, and 10, are quite independent of the stem-line.

This Hackness inscription consists of groups of scores, horizontal, vertical, oblique, convex, and concave, varying in number from one to five ; and has two distinct signs, formed on the same principles, at the beginning. The horizontal groups exclude the idea of a stem-line. Still its character cannot be mistaken ; it is an Ogham inscription, the only instance of a monumental Ogham thus written. In the scales, (from the Book of Ballymote), with which I compare it, the convex scores represent the letters *m, g, ng, st, r*, and the concave the vowels *a, o, u, e, i* ; and in none of them are the diphthongs given. In this inscription, however, it is obvious, that neither the convex nor the concave scores can represent the vowels ; the vertical scores only can represent them. This is all I can say positively. Were the inscription of greater length, it might be worth while to try the effect of ringing the changes on the remaining four groups of scores, and the remaining four classes of consonants and diphthongs ; but even in that case I am afraid my efforts to interpret it would not be successful, for I suspect that it is rather Pictish than Scottish.

Northumbria was evangelized from Hii, and it is generally thought that the monastery of Lindisfarne, which had most direct communications with the parent house, must have numbered many Scottish monks in its community. I am disposed to think that the Scottish element was very small, even there, after the synod of A.D. 664. Not more than one hundredth part of the names of abbots, priests, clerics, and monks, inscribed in the "*Liber Vitæ*," are Scottish, (such as *Adamnan, Bressal, Dengus, Fergus, Finan*) ; or such as may be thought to have been borne by Scots, (as *Elias, Samuael, Tobias*). If Scots were so few there, still fewer would they be, (if present at all), in monasteries of English foundation, such as these of S. Hild. On the other hand, there is a probability of a Pictish element having been introduced into these monasteries ; for when that part of the land of the Picts, which had formed the diocese of Trumwine, was wrested out of the hands of Ecgfrith, and Trumwine was compelled to withdraw, (with the monastic community which he had formed at Abercorn), and found a home in the monastery of Strenæshalh, his followers were distributed amongst other monasteries, very probably those which were dependent on Strenæshalh. I suspect, therefore, that they were Picts,

rather than Scots, who co-operated with their English brethren in the erection of this monument, and probably recorded their names in a system of writing of their own.

These fragments are very remarkable, not only because they commemorate illustrious personages, who are met with only in the byeways of our history, but also because they present the earliest example, (and the only one in England), of the *Hahal-runa*, and an entirely new variety of the Ogham. The last are especially valuable, although at present unintelligible.

YORKSHIRE RECORDS.

THE following Records are of such undoubted importance to historical inquirers interested in Yorkshire topography, that they may well find a place in the Journal of our Association. They give information concerning persons and places in the county during the long and almost dark interval that elapsed between the well-known Domesday Survey of William I., which can now be had in a fac-simile form as photozincographed under the superintendence of Sir Henry James, C.B., and the record known as Kirkby's Inquest, of the reign of Edward I., published by the Surtees Society in the year 1866. Of the records now given the first is that portion of the Great Roll of the Pipe of the 31st Henry I. which relates to our county, and, although the whole of that Roll has already been printed under the direction of the Commissioners in the Public Records of the kingdom, with an editorial preface by our great Yorkshire antiquary the Rev. Josh. Hunter, F.S.A., in 1833, the copies then issued are now difficult to meet with, and, so far as Yorkshire is concerned, its re-appearance in the following form cannot fail to be useful.

What the Pipe Rolls are, cannot be explained better than in the words used by Mr. Hunter in his preface to describe their contents. "They contain the accompts of the King's revenue, year by year, as they were made up with the King's officers appointed to that service, by the Sheriffs of the Counties who acted as the King's Bailiffs, and by other ministers and Debtors of the Crown. And since payments by the King were also often made through the hands of the Sheriffs and other Ministers in the different counties, we obtain through these accompts a view of no inconsiderable portion of the royal expenditure in a long tract of time, by which a clear and valuable light is thrown on many subjects,

and sometimes on the most important public transactions of the realm. Madox, a man most intimately acquainted with the whole treasure of the national records, speaks of these rolls in his Letter to Lord Somers, as being—*Recorda, omnium quæ in archivis Regis usquam vidisse me memini, splendidissima; post Rotulum Censualem quem Librum Domesday vocant; quin ei æquiparanda.*—In forming however an opinion of their value so exalted as this, he must be understood to speak of the whole series; not of a single roll, which may be contemplated alone; and regard must have been had to their character as legal evidence affecting many important rights and functions; to the use which may be made of them in historical investigations, and more particularly in such investigations where they are directed to points of constitutional or legal history; to the bearing of the information which they contain on the state of society in England and its changes through successive centuries; and finally to the remoteness of the period at which the series commences.”

Having settled the date above given as the true date of the Roll, and disposed of the erroneous views which had previously assigned it to the 5th year of King Stephen, Mr. Hunter draws attention to three points.

“In the first place,” he says “we may collect from it a more authentic list of the distinguished persons of England sixty or seventy years after the Conquest, than without it could be made. . . . 2. We see King Henry I., in his known character of a favourer of learning. . . . 3. A new view is opened of a very important fact in the history of one of the great feudal tenancies of England, which became at length as it still continues, a fief of the Crown; the honour of Pontefract.”

The fact thus disclosed, viz.—that Albreda de Lizours was cousin and heir not half-sister and heir, of the last of the Lacis, has already, on the authority of this Roll, been stated by the late Mr. John Gough Nichols, F.S.A., in the pages of this Journal (see Vol. II. p. 272).

The abbreviations used in the original have all been duly extended, and for this kind service, and a careful collation of the copy used with the original in the Record Office, the Association is indebted to Mr. Joseph Burt, Assistant Keeper of the Public Records, whose courtesy and ready help in the matter it is a pleasant duty here to acknowledge.

The second of the records given below is somewhat later in date and on this account only, inferior in interest to the first. It is copied from the *Liber Rubeus* or Red Book of the Exchequer, and for the first copy placed at the disposal of the Association, Mr. James Rusby, one of its members, is to be cordially thanked. He had met with a transcript in the Additional MS. 26731 in the British Museum, of which he at once took a careful copy. It is there described as referring to the reigns of Henry II. and Richard I., the period to which the Red Book of the Exchequer is usually assigned.¹

It was considered desirable that the document should appear in the Journal in an extended form, and be carefully collated with the original MS. For both these purposes the help of Mr. Burt was sought, and has been most kindly and readily given, with the further result, not only of some corrections, but also of a discovery of some importance in bearing on the question of the date to which the document is to be referred.

The words "*secundum inquisitionem predictam*," led Mr. Burt in collating the extended copy, to look back in the MS. with a view to ascertain any particulars that might be given of the inquisition thus indicated, and he has in the following terms explained the result of his examination.

"The extract is from folio 134, and the whole return begins on folio 132, on which is this heading,—

"*Inquisitiones factæ tempore Regis Johannis per totam Angliam anno scilicet regni sui xij^o et xiiij^o in quolibet comitatu de serviciis militum et aliorum qui de eo tenent in capite secundum rotulos liberatos Thesaurio per manus Vicecomitum Angliæ tempore predicto.*"

This applies to the extract relating to Yorkshire, and shows it to have been made in the 12th and 13th years of King John.

"Mediæval books," Mr. Burt, further remarks, "were made up in 'quires' so to speak, but 'quaternion' is the word, and but loosely fastened to the backing in which they were bound, so that subtractions and additions could very easily be made from and to such books. The Return of Knights' Fees in the Red Book from which this extract is

¹ For a correct description of the "Red Book" and its contents see *Sims's Manual*.

taken is just such a 'quaternion' of parchment leaves, and may or may not have formed part of the original volume."

The preservation of the appearance of the MS., by arranging the entries in three columns has not been attempted, nor is it material. On the form of the entries Mr. Burt points out, that "it varies much, 'partem' and 'feoda,' being often omitted, or rather, understood. In one case 'tres milites' is given, as meaning, 'tria militum feoda.'"

I.

MAGNUS ROTULUS PIPÆ²

DE ANNO

TRICESIMO PRIMO REGIS HENRICI PRIMI.

(MEM. 6.) 'EVERWICSCIRA ET NORHUMBERLAND.'

Bertrannus de Bulemer reddit compotum de c. li'. et lxxij. s'. et vij d' blancis de veteri firma. In thesauro liberavit. Et quietus est.

Et idem de nova firma. In thesauro cc et xxxij li'. et v. s'. et vj. d'.

Et in liberationibus constitutis xij. li'. et xij. s'. et xj d'. numero. Et in corredio Regis Scotiæ viij. li'. et xv. s'. et iiij. d'. numero. veniendo ad curiam et redeundo.

Et Canonicis de Sancto Oswaldo in elemosina xvij. li'. et v. s'. numero. Et in liberatione Willielmo Berselli. xij. s'. et vj. d'. numero.

Et in restauratione maneriorum Regis per W. Espec. et Eustacium filium Johannis. xxij. li'. et xvij. s'. numero.

Et in Burg. et Chenardesburg quæ Eustacius filius Johannis tenet ad firmam. xxij. li'. numero.

Et debet c. et xxv. li'. et viij. s' et viij. d'. blancos.

Et idem Vicecomes reddit compotum de xxv. marcis argenti de debitis patris sui pro forisfactura comitatus. Et de cc. marcis argenti pro terra et ministerio patris sui. In thesauro liij. li'. et vj. s'. et viij. d'. Et debet c. et xlv marcas argenti.

Et idem debet lv. li'. et vj. s'. quos pater suus cepit de terra Roberti Fossardi.

Robertus de Oilli debet³ iiij. li'. de firma de Scaldebi.

Adam Tisun reddit compotum de xxxij. li'. et ij. s'. pro omnibus debitis patris sui. Et de xv. marcis argenti ne placitet de terra sua donec filius Nigelli de Albiniaco sit miles. In thesauro vj. li'. Et debet xxxvj. li'. et ij. s'.

Robertus Fossardus reddit compotum de xlj. s'. et viij. d'. pro recuperanda terra sua primitus. In thesauro xx. s'. Et debet xvj. s'. et viij. d'.

² The references made to this Roll by Professor Stubbs in his *Constitutional History of England* furnish a recent in-

stance of the historical importance to be attached to it.

³ Blank.

Et idem debet D. marcas argenti ut iterum rehabeat terram suam excepta Donecastra quam concessit Regi tenere in manu sua usque ad xx annos. Et si tunc reddiderit D. marcas argenti insimul rehabebit Donecastram.

Walterus de Gaut reddit compotum de xvij li'. et xvj. d'. pro rehabeanda terra sua quam Willielmus Torn' tenet. Et de lx. marcis argenti de placitis de Blida. In thesauro xvj. li'. et j. marca argenti. Et in pardonatione per breve Regis eidem Waltero xx marcæ argenti. Et debet xxvij. li'. et xvj. d'.

Alanus de Perci reddit compotum de xv. li'. et xij. s'. et iij. d'. et j. dextrario pro terra sua quam Willielmus Torn' tenet. Et de xxxv. marcis argenti de placitis de Blida. In thesauro. xvij. li'. et vj. s'. et vij. d'. Et in pardonatione per breve Regis eidem Alano x. marcæ argenti. Et debet xiiij. li'.

Rogerus de Mairol' reddit compotum de ij. marcis argenti pro terra Emmæ de Tineslei cum filia sua. In thesauro liberavit. Et quietus est.

Adam filius Sueini reddit compotum de v. marcis argenti pro dote matris sue post mortem ejus. In thesauro xlvj. s'. et viij. d'. Et debet xx. s'.

Robertus de Insula reddit compotum de xiiij. s'. et iij. d'. pro terra sua quam Willielmas Torn' tenet. Et de l. marcis argenti de placitis de Blida. In thesauro xv. li'. Et debet xx. li'.

Ivo filius Forn'⁴ reddit compotum de c. s'. pro terra patris sui. Et de v. marcis argenti de placitis de Blida. In thesauro iij. li'. Et debet iij. li'. et vj. s'. et viij. d'.

Walterus de Harpenna reddit compotum de xj. li'. et vj. s' et viij. d'. pro xij. carrucatis terræ. In pardonatione per breve Regis eidem Waltero xvij. marcæ argenti. Et quietus est.

Givardus homo Herberti Camerarii reddit compotum de viij. li'. et vj. s'. et viij. d'. pro placito pecuniæ uxoris Herberti. In thesauro iij. li'. Et debet iij. li'. et vj. s'. et viij. d'.

Robertus de Lonvilers reddit compotum de v. marcis argenti pro terra patris sui. In thesauro. xl. s'. Et debet xxvj. s'. et viij. d'.

Homines Willielmi de Wareuna debent lx. marcas argenti de placito Eustachii filii Johannis.

Et idem Vicecomes debet xxvij. li'. et x. s'. et vij. d'. de præterito auxilio comitatus. Et remanent in Westmarieland. et ultra Tesiam et in dominio de' Blida. et de Donecastra.

Lisoius de Monasterio debet xxiiij. li'. et j. marcæ argenti et j. dextrarium pro terra patris sui.

Robertus de Widvilla reddit compotum de x. marcis argenti de censu forestæ de Pincherin'. In thesauro liberavit. Et quietus est.

Et idem Vicecomes reddit compotum de vij. li'. et xvj. s'. et ij. d'. de veteribus placitis de Helderneis pro thesauro. In thesauro xxxvij. s'. In pardonatione per breve Regis Willielmo Foliot xliij. s' et ij. d'. Alano de Scuris lxxv. s'. Summa c. et xvij. s'. et ij. d'. Et quietus est.

Walterus de Canceio reddit compotum de xv. li'. ut ducat uxorem ad velle suum. Et de xx. s'. de placitis de Blida. In thesauro vij. li'. et iij. s'. et iij. d'. Et in pardonatione per breve Regis eidem Waltero xx. s'. Et debet vij. li'. et xvj. s'. et viij. d'.

Alanus de Scuris reddit compotum de xv. li'. pro dote uxoris sue. In thesauro x. marcæ argenti. Et debet viij. li'. et vj. s'. et viij. d'.

⁴ Blank.

Benedictus filius Aldreti de Everwic reddit compotum de xv. marcis argenti pro terra et debitis patris sui. In thesauro iiij. li'. et xij. s'. et iiij. d'. Et debet c. et vj. s'. et viij. d'.

Burgenses de Everwic reddunt compotum de xxiiij. li'. et xiiij. s'. et iiij. d'. de placitis G. de Clint' et sociorum ejus. In thesauro liberaverunt. Et quieti sunt.

Hasculfus filius Ridiou reddit compotum de xl. s'. et j. dextrario pro respectu cujusdam placiti donec Rex veniret in Angliam. In thesauro xl. s'. Et debet j. dextrarium.

Turstinus Archiepiscopus de Everwic reddit compotum de x. li'. quas Rex ei præstitit in Normannia. In donis per breve Regis eidem Archiepiscopo x. li'. Et quietus est.

Robertus filius Pagani reddit compotum de vij. marcis argenti pro terra Ebrardi avunculi sui. In thesauro iiij. marcæ argenti. Et debet xl. s'.

Accha filius Ernebrandi reddit compotum de v. marcis argenti de placitis W. Espec et Eustacii filii Johannis. In operibus Regis de Everwic liberavit. Et quietus est.

Rogerus de Flamenvilla reddit compotum de xx. marcis argenti de placitis G. de Clint' et sociorum ejus de Blida. In thesauro x. marcæ argenti. Et debet x. marcas argenti.

Homines Comitiss Stephani . . . Britannia reddunt compotos, videlicet Scollandus de l. marcis argenti. [⁴ Et Willielmus de Lamara de v. marcis argenti.] Et Ricardus de Rullo' . . . de xv. marcis argenti. Et Radulphus filius Rib'aldi de xv. marcis argenti. Et Rogerus filius Wihomari de v. marcis argenti. Et Rogerus de Lacell' de x. marcis argenti. Et Ach. . . de v. marcis argenti. Et Hasculfus filius Ridiou de x. marcis argenti. Et Robertus Camerarius de x. marcis argenti. Et Wiganus filius Landrici de v. marcis argenti. Et Robertus de Furnell' de x. marcis argenti. Et Osbertus filius Colegrim de j. marca argenti. Et Alanus filius Eudonis de iij. marcis argenti. Et de dominiciis maneriis Comitiss de xx. marcis argenti. In thesauro c. marcæ argenti. Et in pardonatione per breve Regis eidem Comiti Stephano lix. marcæ argenti. Et quieti sunt.

Rogerus Pictavensis reddit compotum de xx. marcis argenti de eisdem placitis. In thesauro x. marcæ argenti. Et in pardonatione per breve Regis eidem Rogero x. marcæ argenti. Et quietus est.

Et idem Vicecomes reddit compotum de xxxj. marcis argenti de ix. Judicatoribus Comitatus de eisdem placitis. In thesauro ix. li'. et vj. s'. et viij. d'. Et in pardonatione per breve Regis Comiti Stephano Britannia v. marcæ argenti pro Willielmo de Lamara. Roberto de Bruis j. marca argenti. Jordano de Buisli j. marca argenti.

Summa iiij. li'. et xij. s'. et iiij. d'.

Et debet x. marcas argenti.

Petrus de Arch' reddit compotum de xx. marcis argenti de eisdem placitis. In thesauro x. marcæ argenti. Et in pardonatione per breve Regis eidem Petro x. marcæ argenti pro amore Willielmi Maltravers.

Et quietus est.

Et idem Vicecomes reddit compotum de ccc. et xxxvj. marcis argenti et v. s'. et vj. d'. de minutis Judicibus et juratoribus comitatus de eisdem placitis. In thesauro c. et xlviii. li'. et xij. s'. Et in operibus Regis de Everwic iiij. li'. et j. marca argenti. Et in liberatione Eustacio filio

⁴ The sentence within brackets is cancelled in the original.

Johannis xx. s' et x. d'. Et in pardonatione per breve Regis Comiti Britanniae xxij. marcæ argenti de minutis hominibus suis. Radulpho filio Ribaldi v. marcæ argenti. Archiepiscopo de Everwic Gameli de Hochesworda xx. s'. Chetello filio Sueini j. marca argenti. Alano de Moncell' lxx. s'. Comiti de Warennu c. et vij. s'. Ougrim de Frisemareis xl. s'. In dominio Rogeri de Molbrai iiij. li'. et xv. s'. de dreinis suis. Willielmo filio Rannulphi xl. s'. Priori de Sancto Oswaldo lxij. s'. Ber de Bailleol' vj. li'. et xv. s'. Hominibus de Blida ij. marcæ argenti. Roberto, de Bruis iiij. marcæ argenti. Gaufrido filio Pagani vj. s'. et viij. d'.

Summa liiij. li'. et xv. s'. et viij. d'.

Et debet xv. li'. et xx. d'.

Willielmus filius Rannulphi Vicecomes reddit compotum de xx. marcis argenti de eisdem placitis. In thesauro x. marcæ argenti. Et debet x. marcas argenti.

Gaufridus Murdac reddit compotum de xv. marcis argenti de eisdem placitis. In thesauro vj. li'. Et in pardonatione per breve Regis eidem Gaufrido v. marcæ argenti. Et debet j. marcæ argenti.

Jordanus Paenellus reddit compotum de xxx. marcis argenti de eisdem placitis. In thesauro x. li'. Et in pardonatione per breve Regis eidem Jordano v. marcæ argenti. Et debet x. marcas argenti.

Wido de Laval reddit compotum de c. marcis argenti de eisdem placitis. In thesauro xxix. li'. et xij. s'. iiij. d'. Et in pardonatione per breve Regis Willielmo Maltraverso xl. marcæ argenti. Et debet x. li'. et vj. s'. et viij. d'.

Willielmus Paenellus reddit compotum de xl. marcis argenti de eisdem placitis. In thesauro xx. marcæ argenti. Et in pardonatione per breve Regis eidem Willielmo x. marcæ argenti. Et debet x. marcas argenti.

Homiues Roberti de Bruis reddit compotum de xx. marcis argenti de eisdem placitis. In thesauro x. li'. Et in pardonatione per breve Regis eidem Roberto v. marcæ argenti. Et quietus est.

Rogerus de Molbrai reddit compotum de c. marcis argenti de eisdem placitis. In thesauro x. li'. Et in pardonatione per breve Regis eidem Rogero xl. marcæ argenti. Et eidem Rogero in dominicis maneriis suis vij. li'. et xv. s'. Et debet xij. li'. et v. s'.

Robertus de Widvilla reddit compotum de xxv. marcis argenti de eisdem placitis. In thesauro x. marcæ argenti. Et in pardonatione per breve Regis eidem Roberto v. marcæ argenti. Et debet x. marcas argenti.

Willielmus de Alba Mara reddit compotum de cliij. marcis argenti de eisdem placitis de terra sua de Helderneis. In thesauro xlvij. li'. Et in pardonatione per breve Regis Alano de Moncell'. lxx. s'. Ougrim de Frisemareis xxx. s'. Et debet xlix. li'. et xvij. s'. et iiij. d'.

Et idem Willielmus debet c. marcas argenti ne placitet versus homines suos de terra quæ pater suus tenet in dominio.

Willielmus Brundos reddit compotum de ij. marcis argenti de eisdem placitis. In thesauro liberavit. Et quietus est.

Enisand filius Widonis reddit compotum de j. marca argenti de eisdem placitis. In thesauro liberavit. Et quietus est.

Turgisus de Lacell'. reddit compotum de ij. marcis argenti de eisdem placitis. In thesauro liberavit. Et quietus est.

Wido de Ver. reddit compotum de j. marca argenti de eisdem placitis. In thesauro liberavit. Et quietus est.

Robertus Fossardus reddit compotum de x. marcis argenti de eisdem placitis. Et de lx. marcis argenti ut resaisietur de terra sua. In thesauro x. marcæ argenti. Et in pardonatione per breve Regis eidem Roberto xl. s'. Et debet xxxviij. li'.

Atscelina uxor Roberti Fossardi reddit compotum de xl. s'. de eisdem placitis. In pardonatione per breve Regis eidem Atsceline xl. s'. Et quæta est.

Archiepiscopus Eboracensis reddit compotum de x. marcis argenti de dominio suo. Et de xxv. marcis argenti de vavassoribus suis de eisdem placitis. In thesauro c. s'. Et in pardonatione per breve Regis Archiepiscopo Eboracensi x. marcæ argenti. Et vavassoribus suis xv. marcæ argenti. Roberto Lamartre xx. s'. Hugoni de Sarca j. marca argenti. Et quietus est.

Homines de honore de Blida reddunt compotum de xl. marcis argenti de eisdem placitis. In thesauro xij. li'. et xij. s'. et iiij. d'. Et in pardonatione per breve Regis Radulpho Taisson' viij. marcæ argenti. Radulpho filio Willielmi xl. s'. Et minutis hominibus de Blida viij. marcæ argenti. Et debet xl. s'.

Robertus de Sancta Mara reddit compotum de j. marca argenti de eisdem placitis. In thesauro liberavit. Et quietus est.

Willielmus de Luvetot debet xl. s'. de eisdem placitis.

Homines de Aclum reddunt compotum de xvij. s'. et ix. d'. de eisdem placitis. In thesauro liberaverunt. Et quieti sunt.

Paganus de Maisnilo Warin' reddit compotum de vi. s'. et viij. d'. de eisdem placitis. In thesauro liberavit. Et quietus est.

Abbas de Everwic reddit compotum de v. marcis argenti de eisdem placitis. In thesauro iiij. marcæ argenti. Et debet j. marcam argenti.

Vavassores Roberti Fossardi reddunt compotum de lxiiij. s'. et iiij. d'. de eisdem placitis. In thesauro liberaverunt. Et quieti sunt.

Et idem Vicecomes reddit compotum de lxxviij. s'. de præterito danegeldo. In pardonatione per breve Regis Comiti de Wareuna lxxviij. s'.

Turgisus Collector de Everwic reddit compotum de c. et vj. s'. et viij. d'. de præterito auxilio civitatis. In thesauro liberavit.

[Anschetillus de Wigreo' reddit compotum de x. li'. de veteri firmæ trium maneriorum Episcopatus Dunelmensis.

In thesauro liberavit. Et

Et idem de nova firmæ. In thesauro c. quater xx. et vj. li'.

Et in corredio Regis Scotiæ lxx. s'. et viij. d'. Et in dono per breve Regis Bernardo clerico xx. s'. in quadam ecclesia. Et debet xxix. li'. et ix. s'. et ix. d'. Et idem Anschetillus reddit compotum de xij. li'. et j. marca argenti de drengagio maneriorum quæ custodit. In thesauro viij. li'. Et debet iiij. li'. et j. marcam. Et idem Anschetillus reddit compotum de xl. s'. quos recepit de Olivero de pecunia Episcopi Dunelmensis. In thesauro.]⁶ Eustachius filius Johannis reddit compotum de xxij. li'. numero de firmæ de Burg et de Chenardesburg. In thesauro xj. li'. Et in operibus Regis de Chenardesburg xj. li'. per breve Regis. Et quietus est.

Godereda filia Gospatric filii Aldreti debet x. marcas argenti pro recto de terra patris sui.

⁶ The whole of the entries within brackets have been erased in the original.

Serlo de Burg debet lx. li'. et vij. s', et vj. d'. blancos de veteri firma de Notinghamscire et Derbiscire. Et l. li'. et xij. s'. numero de restauratione Comitatum. Et xxvj. li'. et vij. s'. et iij. d'. de redditibus Archiepiscopatus de Everwic dum fuit in manu sua. Et xl. marcas argenti de placito Radulphi Bass'. Et xij. marcas argenti pro placito quod fuit inter eum et Robertum Greslet. Et xx. marcas argenti pro ministerio Osberti filii sui.

Nova placita et Novæ Conventiones.

Ebrardus dapifer Willielmi de Albamara reddit compotum de ij. marcis auri ne sit amplius dapifer Willielmi. In thesauro vj. li'. pro j. marca auri. Et debet j. marcæ auri.

Walterus Espec reddit compotum de cc. marcis argenti de placito cervi. In thesauro l. marcæ argenti. Et debet j. marcæ auri.

Et idem reddit compotum de j. anulo auri de v. d'. pensis de quadam inventione. In thesauro liberavit. Et quietus est.

Greuto de Everwic reddit compotum de x. marcis argenti pro placito terræ uxoris suæ. In thesauro lx. s'. Et debet lxxij. s'. iij. d'.

Nigellus de Dunecastro reddit compotum de xx. marcis argenti pro forisfactura filiorum suorum qui interfecerunt j. hominem. In thesauro v. marcæ argenti. Et debet xv. marcas argenti.

Johannes de Lacell' reddit compotum de xv. marcis argenti pro terra patris sui. In thesauro vij. marcæ argenti. Et debet viij. marcas argenti.

Turfinus filius Torfini reddit compotum de v. marcis argenti pro terra patris sui. In thesauro xx. s'. Et debet xlvj. v'. viij. d'.

Robertus homo Herberti Camerarii debet xx. marcas argenti ut haberet escambium terræ suæ de Eneborna ad valens.

Willielmus filius Hugonis reddit compotum de x. marcis argenti ut teneat in pace terram de Sulinga. In thesauro iij. li'. Et debet iij. marcas argenti.

Herbertus filius Wimundi reddit compotum de j. fugatione pro concessione ij. carrucarum terræ et ij. bovatorum et j. domus in Everwic. Regi se adquietavit de j. fugatione. Et quietus est.

Turbertus filius Gamel reddit compotum de xl. marcis argenti ut Rex faciat ei habere saisitionem de terra sua de Willielmo de Albamara. In thesauro vij. marcæ argenti. Et debet xxij. marcas argenti.

Johannes de Oburvilla reddit compotum de v. marcis argenti ut habeat terram Petri avunculi sui in custodia donec redeat de Jerusalem. In thesauro xx. s'. Et debet lij. o'. et viij. d'.

Godricus filius Chetelberti reddit compotum de iij. marcis argenti de placito W. Espec. In thesauro xx. s'. Et debet xxxij. s'. et iij. d'.

Robertus de Ruperia debet xl. s'. pro recto de terra sua. Sed positus est in Notinghamscire.

Barones de Blida reddunt compotum de xx. li'. pro forisfactura muri Castelli de Blida. Eustachio filio Johannis liberaverunt ad faciendum opera ejusdem castelli per breve Regis. Et quieti sunt.

Paganus filius Ocche reddit compotum de xx. s'. de placito W. Espec et Eustachii. In thesauro x. s'. Et debet x. s'.

Walterus et Henricus frater suus filii Ulchilli debent xx. s'. de eisdem placitis.

Sylvanus de Hersewella reddit compotum de j. marca argenti. In thesauro liberavit. Et quietus est.

Inter Ribam et Mersam. Homines Comitis Moritonensis. Sueinus filius Lesing debet xl. marcas argenti pro concordia inter eum et Connitem.

Lesinus frater suus debet xx. marcas argenti pro eadem concordia. Eduardus de Cardiner debet xl. marcas argenti pro eadem concordia. Ailsi filius Ulfi debet xl. marcas argenti pro eadem concordia. Rogerus filius Ranchil debet xx. marcas argenti pro eadem concordia. Osbertus filius Edmundi et Uctred frater suus debent xl. marcas argenti pro eadem concordia.

Abbas de Everwic debet x. marcas argenti pro domibus et rebus quas Ermentruth et filius suus ei dederunt in elemosina. Adam Murdac debet j. dextrarium pro terra Radulphi avunculi sui.

Willielmus Maltravers debet M. marcas argenti. Et C. li'. ad dandum quibus Rex voluerit pro uxore Hugonis de Laval cum tota terra Hugonis usque ad xv. annos et post xv. annos habere dotem et maritagium suam.

Herbertus de Morevilla debet l. marcas argenti ut sit quietus de custodia forestarum.

Ricardus Guiz debet ij. dextrarios pro concessione terræ quam Hugo de Laval ei dedit.

Thomas de Everwic filius Ulvieti debet j. fugationem ut sit Aldermannus in gilda mercatorum de Everwic.

Et idem Vicecomes reddit compotum de danegeldo. In thesauro C. et xiiij. li'. et iiij. d'.

Et in pardonationibus per brevia Regis. Eustachio filio Johannis lx. s'. Waltero Espec xxj. s'. Roberto Lamartre xij. d'. Radulpho filio Willielmi viij. s'. Alano de Moncell' x. s'. Comiti de Warennæ vj. li'. et ij. s'. et iiij. d'. Bernardo de Baillol xxxvij. s'. et j. d'. Radulpho Taisson' vj. s'. et ij. d'. Priori de Sancto Oswaldo xvij. s'. Archiepiscopo de Everwic vj. li'. et x. s'. Gaufrido filio Pagani lxij. s'. et vj. d'. Willielmo Maltravers xiiij. li'. et x. s'. Rogero de Mairol' vj. s'. et vj. d'. Bertranno de Bulemere lxxvj. s'. et iiij. d'. In wasto forestæ xl. s'. In dominio Regis de Blida iiij. s'. In dominio Regis de Dunecastro ix. s'. In dominio Regis de maneriis Episcopatus Dunelmensis vj. li'. et xvij. s'. et v. d'. Gaufrido de Clint' ij. s'. et viij. d'. In dominiciis carrucatis terræ Rogeri de Molbrai vij. s'. et ij. d'.

Summa lj. li'. et xix. s'. et ij. d'. Et quietus est. Turgisus Collector de Everwic reddit compotum de auxilio Civitatis. In thesauro xl. li'. Et quietus est.

Placita W. Espec et Eustachii filii Johannis. Judices et Junatores Eboraciscire debent c. li', ut non amplius sint Judices nec juratores.

Robertus filius Malgeri et homines sui debent xv. marcas argenti pro placitis Serlonis de Burg et Osberti nepotis sui.

EBORWICSCTR.

MILITES ET BARONES TENENTES DE REGE IN CAPITULO EBOR'
SECUNDUM INQUISITIONEM PREDICTAM.

Archiepiscopus Ebor' xx feoda.

Episcopus Dunholm' x feoda.

Constabularius Costrie lx feoda de honore Pontisfracti.
 Idem j feodum in Sueit.
 Willielmus de Munbray lx feoda.
 Gilbertus de Gant lx feoda.
 Honor de Tykehull lx feoda.
 Comes Cestrie xl feoda et dimidium de honore Richemundie.
 Constabularius Richemundie vj feoda et dimidium de eodem honore.
 Henricus filius Hervi iij feoda de eodem honore.
 Robertus de Turneham xxxj feoda et dimidium.
 Ricardus de Percy xv feoda.
 Willielmus de Percy xv feoda de honore de Tadecastr'.
 Galfridus Luterel et Willielmus Bastard xv feoda.
 Eustacius de Vescy iiij feoda de honore de Malton.
 Robertus de Ros v feoda et quartam de feodo de Hautesley.
 Idem iij feoda et quintam de feodo⁷ de Trussebut.
 Willielmus de Albey iij feoda et quartam de eodem feodo.
 Yllarius Trussebut iij feoda et dimidium de eodem feodo.
 Petrus de Brus xj feoda de honore de Skelton.
 Nicholaus de Stuteville v feoda de Cotingham.
 Walterus de Caucy v feoda de Skerpinbec.
 Hugo Bigod ix feoda de honore de Seterinton.
 Comes Albemarle x feoda de Holdernesse.
 Idem ij et dimidium de honore de Skipton.
 Hugo de Baillol iiij feoda de Stokeley.
 Henricus de Neville iij feoda de Sutton.
 Hugo Paynel iij feoda de Draxe.
 Willielmus filius Ranulphi ij feoda et terciam de feodo Alverton.
 Honor de Cnarburg iij feoda.
 Gerardus de Fornivall j feodum de Scaffeld.
 Comes Warennie vj feoda de Wakfeld.
 Warinus filius Geroldi j feodum de Harewede.
 Henricus de Puteaco j feodum de Wigton.
 Andreas de Faugeroll j feodum.
 Ricardus de Sproxton dimidium feodum de Sproxston.
 Galfridus Luterel j feodum de Barton.
 Robertus de Bolebec quartam.
 Robertus filius Nicholai de Stuteville j feodum de Midelton.
 Ricardus Malebisse j feodum de honore de Eye.
 Advocatus de Betuine dimidium militis et in Notingehamsire xj militum.

in Sireburne.

Constabularius Cestrie ij militum.
 Ricardus de Hodelestone ij militum.
 Jordanus de Launde ij militum.
 Robertus de Lutrinton j militis.
 Radulphus de Wilenby j militis.
 Robertus de Burestal dimidium militis.
 Robertus de Barkestone quartam.
 Osbertus de Brocton' quartam.
 Robertus Morniro — quartam in Lymby.

⁷ i.e. partem et postea.

Walterus de Scuris dimidium militis. Sawell.
 Radulphus Trussel j militis.
 Robertus Maunnsel j militis Robertus de Teford j militis.
 Thomas Palefrai j militis Joceus de Billingburc dimidium militis.
 Willielmus de Panton j militis Robertus de Everingeham ij militum
 et dimidium.
 Petrus de Billingehe j militis Nigellus de Beningewith xx partem.
 Gilbertus de Rigeby ij militum Adam de Bella Aqua j militis.
 Idem Adam et Robertus filius Ricardi quintam Robertus de Muscamp
 j militis.
 Uxor ejusdem Roberti j militis Hugo de Verly iij militum.
 Oliverus de Aincurt ij militum.
 Margeria de Beningewith xx partem.
 Robertus de Dorby xx partem Thomas de Remeville dimidium militis.
 Beverleg'.
 Comes Albemarle iij militum Robertus Cokerel j militis.
 Ranulfus de Vallibus j militis Robertus de Bristhulle quartam.
 Robertus de Maleforest et Benedictus de Sculecote quintam.
 Walterus de Karetorp duodecimam Thomas de Etona duodecimam.
 Galfridus le Hardi et Johannes de Melsa octavam.
 Petrus filius Hereberti tres milites.
 Ripun.
 Willielmus Ward j militis Willielmus de Mumbray quartam.
 Radulphus de Noby quartam Henricus de Markinton vicesimam.
 Ricardus de Wivill dimidium militis Galfridus de Markinford vicesi-
 mam.
 Malgerus le Vavassur quartam Isabella de Burchelay dimidium militis.
 Serlo de Pouelegh dimidium militis. Gloucester.
 In Gloucestersire ij militum et dimidium.
 Robertus de Goueledale et Thomas de Goueledale totam.
 Goueledale per balisteriam ad castellum Ebor'.
 Johannes de Cawode j carucatam in Cawode per foresteriam.
 Robertus filius Bernardi Hotone per porteriam castri Ebor'.
 Johannes le Poer Jarum per archeriam.

INSCRIPTIONS ON THE CHURCH BELLS OF THE EAST RIDING.

Communicated by W. CONSITT BOULTER, F.S.A.—*Concluded.*

V. BUCKROSE WAPENTAKE.

Acklam (S. John Baptist) 3.

1, 2, 3. **W. BLEWS AND SONS** 1869.

Birdsall (formerly Allhallows, now S. Mary) 3.

1, 2. 1824

3. (nil)

Bugthorpe (S. Andrew) 3.

1. + **CHRISTVS EST IVV VITA ET VERETAS**

2. **POPULUM VOVO** 1723 E. Sellar
Ebor.

3. **J. TAYLOR & CO. FOUNDERS LOUGHBOROUGH** 1873

JOHN W. APPLEFORD VICAR 1873 VENITE EXULTEMUS DOMINO

Burythorpe (All Saints) 2.

(both by Warner & Sons.)

Cowlam (formerly S. Andrew, now S. Mary) 1.

(new : the old church had no bell.)

Fimber () 3.

1, 2, 3. **J. TAYLOR & CO. FOUNDERS LOUGHBOROUGH** 1870

Fridaythorpe () 2.

1. + **sancte uerthon (?) orapro nobis**

2. + **ihc nazarenus rex iudeorum**

Grimston, North (S. Nicholas) 2.

1. + **A VE MARIA GRACIA**
[PLENA DOMINVS
[TECV IONS NAVEVA

2. + **CAMPANA IOHANNES**
[OGRVANS

Helperthorpe (formerly S. George, now S. Peter) 2.

1. + **CAMPANA BEAEE**
[MARIE

2. + **ANNO DOMINI 1620**

INSCRIPTIONS ON THE CHURCH BELLS OF THE EAST RIDING. 405

Heslerton, East () 1.

GLORIA IN ALTISSIMIS DEO 1751

G.
Dalton
Ebor.

Heslerton, West (S. Andrew) 2.

1. + AVE MARIA
2. + THOMAS DE WALEME
[RECTOR]

Howsham (ancient chapel, S. Werburga ; now S. John Evangelist) 4.

1, 2, 3, 4. J. WARNER & SONS LONDON 1860

PATENT

Kirby Grindalyth (S. Andrew) 3.

1. GLORIA IN ALTISSIMIS DEO 1677

S.S.
Ebor.

2. + SUM ROSA PULSATA
[VIRGO MARIA VOCATA]
3. + TRINITATE SACRA FLAT
[REC CAMPANA BEATA
[ANDREAS]

Kirby Underdale (All Saints) 1
(1871)

Knapton (S. Edmund) 2.

1. + CAMPANA BEATE
[MARIE INE]
2. CAST BY JOHN WARNER & SONS LONDON 1874

PATENT

Langton (S. Andrew) 2.

1. + CAMPANA BEATE
[MARIE INE]
2. + CAMPANA SANCTI
[ANDREE APOSTOLI +
[INE]

Leppington (S. Helen) 2.

1. 1803

2. + AVE MARIA

Lutton, West () 3,
(1874)

Norton (formerly All Saints, now S. Nicholas) 1.

VENITE (EXVLTEMVS DOMINO ?) 1701

406 INSCRIPTIONS ON THE CHURCH BELLS OF THE EAST RIDING.

Rillington (S. Andrew) 2.

1. (old, but illegible)
2. SOLI DEO GLORIA 1641

VICAR
IS GA MA IP CHVRCH
WARDENS

Scampston () 2.
(nil)

Scrayingham (formerly SS. Peter & Paul, now S. Peter) 2.

1. + IN HONORE SANCTI
[PETER]
2. + WALTERUS (CALDERER)
[ME FECIT]

Settrington (All Saints) 3.

1. + IHESVS BE OVR SPEDE 1600 ⁽¹⁾
2. FAX DOMVS EST CELO SED MINOR EST DOMINO 1635

^C
MF IS

3. C. NEWLOVE T. BOTTERIL L. PIERCY CH. WARDENS 1763 ^G
DALTON YORK
GLORIA IN ALTISSIMIS DEO

Sherburn (S. Hilda) 2.

1. SOLI DEO GLORIA 1659 YORK
2. SOLI DEO GLORIA 1663

WG IS

Skirpenbeck (S. Mary) 2.

- 1, 2. DALTON FECIT YORK
1788

Sledmere (S. Mary) 3.

1. + IHESVS BE OVR SPEDE
1601
2. + GOD SAVE OVR CHVRCH
1601
3. SOLI DEO GLORIA 1638

Thixendale () 2.
(1871)

Thorpe Bassett (All Saints) 2.

1. + CAMPANA BEATE
[MARIE]
2. + CAMPANA SANCTI ET
[OMNIUM SANCTORUM]

(1) "s" reversed in every instance.

INSCRIPTIONS ON THE CHURCH BELLS OF THE EAST RIDING. 407

Weaverthorpe (formerly S. Andrew, now All Saints) 3.

1. W. FORD RECTOR MATH. WHARTON CHURCH
JOHN BESS Ebor. 1753 E. Seller
2. GLORIA IN ALTISSIMIS DEO 1677 Ebor.
3. SOLI DEO GLORIA 1637 VICAR
JAMES FOVSTER GEORGE TOMSON WILLIAM WORDY CHURCH
WARDENS BRYAN GRAY CLARKE

Westow (S. Mary) 3.

1. SOLI DEO GLORIA 1659 IS R. CYRDEL CHURCH
T. WAKE CLR W. DAWSON WARDENS
2. + **THOMES VALD ME FECIT
MARI**
3. + **Sancte Petre Ora Pro nobis**

Wetwang (formerly S. Nicholas, now S. Michael) 2.

1. VENITE EXULTATE DOMINO 1677 M^r SHIRT VICAR Ebor.
2. + **sancte nicolae ora pro nobis ihc**

Wharram-le-Street (S. Mary) 1.

THOMAS BUXTON
FOUNDER
MALTON
1838

Wharram-Percy (S. Martin) 2.

1. (old, but unintelligible)
2. IESVS BE OVR SPEDE ANODMI 1617

Wintringham (S. Peter) 3.

1. SWEETLY TOWLEING ON MEN DO CALL TO GOD FOR FOOD THAT FEED
THE SOUL 1727 E. Seller CHURCH
Ebor. JOHN LOVELL IONS MARSHAL WARDENS MICH. GILL CLARK (?)
2. YOU THAT IN HOLINES ABOUND REJOYCE AT THE ECCO OF MY SOUND
MATTHEW HOLDSWORTH CURATE GEO. MARSHAL CHURCH MICH. CLARKE E. Seller
WIL. FETCH WARDENS GILL Ebor. 1726 (?)
3. REMEMBER MAN AND TAKE GOOD HEED FOR I SHALL TOWL WHEN YOY ARE DEAD
JA. WELBANK CHURCH Ebor.
THO. REIGH WARDENS 1709 Ebor.

Yeddingham (S. Mary) 2.

1. 1863
2. ANODMI 1616 IC

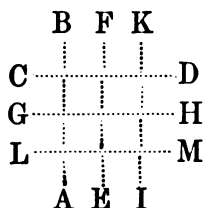
(?) "n" reversed in "towleing" and "on," on 1st bell; and in "in" and "holines," on 2nd bell.

NOTE ON THE HEALAUGH TOMBSTONE.

See p. 365.

At the time of writing my memoir on the "Monasteries of S. Heiu and S. Hild," I did not understand the device on the Healaugh tombstone ; but scarcely was it in print before its meaning struck me.

In the Latin Ritual, after the Offertory, the Chalice with the wine is behind the wafer, and, if there be additional wafers to be consecrated for communion, they may be behind the Chalice, or to one side. The incensation of the *oblata* begins with a triple cross, thus :—



The censer is swung over the <i>oblata</i> ;				
from	A	to	B	with the word <i>incensum</i> ,
„	C	„	D	„ <i>istud</i> ,
„	E	„	F	„ <i>a Te</i> ,
„	G	„	H	„ <i>benedictum</i> ,
„	I	„	K	„ <i>ascendat</i> ,
„	L	„	M	„ <i>ad Te, Domine</i> .

So, on the tombstone, I see :—

1. Paten with wafer,
2. Chalice,
3. Dish with additional wafers ;

and the triple cross represents the incensation.

I believe that no information is extant, as to what corresponded to this rubric, in the Rituals of the early Scottish and English churches ; but this simple explanation of a very peculiar design, suggests that one or other differed from the Latin use in this respect, that the principal wafer was upon the paten, at the time of the incensation, not (as now) upon the corporal.

D. H. H.

REPORT

READ AT THE NINTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE ASSOCIATION
HELD AT HUDDERSFIELD THE TWENTY-EIGHTH DAY OF
JANUARY, MDCCCLXXIV.

THE Council in presenting its Report for the past year has to remark with regret on the large number of Members who have been removed by death from the roll of the Association. Among them are the Earl of Zetland, K.T., President for the North Riding, and John Kenworthy Walker, M.D., F.S.A.Scot., a Vice-President, to whom the Association will always remain indebted for great aid rendered in its first formation at Huddersfield, and for valuable contributions to its proceedings.

Among Annual Members the loss by death has been very considerable, the withdrawals have however been few, and the accession of New Members has happily more than replaced the losses thus sustained, the Members now being as follows:—Life Members, 69 ; Annual Members, 298 ; Honorary Members, 7.

With this number it has been possible to continue the publication of the Journal and maintain the established position of the Association in the county. It is hoped, nevertheless, that Members will not fail to spread all the information they can as to the Association and its objects among their friends, and thus still further increase its importance and stability.

The very great labour attending the preparation of an Index to Volume II. of the Journal, delayed the issue of Part VIII., but it is hoped the completeness thus ensured has compensated for the irregularity in the issue thus caused.

By increasing the bulk of the Part, and treating as a double Part the one just issued as Parts IX. and X. the

ground lost is to some extent regained, and it is expected that the increased bulk and importance of the Parts to be issued during the coming year will place higher than ever the character of the Journal and its influence on the position of the Association in the county.

A complete Catalogue of the Library has been made, and a regular flow of donations from authors and from kindred societies has continued to add important books to the collection.

The Excursion of the year to the City of York was in every way successful, and the encouraging address of His Grace the Archbishop of York, made on the occasion, and issued to the Members shortly after, gave an important public recognition to the value of the work of the Association. For the cordial welcome given by the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor and the Corporation of the City, and the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral, and for the facilities offered by the Yorkshire Philosophical Society, in freely opening their Museum and Gardens, the thanks of the Association, given at the time, are here recorded.

The scheme for the collection and examination of Old Deeds has not been neglected, and a first-fruits of Colonel Akroyd's generous help may be seen in the pages of the Journal, which contain abstracts of some of the deeds and documents preserved in the muniment-room at Langton Hall. Others of more ancient date and greater interest are from time to time received by the Council and will in due course be classified and arranged for publication. It is hoped that all Members will continue to bear in mind the importance of this part of the work of the Association.

As will be seen by the notice on the cover of the Journal, the Royal Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland are to hold their Annual Meeting for the coming year in this county, and your Council has already passed a resolution, pledging the Association to do all in its power to make the meeting a success. The programme of the Institute meeting is not fully settled, but a strong local committee has been formed at Ripon, and every effort will be made there to give a successful welcome to the distinguished archæologists who are always found at such gatherings. Mr. Burt, the Hon. Secretary of the Institute, has intimated that it may be possible on some day of the

Ripon meeting, for our Association to combine with the Members of the Institute in the day's proceedings, and the Council is anxious to bring about this arrangement, which, although it would substitute an united meeting for the ordinary special excursion of the Association, would at the same time give to our Members the great advantage of the presence of the most able expositors of the antiquities of whatever place might be selected for the joint visit.

The Marquis of Ripon, now Lord Lieutenant of the North Riding, has intimated his willingness to be nominated President of the Association for that division of the county in succession to the late Earl of Zetland, whose death has rendered that office vacant. The Marquis is the elected President of the Ripon meeting of the Royal Archæological Institute, and has always shown a warm interest in our Association.

In accordance with the Rules, the retiring Members of the Council are the Rev. Canon Hulbert, M.A.; Thomas Wilson, M.A.; George John Armytage, F.S.A.; and George F. Beaumont. They and the retiring officers are eligible for re-election.

The above Report having been adopted, the Rev. Canon Hulbert, M.A.; Thomas Wilson, M.A.; George John Armytage, F.S.A., and Frederick Greenwood, were elected Members of the Council; the Most Honourable the Marquis of Ripon, K.G., now a Vice-President, was elected President of the Association for the North Riding, and the retiring officers were duly re-elected.

The accounts for the past year not having been audited, they were left to be dealt with by the Council and considered at a future meeting.

REPORT

READ AT THE TENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE ASSOCIATION
HELD AT HUDDERSFIELD ON WEDNESDAY THE TWENTY-
SEVENTH DAY OF JANUARY, MDCCCLXXV.

THE principal archæological event of the past year in the county has been the visit of the Royal Archæological Institute to Ripon, in the month of July last. In accordance with the Report adopted at the last Annual Meeting, it became the duty of the Council to use all the means at their disposal in furthering the objects of the Institute on the occasion, and it was felt that nothing would facilitate more the proceedings at the Congress, or tend more to make its results useful, than the preparation of a Manual, which in a compendious form might contain information as to all the places to be visited. The preparation of such a book was committed to the editorial care of Mr. Thomas Brooke, F.S.A., the Honorary Secretary, and the Reverend Joseph Thomas Fowler, F.S.A. ; and, as a result, the *Ripon Manual*, which has been recently distributed among the Members of our Association, was issued. Copies were given to each Member or visitor attending the Ripon Congress, and the general usefulness of the book was abundantly acknowledged. For the plans and illustrations the Council has been indebted, as to the plans and view of Markenfield Hall, to Mr. James Parker of Oxford, and to Mr. Robert H. Skaife of York, for the plan of that city, a reduction of which he most kindly permitted to be made from his beautiful plan of Roman, Mediæval, and Modern York. The interest which had already been excited on the subject of the History and Architecture of the Cistercian Order of Monks by Mr. Sharpe's Lectures in 1872 and 1873, at

Kirkstall and at Fountains Abbey, led the Council to think that great good might result from directing the attention of the Institute especially to them, and that by way of forming a basis for discussion the constitutions of that Order would be found practically useful. A transcript was therefore made from one of the MSS. in the Harleian Collection in the British Museum, and such of the rules as seemed to affect the fabrics of their monasteries or illustrate the use of special apartments within them were, as will be seen, printed in the Manual. The subject being thus, as it were, broached, it is in contemplation now to publish the whole of the Constitutions *in extenso*, in a future part of the Journal, and the Reverend Joseph Thomas Fowler, F.S.A., has kindly undertaken to be the editor of them.

Perhaps no better idea of the advance made by the Association can be given than by a comparison of its position in 1867, when the Institute last visited Yorkshire on the occasion of the Hull Meeting, with its position in 1874, when the Ripon Congress was held.

In 1867 we were still only the Huddersfield Association, with some ninety Members. The excavations at Slack supplied, indeed, most admirable and interesting objects for the usual temporary museum, and a paper upon them was accepted by the Institute and published in the *Archæological Journal*, but we had then no regular Journal of our own proceedings, and it was not in the power of the Council in any way to represent the county, or afford special aid in the elucidation and examination of its antiquities.

Last year, however, the position of the Association was different, and the Members, now nearly 400 in number, may point with some satisfaction to the circumstance that one of their Presidents, the Most Honourable the Marquis of Ripon, K.G., was the selected President of the Congress, and that he was able in his opening address, now recently published in the "*Archæological Journal*," to give a hearty welcome to the Institute in the name and on behalf of the County Association.

The presence of Mr. G. T. Clark, F.S.A., at the Ripon Congress, and his willingness to prepare a treatise on the defences of York, led to the selection of that city as the place to which the Annual Excursion should be made, and, by an arrangement most cordially entered into by the Institute,

the visit to the capital of our county became a joint one. The Members of the Association did not attend in as large numbers as on some previous excursions, but, nevertheless, there was a large gathering and a generally successful day. Mr. Clark's paper, already distributed as a newspaper reprint, will, by the permission of the Institute and with his most kind sanction, appear also in its complete form in a future part of the Journal, illustrated by a plan which has been specially prepared under his directions.

As the Members are already aware, the issue of the Journal has been continued, and the large double Part recently sent out, more than makes up for a delay which occurred some time back, and will be found, it is hoped, when coupled with the Ripon Manual, a sufficient test of the activity and vitality of our organization.

The number of Members still increases, and about thirty elected since the last Annual Meeting, more than fill the vacancies arising by deaths or from other causes. There are now 75 surviving Life Members, 307 Annual Members, 7 Honorary Members, and 15 Societies, with which the Association is on corresponding terms. The Members of the Council who retire at this meeting are Mr. Robert Bownas Mackie, Mr. Joseph Savile Stott, the Reverend Joshua Ingham Brooke, M.A., Mr. George William Tomlinson, and the Reverend Thomas James, F.S.A. Mr. T. B. Oldfield also retires at his own request; and the Council has heard with regret that ill-health is the reason for his wishing to vacate the position which he has now for some years held. The Association has to thank him for a present of an early earthenware jug, discovered a few years ago at Heckmond-wike, and now placed in the Library.

During the past two years there has been considerable delay in the collection of the annual subscriptions, and the Council having had the matter under consideration on several occasions, recommends the appointment of an additional officer as a Financial Secretary, under whose charge all matters of finance may in future be placed. They regret exceedingly that the more pressing and important engagements of the Collector, of whose services they have hitherto been glad to avail themselves, have left it an impossibility to have all the accounts in complete readiness at this Meeting; they can, however, assure the Members of the sound financial con-

dition of the Association, and refer to the Bank Books as showing considerable balances, against which there are no outstanding liabilities of any moment. A further sum of one hundred pounds from Life Members' subscriptions has been recently invested in the purchase of a bond for that amount secured on the Borough rates of Halifax, with interest at four and a quarter per centum per annum. There is thus now a total fund of 425*l.* invested, producing an annual income of about 18*l.* New Members continue to require the back parts of the Journal, and the payments made for them form a considerable addition to the funds at the disposal of the Council.

Of the Members deceased during the past year it seems fitting specially to mention Sir Stephen Glynne, Bart., F.S.A., whose sudden death deprived us of a warm friend of all archæological pursuits; and Mr. William Fowler Stephenson, of Bishopton Close, whose help was always readily accorded, and will be remembered especially by all who took part in the Fountains Abbey Excursion of 1872. The careful illustration of acoustic pots at Fountains which appears in this volume of the Journal, was from his pencil. The officers who retire are eligible for re-election, and Mr. George William Tomlinson has expressed his willingness to accept the post of Honorary Financial Secretary.

The Auditor will have the accounts more completely before him in a few days, and it is intended that they shall be in readiness, and be duly passed by him in time to be printed with this Report.

A formal resolution to effectuate the alteration of the Rules has been prepared, and will be submitted in accordance with notice given with the notice of the meeting.

The Report having been adopted, it was resolved that in pursuance of the notice given, the following alteration be made in the Rules of the Association, viz. :—

In Rule IV., insert after the word "Secretaries," the words "one of whom shall have the management of all financial matters for the Association, and be called the Hon. Financial Secretary."

The Presidents and Vice-Presidents were then re-elected, the vacancies in the Council supplied, and officers elected in accordance with the list given at page 417.

STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS FROM THE 1ST JANUARY 1873, TO THE 31ST DECEMBER, 1875.

	£	s.	d.
Balance in Bank brought forward	106	19	6
Interest less Tax 2 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i>	8	6	5
Cash from hon. sec., balance in his hands	10	17	4
" " " " " "	16	10	9
Collector			
<i>Investment Account.</i>			
Balance brought forward	367	10	0
17 new life members	89	5	0
	<hr/>		
Interest from Investment Account	466	15	0
General	52	14	10
" " " " " "	12	10	8
From bank parts of Journal supplied to Members	60	2	3
Balance from York Excursion, 1873	8	13	11
" " " " " " 1874	4	8	6
Annual Subscriptions	823	18	6
Due to Hon. Secs. and Collector	14	1	11
	<hr/>		
		£1070	14 2

	£	s.	d.
<i>Journal.</i>			
For Printing and Illustrations	340	4	11
<i>Library.</i>			
New Shelving and Cases	27	10	0
Catalogue	6	5	0
Sundry Payments	5	13	0
	<hr/>		
Insurance	38	8	0
Ripon Manual	1	10	9
Printing and Illustrations	53	15	0
<i>Investment Account.</i>			
Invested with Halifax Corporation	425	0	0
Balance in Bank on this account	31	15	0
	<hr/>		
<i>General Account.</i>			
Deficiency on Beverley Excursion, 1875	3	19	0
Petty Cash and Sundries	7	15	3
Subscriptions to Surtees Society	3	3	0
Stationery, General Postages, and Postage of Journal	37	1	2
In bands of G. W. Tomlinson (Hon. Sec.)	2	10	9
Balance in Bank	106	17	10
Interest accrued not yet transferred	18	18	6
	<hr/>		
		£126	11 4
		<hr/>	
		£1070	14 2

I have examined the above account with the books and vouchers, and find the same to be correct. December 31st, 1875.

YORKSHIRE

Archæological and Topographical Association.

PRESIDENTS.

For the East Riding, His Grace the ARCHBISHOP OF YORK.
For the North Riding, The Most Hon. the MARQUIS OF RIPON, K.G., Lord-Lieutenant.
For the West Riding, The Right Hon. EARL FITZWILLIAM, K.G., Lord-Lieutenant.

VICE-PRESIDENTS.

His Grace the DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE, K.G., F.S.A.
His Grace the DUKE OF NORFOLK, Hereditary Earl Marshal.
The Right Hon. the EARL OF DARTMOUTH.
The Right Hon. THE EARL OF WHARNCLIFFE.
The Right Hon. LORD HERRIES.
The Right Hon. LORD HOUGHTON, D.C.L.
The Hon. CHARLES HOWARD, M.P.
The Hon. and Very Rev. the DEAN OF YORK.
Sir GEORGE ARMYTAGE, Bart.
Sir HARCOURT JOHNSTONE, Bart., M.P.
Sir LIONEL PILKINGTON, Bart.
Sir JOHN RAMSDEN, Bart.
EDWARD AKROYD, F.S.A.
THOMAS BROOKE, F.S.A.
WENTWORTH BLACKETT BEAUMONT, M.P.
Rev. Canon WILLIAM GREENWELL, M.A., F.S.A.
EDWARD HAILSTONE, F.S.A.
EDWARD A. LEATHAM, M.P.
F. S. POWELL.
Rev. Canon JAMES RAINE, M.A.
The Rev. Professor WILLIAM STUBBS, M.A.
CHRISTOPHER SYKES, M.P.

COUNCIL.

Rev. CANON HULBERT, M.A.
THOMAS WILSON, M.A.
GEORGE JNO. ARMYTAGE, F.S.A.
S. J. CHADWICK.
R. BOWNAS MACKIE.
JOSEPH SAVILE STOTT.
Rev. J. I. BROOKE, M.A.
FREDERICK GREENWOOD.

JOHN HIRST, JUN.
E. P. PETERSON.
S. T. RIGGE.
H. J. MOREHOUSE, F.S.A.
JOHN BAILEY LANGHORNE.
JAMES FOWLER, F.S.A.
ROBERT MELLER.

TREASURER.

J. G. BERRY, West-Riding Union Bank, Huddersfield.

HONORARY SECRETARIES.

FAIRLESS BARBER, F.S.A., Castle Hill, Rastrick, Brighouse.
GEO. W. TOMLINSON, 24, Queen Street, Huddersfield (Hon. Financial Secretary).

AUDITOR.

STANHOPE SMART, Huddersfield.

RULES OF THE ASSOCIATION.

I.—*Name.*

This Society shall be called the "Yorkshire Archæological and Topographical Association."

II.—*Object.*

This Association is instituted to examine, preserve, and illustrate the History, Architecture, Manners, Customs, Arts, and Traditions of our ancestors, and especially to further the Collection and Preservation of Materials for the History and Topography of the County of York.

III.—*Operation.*

The means which the Association shall employ for effecting its objects are :—

- a Meetings for the purpose of reading papers, the exhibition of antiquities, and the discussion of subjects connected therewith.
- b General Meetings each year, at given places, rendered interesting by their antiquities, architecture, or historic associations.
- c The publication of original papers and ancient documents.
- d The formation of a library and museum.
- e Grants of money towards the costs of exploring remains and for the general objects of the Association.

IV.—*Management.*

The affairs of the Association shall be managed by a Council, consisting of a President for each Riding, Vice-Presidents, Treasurer, Honorary Secretaries, one of whom shall have the management of all financial matters for the Association, and be called the Honorary Financial Secretary, and fifteen other members, five to form a quorum.

V.—*Members.*

The election of Members of the Association shall take place at any Meeting of the Council or at a General Meeting.

VI.—*Subscriptions.*

That an Annual Subscription of Ten Shillings and Sixpence be paid by each Member. All such subscriptions shall be due on the first day of January; and the Members shall be entitled to the Annual Report issued by the Council. A Donation of Five Guineas or more constitutes the Donor a Member for life. The Subscriptions of Life Members shall be funded, suitably invested, and the interest only applied to the general purposes of the Association.

VII.—*Honorary Members.*

The Council shall have the power of electing Honorary Members.

VIII.—*Council.*

The Officers and five other Members of the Council, in order of rotation, shall retire annually, but shall be eligible for re-election. If any vacancy occur during the year it shall be filled up *pro tem.* by the Council.

IX.—*Bye-Laws.*

The Council shall have power to make Bye-Laws for the due working of the Association, subject to the approval of the next General Meeting.

X.—*Sub-Committees.*

The Council may appoint Sectional or Sub-Committees, consisting of Members of the Association, for the consideration of special subjects.

XI.—*Council Meetings.*

The Council shall meet at least four times during the year, and at any other time when convened at the request of a President, Honorary Secretary, or three other members of the Association.

XII.—*Annual Meeting.*

The Annual Meeting of the Association shall be held in January, when the Accounts, properly audited, and a Report, shall be presented, and the Officers and an Auditor for the ensuing year shall be elected.

XIII.—*General Meeting.*

The Council may at any time call a General Meeting, specifying the object for which that meeting is to be held.

XIV.—*Property.*

The Property of the Association shall be vested in the Presidents, Treasurer, and Honorary Secretaries for the time being.

XV.—*Alteration of Rules.*

That these Rules shall not be altered except by a majority of not less than two-thirds of the Members present at a Special Meeting convened for that purpose. Full notice of such intended alteration to be given to every Member of the Association.

YORKSHIRE ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND TOPOGRAPHICAL ASSOCIATION.

LIST OF MEMBERS.

CORRECTED TO DECEMBER, 1875.

The names of Life Members are given in the order in which they have been elected; the names of Annual Members are given under the initial letters of their Surnames and in the order of their Election. All Members whose names appear after the asterisks have been elected since the title of the Association was changed from "Huddersfield" to "Yorkshire."

Any Member wishing to withdraw must signify his intention in writing previously to January 1 of the ensuing year, otherwise he will be considered liable to pay his subscription for that year. It is particularly requested that speedy intimation of any change of residence, or errors in addresses, may be sent to one of the Hon. Secretaries.

LIFE MEMBERS.

The Right Honourable the EARL OF DARTMOUTH, Patchull, Wolverhampton
(*Vice-President*).

EDWARD ALDAM LEATHAM, M.P., Whitley Hall, Huddersfield (*Vice-President*).

THOMAS BROOKE, F.S.A., Armitage Bridge, Huddersfield (*Vice-President*).

WILLIAM TURNBULL, M.D., Huddersfield.

HENRY SAVILE, Rufford Abbey, Notts.

W. CAPEL CLARKE-THORNHILL, Rushton Hall, Kettering.

The Rev. THOMAS JAMES, F.S.A., Nether Thong, Huddersfield.

The Rev. J. I. BROOKE, M.A., Thornhill Rectory, Dewsbury (*Council*).

GEORGE F. BEAUMONT.

Mrs. BROOKE, Northgate House, Honley.

EDWARD AKROYD, F.S.A., Bankfield, Halifax (*Vice-President*).

Sir JOHN WILLIAM RAMSDEN, Bart., Byram Hall, South Milford (*Vice-President*).

EDWARD HAILSTONE, F.S.A., Walton Hall, Wakefield (*Vice-President*).

JOHN KAYE, Clayton West, Huddersfield.

GEO. E. H. BRADBURY, Rastrick.

Sir GEORGE ARMYTAGE, Bart., Kirkstall Park (*Vice-President*).

RICHARD SUGDEN, Brighouse.

BENTLEY SHAW, Woodfield House, Huddersfield.

FAIRLESS BARBER, F.S.A., Castle Hill, Rastrick (*Hon. Sec.*).

EDWARD BALME WHEATLEY-BALME, Loughrigg, Ambleside.

CHARLES WHEATLEY, Sands House, Mirfield.

FRANCIS R. SOWERBY, The Bowers, Barkisland.

JOHN BARFF CHARLESWORTH, Hatfield Hall, Wakefield.

THOMAS WOOLRYCHE STANSFELD, Westwood Grove, Leeds.

His Grace the DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE, K.G., Holker, Grange, Lancashire (*Vice-President*).

ROBERT H. SKAIFE, York.

Capt. WILLIAM NEWSOME, R.E., Gravesend.

FREDERICK THOMPSON, Wakefield.

EDWARD GREEN, Heath Old Hall, Wakefield.

EDMUND CHAMBERS, The Hurst, Alfreton.

J. CROSSLEY SUTCLIFFE, The Lea, Heptonstall.

WILLIAM PALEY, M.D., Ripon.

GEORGE W. TOMLINSON, 24, Queen Street, Huddersfield (*Hon. Sec.*).

THOMAS BROOK, Hartley, Kirkburton, Huddersfield.

The Most Hon. the MARQUESS OF RIPON, K.G. (*President for North Riding*).
 The Hon and Very Rev. AUGUSTUS DUNCOMBE, D.D., Dean of York (*Vice-President*).
 WILLIAM BRAGGE, F.S.A., Shirle Hill, Sheffield.
 Miss EDITH BROOKE, Northgate House, Honley.
 CHRISTOPHER SYKES, M.P., Brantingham Thorpe, Brough, East Yorkshire (*Vice-President*).
 The Right Hon. LORD HERRIES, Everingham Park, York (*Vice-President*).
 The Right Hon. EARL FITZWILLIAM, K.G., Wentworth Woodhouse, Rotherham (*President for West Riding*).
 WENTWORTH BLACKETT BEAUMONT, M.P., Bretton Park, Wakefield (*Vice-Pres.*).
 JOHN WOODHEAD, Piccadilly, Manchester.
 His Grace the DUKE OF NORFOLK, Earl Marshal, Arundel Castle, Sussex (*Vice-President*).
 JOHN ADAM EASTWOOD, 57, Princes Street, Manchester.
 HENRY S. HARLAND, Brompton, York.
 JOSEPH WILKINSON, York.
 BEN LOCKWOOD, Huddersfield.
 JAMES TOOVEY, 177, Piccadilly, London, W.
 THOMAS BOYNTON, Ulrome, Lowthorpe, Hull.
 JOHN BARRAN, Leeds.
 EDWARD BIRCHALL, 7, Park Square, Leeds.
 RICHARD HENRY WOOD, F.S.A., Penrhos House, Rugby.
 WILLIAM WARRINGTON DOBSON, Cheadle, Manchester.
 WILLIAM GRAY, Gray's Court, York.
 Mrs. NORCLIFFE, Langton Hall, Malton.
 HENRY SMITHSON LEE WILSON, 56, Queenborough Terrace, Lancaster Gate, London, W.
 EDMUND WILSON, Red Hall, Leeds.
 EDWARD SIMPSON, Wakefield.
 HENRY BENTLEY, Eshald House, Woodlesford, Leeds.
 BATHURST E. WILKINSON, Potterton Hall, Barwick-in-Elmet, South Milford.
 E. SMITHELLS WILSON, F.S.A., Melton Grange, Brough, East Riding.
 GEORGE HERD NELSON, Denison Hall, Leeds.
 The Rev. Professor WILLIAM STUBBS, M.A., Kettel Hall, Oxford (*Vice-President*).
 CLIFTON WILKINSON WHITTENBURY, Town Hall Buildings, Manchester.
 The Rev. I. DUNNE PARKER, LL.D., Hawes Vicarage, Bedale.
 CHAS. WILLIAM SYKES, 34, Lower Hillgate, Stockport.
 BENJAMIN THOMAS CASSON, Pannal, Harrogate.
 FRANCIS SHARP POWELL, Horton Hall, Bradford (*Vice-President*).
 J. HORSFALL TURNER, College House, Idle, Leeds.
 CREIL GEORGE SAVILE FOLJAMBE, F.S.A., Cockglode, Ollerton, Notts.
 J. D. LEADER, Sheffield.
 Rev. C. KNOWLES, Winteringham, Brigg.
 ARTHUR BRIGGS, Cragg Royd, Rawden, Leeds.
 JOHN HUTTON, Solberge, Northallerton.
 RICHARD BICKERTON TURNER, Branch Bank of England, Leeds.
 GAMALIEL SUTCLIFFE, Heptonstall, Manchester.
 JOSEPH FAWCETT, Sheffield.
 WILLIAM LEE, 10, Norfolk Street, Manchester.
 JOHN CLOSE, The Hollies, Dringhouses, York.

DECEASED LIFE MEMBERS.

THOMAS BRADBURY, Longroyde, Rastrick.
 Lieut.-Col. JAMES BRADBURY, Huddersfield.
 JOHN BURGESS, Rastrick.
 EDWARD MORTON, F.S.A., Malton.
 CHARLES BROOK, Enderby Hall, Leicester.
 JOHN KENWORTHY WALKER, M.D., F.S.A. Scot., Spring Grove, Scammonden.
 The Right Hon. the EARL OF ZETLAND, K.T. (*President for the North Riding*).
 CHARLES OLDROYD, Dewsbury.
 Rev. J. H. MICKLETHWAITE, Painthorpe, Wakefield.

ANNUAL MEMBERS.

- ALDERSON, Rev. C., M.A., The Rectory, Kirkheaton, Huddersfield.
 ARMITAGE, RICHARD, Alverthorpe Lodge, Southcliff, Scarborough.
 ARMITAGE, GEORGE J., F.S.A., Clifton, Brighouse (*Council*).
 ALEXANDER, ARTHUR WILLIAM, Halifax.
 ASPINALL, Rev. GEORGE E., B.A., Barwick, South Milford.
- * * *
- ANDREW, FRANK, Ashton-under-Lyne.
 ATKINSON, JOHN W., Leeds.
 ANDREWS, W., Caughay St., Hull.
 ABBY, F. F., Huddersfield.
 ALLBUTT, CLIFFORD, M.D., F.S.A., Leeds.
 ARUNDEL, CHAS. E., 74, Albion Street, Leeds.
- BARBER, WILLIAM SWINDEN, Halifax.
 BEAUMONT, ALFRED, Honley, Huddersfield.
 BENNETT, JAMES, Mille Crux House, York.
 BERRY, J. G., Broomfield, Fixby, Huddersfield.
 BROOKE, EDWARD, F.G.S., Huddersfield.
 BUCKLEY, G. F., Delph.
 BARBER, H. J., Brighouse.
 BARKER, Major, Holmfild, Wakefield.
 BRIGGS, ARCHD., Stanley Hall, Wakefield.
 BROOK, EDW., Meltham Hall, Huddersfield.
 BARBER, WILLIAM, M.A., Bartow Point, Pinner.
 BANDINEL, Rev. JAS., M.A., Elmley, Wakefield.
 BURTON, THOMAS, Turnham Hall, Selby.
 BOULTER, W. CONSITT, F.S.A., 48, Wellington Lane, Beverley Road, Hull.
 BARBER, Rev. EDW., M.A., Radley, Abingdon.
 BALDWIN, Miss, Moorlands, Halifax.
 BUTLER, J. DYSON, Birstal.
- * * *
- BEAUMONT, THOS., M.D., Knaresbro'.
 BOUSFIELD, C. E., 3, Beech Grove, Leeds.
 BROWN, ROB., F.S.A., Barton-on-Humber.
 BUTLER, J. O., Abbey House, Kirkstall, Leeds.
 BUTLER, J. T., Abbey House, Kirkstall, Leeds.
 BRIGGS, WILL., junr., 22, Stephens St., Bristol.
 BELL, Rev. W. R., Laithkirk, Mickleton, Barnard Castle.
 BERRY, WILLIAM, King's Cross Street, Halifax.
 BOTTOMLEY, THOS., Crosshills, Leeds.
- BOTTERILL, W., West Parade, Anlaby Road, Hull.
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